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First Meeting, 1*st November*, 1887.

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IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

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From the Society of Antiquaries :—The Proceedings. Vol. XI. Part 3. 8vo. London. 1887.

From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland :—Vol. XIX. Part 3. July, 1887. 8vo. London.

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The Kalendar, 1887–1888. 8vo.

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From the Archæological Institute :—The Journal. Vol. XLIV. No. 174. 8vo. London. 1887.

From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland :—The Journal. Vol. XVI. No. 4. August, 1887. Vol. XVII. No. I. 8vo. London.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund :—Quarterly Statement. October, 1887. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Dublin Society :—The Scientific Transactions. Vol. III. November, 1886. April and May, 1887. The Scientific Proceedings. Vol. V. Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. 8vo. Dublin. 1886.

From the Anglo-Jewish Association :—The Sixteenth Annual Report. 8vo. 1886—1887.

From the Royal Asiatic Society, China Branch :—The Journal. Vol. XXI. Nos. 5 and 6. 8vo. Shanghai. 1886.

From the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis :—The Journal. December, 1886. 8vo. Boston, Mass.

From the Editor :—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. IX. No. 4. 8vo. July, 1887.

From the Editor :—The American Journal of Archæology and History of the Fine Arts. 8vo. December, 1886. June, 1887. Baltimore.

From the Editor :—American Journal of Philology Vol. VIII. Part 2. July, 1887. 8vo. Baltimore.

From the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Bollettino delle Publicazione Italiane. Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42. 4to. Firenze, 1886.

From the Johns Hopkins University :—The University Studies. Fifth Series. Nos. 8 and 9. August and September, 1887. 8vo. Baltimore.

From the Smithsonian Institution :—The Smithsonian Report. Part 1. 8vo. Washington. 1885.

From the Smithsonian Institution :—Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1882—1883. By J. W. Powell, Director. 8vo. Washington. 1886.

From the American Oriental Society :—Proceedings at Boston, May, 1887. 8vo. Boston, U.S.A.

From the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities :—Aarboger, 1887. II. R, 2. B, 2. H. Copenhagen. 8vo.

From the Author: Vocabolario Geroglifico Copto-Ebraico del Dott. Simeone Levi. Vols. III. and IV. Torino. Folio. 1887.

From the Author:—Rapport à l'Institut Égyptien sur les fouilles et travaux exécutés en Égypte, pendant l'hiver 1885—1886. Par G. Maspero. Le Caire. 8vo. 1887.

Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien de l'année 1886.

From the Author, G. Maspero:—Le Rituel du Sacrifice funéraire. 8vo. Paris. 1887.

Bulletin critique de la Religion Égyptienne. Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. Vol. XV.

From the Author:—Bemerkungen über Ê-sagila, in Babel und Ê-zida in Borsippa zur Zeit Nebuchadrezzars II. Von C. P. Tiele. 8vo.

From the Author:—Pharaoh the Oppressor and his Daughter, in the light of their Monuments. By John A. Paine. 8vo.

The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine. Vol. XXXIV. May, 1887. No. 1.

From the Author:—Epitaphs, collected by Old Mortality, Jun. 8vo. London. 1887.

From the Author:—The Language of the Ancient Egyptians and its Monumental Records. By Charles E. Moldenke, A.M., Ph.D. 8vo. New York. 1887.

Reprinted from the Trans. New York Academy of Sciences. Vol. IV.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on 6th December, 1887:—

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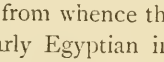
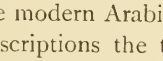
Rev. John Urquhart, 8, Coombe Road, Weston-super-Mare.

The following Paper was read by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., on the Excavations made at Aswân, by Major-General Sir F. Grenfell, during the years 1885 and 1886.

In the year 1885, the British Consular Agent at Aswân, Mustafa Shakîr, learned that quantities of Egyptian antiquities were being found in the hill nearly opposite to the modern town of Aswân, and that they were being sold rapidly to the traveller and tourist. He found that many of the objects thus sold were, archæologically, of great importance, and in order to stop the miscellaneous distribution of valuable antiquities, he asked, and obtained official permission to excavate the tombs in the hill, on the understanding that one half of any antiquities which might be discovered by him were to go to the Museum at Bûlâḳ. He set to work with a number of men, and emptied a huge chamber, or tomb, which he found to be filled with a large number of decayed and broken coffins. The officer commanding at Aswân in that year was General (now Sir) F. W. Grenfell. This gentleman had studied Egyptian archæology with great success, and recognized immediately he saw what class of things had been found by Mustafa Shakîr, how very important it was to continue the work of excavation. By an arrangement with the authorities at the Bûlâḳ Museum, he undertook the sole responsibility of further excavations,* which he carried out at his own expense. His works of excavation were most successful, and produced very important results. He brought to light some tombs of the VIth and XIIth Dynasties, and discovered a stone staircase of an unique nature; all of which I shall describe presently. In November of last year I was sent out to Egypt by the Trustees of the British Museum, and *inter alia* was directed to copy such inscriptions as remained on the walls of the rock-hewn tombs discovered by General Grenfell the year before, and, under his direction, to continue the work of excavation. I arrived at Port Saïd early in the morning of Tuesday the 30th of November; I set out with Sir F. Grenfell for Asyûṭ on the following Friday; and proceeded by Mr. Cook's new and splendid steamer, the "Prince Abbas," to Aswân, where we arrived on Sunday morning the 12th of December. Sir F. Grenfell, the Sirdâr of the

* "Le Général Grenfell, qui commandait à Assouan, intéressé par ce premier résultat se substitua au sieur Moustapha et fit continuer les travaux par les soldats égyptiens placés sous ses ordres." Maspero, *Rapport à l'Institut Égyptien:* Caire, 1887, p. 33.

Egyptian Army, took me across the river to the tombs, and showed me what had already been excavated by him during the previous winter, and what still remained to be done. A very brief examination of the hill convinced me that we should be able to do comparatively very little excavating during the short time I could stay at Aswân, and it was decided that it would be best to confine our labours to completely clearing out the most important of the tombs already discovered, and then, if time permitted, to dig for new ones. But before I go any further it will perhaps be well to say a few words about the situation and surroundings of the town of Aswân.

The town of Aswân is situated in lat. 24° 5′ 25″ * on the right or east bank of the Nile, near the first Cataract, and is a little to the north of the tropic of Cancer; it is the extreme southern frontier town of Egypt † separating it from Nubia. Aswân, or Syene, was originally the island of Elephantine, but little by little the town on the right bank came to be classed under this name. It is very hard to fix the exact spot where the old town stood, but it certainly lay more to the south-west than the present town does, and it occupied the slope of the hill. The greater number of Egyptian towns are, and have been, built on a plain, but strategical purposes probably caused the ancient inhabitants to seize upon and to make good use of such an important natural feature of the place.‡ However far back we go, Aswân must always have been an important place to the dwellers in the valley of the Nile, though it is only in comparatively late times that we find mentioned the hieroglyphic name from whence the modern Arabic name, Aswân, is derived. In the early Egyptian inscriptions the town called Elephantine by the ancients, which was the metropolis of the first nome of Upper Egypt, is called , or  *Abu, i.e.*, 'the town, or country of the elephant;' § and the divinities worshipped there

* Eratosthenes fixed the distance of Aswân from the Equator at 24°. See Strabo II, 7, pp. 93, 94, Didot's edition; and Mannert, *Geographie der Gricchen und Römer*, X, p. 321.

† Strabo, Didot's edition, pp. 693, 48; 669, 3.

‡ For the general topography of Aswân, see *Description de Syène et des Cataractes*, par E. Jomard, in *Description de l'Égypte*, Vol. I, pp. 121–174, and plate 31 of the same work.

§ See Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 110; and Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, Vol. I, p. 154.

were Chnem, Sati, and Sept. As we come down to the time of the Ptolemies, we find that the name Abu disappears, and that , *Sunnu*, takes its place.* Sunnu must have been the recognized name of the place as early as the time of Ezekiel, for this prophet defines the northern and southern limits of Egypt by the words מִמִּגְדֹּל סְוֵנֵה,† "from Migdol to Swênêh,"‡ and Swênêh is the Hebrew form of the Greek Συήνη. The words 'from Migdol to Swênêh' meant all Egypt, just as 'from Dan to Beersheba' meant all Palestine; the Copt said 'from Rakoti (Alexandria) to Souan;'§ and Diocletian appointed governors throughout all Egypt from 'Alexandria to Philæ.'‖

The Coptic forms of the names of Sunnu are ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ and ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ; but the first is the more common,¶ and is that upon which the Arabs based their name *Aswân* for the city Sunnu. The Coptic name, ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ, means the 'opener,' and refers to Aswân as the 'key' of Nubia going southwards, or of Egypt going northwards.

* The various hieroglyphic forms of this name are , , , , , and . For the Demotic form of the name *Sunâu*,, see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 37, and Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, pp. 666, 667.

† Ezek. xxix, 10; xxx, 6. The Targum has סְוֵנֵה Peshîṭtâ ܣܘܢ, Heb. סְוֵנֵה, Arab. أسوان سِيَنَ مجدول, Ethiop. ሰዋን: መገደሉ: ዘሰዌን: Brit. Mus. Ms. Or. 484, fol. 137 *b*, col. 3. 11. Coptic ⲓⲥⲭⲉⲙ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲟⲗ (or ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲱⲗ) ⲛⲁ ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ (or ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ). LXX, ἀπὸ Μαγδώλου καὶ Συήνης. Cod. Alex. has the forms Σοήνης, Σουήνης.

‡ It would probably be more correct to write סְוֵנָה. See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 942. The word is actually thus pointed in some of the modern editions of the Targums.

§ Zoega, *Catalogus*, 23, 129; Kircher, *Lingua Aegyptiaca restituta*, p. 211.

‖ ⲓⲥⲧⲉⲙ ⲣⲁⲕⲟϯ ⲛⲁ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲕⲉ Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, p. 135.

¶ See Quatremère, *Mémoires Géog. et Hist.*, Tom. I, p. 280; Champollion, *l'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, Tom. I, p. 163; and Champollion, *Grammaire*, I, pp. 125, 153.

The Arabic form of Sunnu as given by Yâḳût * and Ibn-Khalikân in his lives of celebrated men is أُسْوَان, Uswânu † (بالضم ثم السكون وواو والف); and Abu l-Fida says that he considers this way of spelling the name to be correct.‡ The form أَسْوَان is also very common. Apart from the importance of Aswân as a military station and frontier town, it obtained great notoriety among the ancients, from the fact that Eratosthenes and Ptolemy § considered it to be on the tropic of Cancer,|| and the most northerly point where, at the time of the summer solstice, the sun's rays fell vertically,¶ and objects such as trees and animals cast no shadow there;** also the day was said to be $13\frac{1}{2}$ hours long in this place.†† In the times of the Ptolemies there was a famous well there into which the sun was said to shine at the summer solstice, sending his rays perpendicularly into it, and illuminating it in every part: ‡‡ and the sun was said to fit

* See كتاب معجم البلدان ed. Wüstenfeld, Vol. I, p. ٣٦٩.

† For Arabic accounts of Aswân, see *Géographie d'Aboulféda* par M. Reinaud, Tom. II, pp. 142, 155, 156; *Yâḳût*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Vol. I, p. ٣٦٩; Edrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy et de Goeje, p. 26; Istachri, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 48 and 52; Macrizi, كتاب الخطط, Bûlâḳ edition, Vol. I, pp. ١٩٧—١٩٩.

‡ اسوان بضم الهمزة وهو الصحيح. *Géog. d'Aboulféda*, par M. Reinaud and Mac Guckin de Slane: Paris, 1840, p. ٦١٣.

§ Ptolemy, *Geog.* VII, 5. See also Steph. Byzan. *sub voce*, and *Itin. Auton.*, p. 164.

|| As a matter of fact, the town lies about 0° 37′ 23″ north of the tropic of Cancer, and the shadow falls $\frac{1}{400}$th out of the perpendicular.

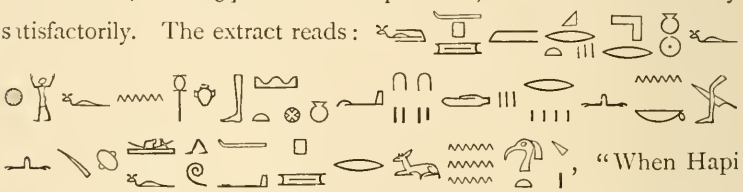
¶ Strabo, II, 7; Didot's edit., p. 94; and p. 110, line 10.

** *καὶ ἐν Συήνῃ τῇ πρὸ Αἰθιοπίας οὔτε ἀπὸ δένδρων οὔτε ἀπὸ τῶν ζῴων γενέσθαι σκιὰν ἔστι.* Pausanias, Lib. VIII, 6, Didot's edit., p. 415.

†† Strabo, Didot's edit., p. 110.

‡‡ Arrian *Hist. Indica*, ch. 26, 7. Strabo, XVII, l. 48, Didot's edit., p. 694. So also Pliny (Nat. Hist., II, 73) "tradunt in Syene oppido, quod est supra Alexandriam quinque milibus stadium, solstiti die medio mullam umbram iaci, puteumque ejus experimenti gratia factum totum inluminari." So also Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII, 15, 31). "Dein Syene, in qua solstitii tempore, quo sol aestinum cursum extendit, recta omnia ambientes radii excedere ipsis corporibus umbras non sinunt, inde *si* stipitem quisquam fixerit rectum vel hominem aut arborem viderit stantem, circa lineamentorum ipsas extremitates contemplabitur umbras absumi."

the well like the cover of a vessel. Up to the present, however, no trace of this well has been found by modern excavators and travellers, and as we have no definite account of its situation given us by ancient writers, it seems very doubtful if we shall ever hear any more of it unless it is stumbled across by chance.

At the side of the temple opposite to the modern town of Aswân there was a Nilometer with a carefully graduated scale by which the priests were able to measure the risings of the Nile,* and to calculate how much harm or good would be done to the land by its waters. According to Plutarch † the Nile rose at Elephantine to the height of 28 cubits, and a very interesting text quoted by Brugsch ‡ from a copy of an inscription at Edfû, made by Dümichen, states that if the Nile rises 24 cubits $3\frac{1}{4}$ hands at Elephantine, it will water the country satisfactorily. The extract reads: , "When Hapi (Nile) comes from the caverns at his season, and rises at Elephantine 24 cubits 3 hands and 1 quarter hand, without failure or obstruction in it, comes Hapi to inundate the land." Elephantine is mentioned in this inscription, probably because there were no accurate Nilometers further north in Egypt in those times. The Greeks thought § that the fountains of the Nile were situated a little above the town of Aswân; and this belief was common down to a late date, for Bar Hebræus relates in his Chronicle, that when a certain Abû 'Ali Ḥasan undertook to perform some work on the Nile which should benefit Egypt and her people and enrich her rulers, "he went to the hill opposite to the town of Aswân,‖ from which the waters of the Nile

* Strabo, XVII, 1, 48, Didot's edit., p. 694.

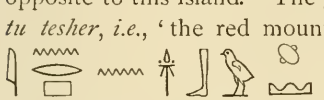
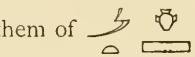
† De Isid. et Osirid., 43.

‡ *Géog. Dict.*, p. 112; Aeg. Zeitschrift, 1865, p. 43.

§ Herodotus, 2, 30; Strabo, XVII, 1, 52, Didot's edit., p. 695.

‖ Syriac forms of this name are ܐܣܘܐ, Bar Heb., 222; ܣܘܢ, Bar Heb., 154, 10; ܐܣܘܢ, ܒܐܣܘܢ, and ܐܣܘܢ, though Payne Smith (*Thes. Syr.*, col. 2540) would prefer ܐܣܘܢ or ܣܘܢ.

descend and flow, and he examined and saw that the mighty force of those waters could not be overcome." *

Among the ancient Egyptians Aswân, or Syene, was justly celebrated for the beautiful granite,† which was to be found on the island of Elephantine, and on the east bank of the Nile nearly opposite to this island. The granite hill on the mainland was called *tu tesher*, *i.e.*, 'the red mountain,' ‡ and the granite itself is styled  *âner en Abu*, 'stone of Abu or Elephantine.' When, however, Ḥātshepsu made two granite obelisks in honour of 'father Amen,' she says in her inscriptions on them that she made them of  *mâb*, or granite. Granite obelisks and huge granite stelæ command the admiration of all beholders, but it is not until one sees the massive unfinished granite obelisk lying undetached from its native rock in the quarries at Aswân, that it is possible to realize the amount of labour and skill involved in successfully hewing out a piece of granite 115 feet long by 11 square, and floating it down the river and setting it upright. Then one understands how it was that 2,000 men took three years to bring a block of granite from Aswân to Sais for Amâsis, as narrated by Herodotus (II, 175). The unfinished obelisk at Aswân has attracted the notice of all travellers, and invited the speculations of many of them as to the way in which such huge masses of granite were detached from the rock.§ Yâḳût‖ in his geographical dictionary tells us that Abu Bekr Harawî saw in Aswân, near the village called Bilâḳ or Birâḳ (Philæ), "a long red striped stone with its head buried in the sand and that he measured as much of it as was visible; he found that it was 25 cubits long and 7 cubits square. Some told

* ܟܝܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐܡ ܟܣܦܐ ܐܦܠ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܟܣܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܟ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܟ ܕܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ Bar. Heb. Chron., p. 222, ll. 8 and 9.

† The Syenite granite pyrropœcilus of Pliny, XXXVI, 157, 63. The granite beds extend from Philæ to Aswân.

‡ Brugsch, 'Egypt under the Pharaohs,' I, pp. 74 and 75.

§ See Pococke's *Travels in Egypt*, p. 263.

‖ Yâḳût, ed. Wüstenfeld, Vol. I, p. ٣٦٩.

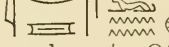
him that it was intended to serve as a bridge over the narrow part of the Nile there, and others told him that it was the fellow of the 'needle' in Alexandria." * I think that there can be no doubt that the writer refers to the unfinished obelisk, even though he says that it was near Philæ. Certain it is, however, that from the time of Mycerinus, who covered his pyramid with granite,† until that of the Ptolemies who inscribed their edicts upon it, the hard beautiful granite of Aswân was extensively used by the kings of Egypt whenever they desired to erect handsome and lasting buildings.

On the edge of one of the oldest worked quarries there are to be seen the remains of a very old Muḥammedan cemetery with gravestones inscribed in Cufic characters. I saw there several dated in the first and second centuries of the Hegira, but they could not have been in their proper places, for there were as many as three or four together loose. The writing on these early gravestones is plain and entirely without ornament; the size of the stones is about 15 in. × 9 in., and the inscriptions are neither so nicely nor so deeply cut as on those of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries of the Hegira. On the flat raised borders of the stones of the third and fourth centuries painted ornaments are found, and sometimes a declaration of the unity of God coupled with the statement that Muḥammed is His prophet. I should have tried to take "squeezes" of all the early gravestones I saw, but for the fact that all the paper which I had taken with me for the purpose, together with the squeezes of inscriptions which I had already made, was destroyed by the violent rain-storm which broke over Aswân early

* ورايت هناك عمودا قريبا من قرية يقول لها بلاق او بِراق يسمّونها الصقالة وهو ماتع مجزّع بحمرة وراسه قد غَطَّاه الرمل فذرعتُ ما ظهر منه فكان خمسة وعشرون ذراعاً وهو مربّع كل وجه منه سبعة اذرع وفى النيل هناك موضع ضيّق ذُكر انهم ارادوا ان يعملوا جسراً على ذلك الموضع وذكر اخرون انه اخو عمود السَّوارى الذى بالاسكندرية.

† See Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, pp. 173, 214.

in January of this year. Nearer the town are two other Muḥammedan cemeteries filled with inscribed gravestones, but all of a very recent date.

The Ptolemaic temple at Aswân, half excavated, I shall not attempt to describe, for it has already been done by Jomard:* it will be sufficient to say that only part of the surface of the walls has been sculptured, and that the execution of what has been done is not good. In the time of the Ptolemies Aswân was connected with Philæ by a road which ran in an eastward direction, and the remains of a brick wall five or six feet thick are still visible. A little to the north of the English 'Main Guard,' and in a straight line with Mr. Cook's office, are the remains of a projecting brick building with windows and alcoves, which is said by some to have been an aqueduct, and by others a bath. Sir Gardner Wilkinson thought that it was work of the Arabic period, but the layers of burnt bricks and the mortar which remain, recall to mind the method of building employed by the Romans. Lower down in the Nile is a huge rock upon which still remain layers of brickwork of the same make as those used in the projecting building: there can be little doubt that a small brick tower was built upon this rock as a 'look-out' station by the Romans. Not far from Aswân there was a famous emerald pit, and Edrísî † states that its product was sold at Aswân, and that there was no other pit in the world. In Ptolemaic times Aswân was celebrated for its wine, and the , *ârp Sunnt*, 'wine of Sunnu,' was famed for its goodness.‡ Of the size of Aswân in ancient times we have no exact idea, but it was probably neither very large, nor very inviting as a place of residence. Strabo tells us § that there was a garrison of three Roman cohorts stationed here, but the other residents would principally be quarrymen and people engaged in traffic and barter with the people of Nubia. About the year 95 A.D. Juvenal was appointed (*i.e.*, banished) to a military command at Syene by the emperor

* *Description de Syène*, in *Description de l'Égypte*, I, p. 133. The text on the walls has been published by Mariette in *Monuments Divers*, plates 22—26.

† *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy et de Goeje, p. 26.

‡ Brugsch *Dict. Géog.*, p. 65.

§ XVII, I, 48, Didot's ed., p. 694

Domitian for satirising the comedian Paris. The great satirist revenged himself on the Egyptians by writing his fifteenth satire, and there can be no doubt what he thought of Egypt when we read the lines:—

Horrida sane
Ægyptus, sed luxuria, quantum ipse notavi,
Barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo. Sat. XV, 44–46.

The desert and rock-bound Aswân could not have been a congenial dwelling place for the cultured Juvenal, and though Martial speaks (Epig. v, 13) of the 'large farms' of Syene, he does not esteem Aswân highly, as we may see from his well-known line (Ep. ix, 35):—

Scis, quotiens Phario madeat Iove fusca Syene.

In spite of the various storms of war and conquest by the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, and the Turks which have swept over Aswân from century to century, the little town continued to hold its place and be famous for various commodities. Macrîzî * tells us that the soil produces corn and vegetables in great abundance, that there are great quantities of camels, oxen, and excellent sheep to be found there, and that the ground is covered with palm trees.† The place is, and always has been, an important market-town for the disposal of articles of commerce from Nubia. The Arab historians agree in saying that Aswân is a small but very populous town, and it is said that 20,000 people once died there of the plague.‡ Before the English expedition into Egypt, the population of Aswân was about four thousand, but I was informed this year by the English Consular Agent that it was then about ten thousand. In the twelfth century Aswân was the seat of a bishop, and we know that in the year of the Martyrs, 889 (A.D. 1173), the episcopal throne was occupied by one Theodore, and that the Turks came to Upper Egypt and captured Ibrim.§

And now having mentioned the principal things relating to the town of Aswân on the east bank of the Nile, it is time to consider that part of the western bank opposite to it. A little to the south-west of Atrûn island is a small and sandy valley which opens out on

* Quatremère, *Mémoires*, II, p. 4.

† Reinaud, *Géog. d'Aboulféda*, II, p. 155; Edrîsî, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Dozy et de Goeje, p. 26.

‡ Sir G. Wilkinson, in Murray's *Egypt*.

§ *Recueil de Travaux*, VII, p. 218.

to the Nile. After walking for about twenty minutes, the traveller comes upon the still fine ruins of a very old Coptic convent which was built as far back as the sixth or seventh century of our era, and is called to-day دير الغريبة, or 'West-minster.' Egypt has always been a place of refuge for the persecuted Christians, and as early as the time of Diocletian thousands upon thousands of recluses, monks, and anchorites made Upper Egypt their dwelling place. The rocky defiles of the mountains, and the violated chambers of the tombs of the ancient Egyptians offered such shelter and protection as were not to be found elsewhere. I have not been able to find out to whom this convent was originally dedicated: Pococke thought to Saint George,* because of "his picture, as big as life," being there, but as Saint George is the chief of all the saints in the Coptic Church, and his picture is found everywhere, I do not think that statement is to be relied upon. The convent is a veritable fortress, and when in good condition must have been exceedingly strong. It is situated on the slope of a detached mountain, from the top of which a good view of all the valleys and hills round about could be obtained; this was very important for the monks, because they would be able to see an enemy while yet afar off. The walls of the convent are very thick, and strong enough to resist every missile of early times: the tops of the walls were paraded by sentinels, and on that facing the Nile a deep hollow path has been worn by the feet of those who kept guard. The door is on the northern side, near the east corner. On entering, a small courtyard is found, from which lead winding passages to galleries raised one above the other by nearly regular intervals, so that in the event of the courtyard being taken by assault, the invading foe would have to fight his way piece by piece, through passage after passage, until he had overcome the resistance offered by the defenders in each gallery, which, it is hardly necessary to say, would offer excellent vantage ground to the besieged. The whole piece of ground enclosed by the convent walls is divided into three stages each raised some distance above the other, and communication with each of these was made by means of stone staircases without either shelter or rails. On the uppermost stage, which is formed by the flat top of the hill, is a turret built of crude stone, from which a good 'look-out' could be kept. The central or main building is traversed by a wide vaulted gallery on each side of which is a series of

* *Travels in Egypt*, p. 263.

small narrow brick chambers with doorways opening into the gallery. The monks who inhabited these cells left their names either written in red ochre or scratched on the walls, but as far as I could see there was no inscription of importance. At one end of the gallery is the choir, which is surmounted by a small dome. In the centre of the dome is painted in colours, which are even now comparatively bright, a very pretty Coptic pattern, examples of which are found from time to time in Coptic MSS. Below this there are a number of divisions in which are painted our Saviour, Michael, Gabriel, Saint George, the twelve Apostles, and six or seven other saints whom I was not able to identify. The small cells round about the choir are covered with hastily and badly written inscriptions, and close by is a well. To the east of the convent is the cemetery. Major G. T. Plunkett, R.E., and myself went there one afternoon and examined the graves. We found a series of low ridges which indicated the places where the bodies had been laid on each side of a broad path. The graves were dug to the depth of about two feet, and in these the bodies of the monks, loosely wrapped in rough linen, were laid. M. Maspero collected several pieces of stuff from these graves, of red and white, yellow and red, and red and blue collars.* The tombs were covered over with flat slabs of stone, and each contained a small stele giving the name of the person buried there, and the date of his death.† The first father of this convent was called Pousi, Bishop of Philæ,‡ but the stele which gives this information breaks off here, and we are ignorant of the date of his rule over the convent. The monks of the convent appear to have been very poor, and it is quite certain that if they ever did acquire wealth, it was soon taken out of their hands by the hordes of savage soldiery employed by the Turks and others to fill the garrison of Aswân. Within a few yards of one corner of the convent the telegraph wire to Khartûm runs, a conspicuously modern object beside the decaying convent twelve hundred years old.§

* Maspero, *Rapport à l'Institut Égyptien*, 1885, 1886, p. 30.

† Some of the Coptic stelæ from Aswân have been published by Bouriant in *Recueil des Travaux*, V. 63.

‡ Maspero, Rapport, p. 31.

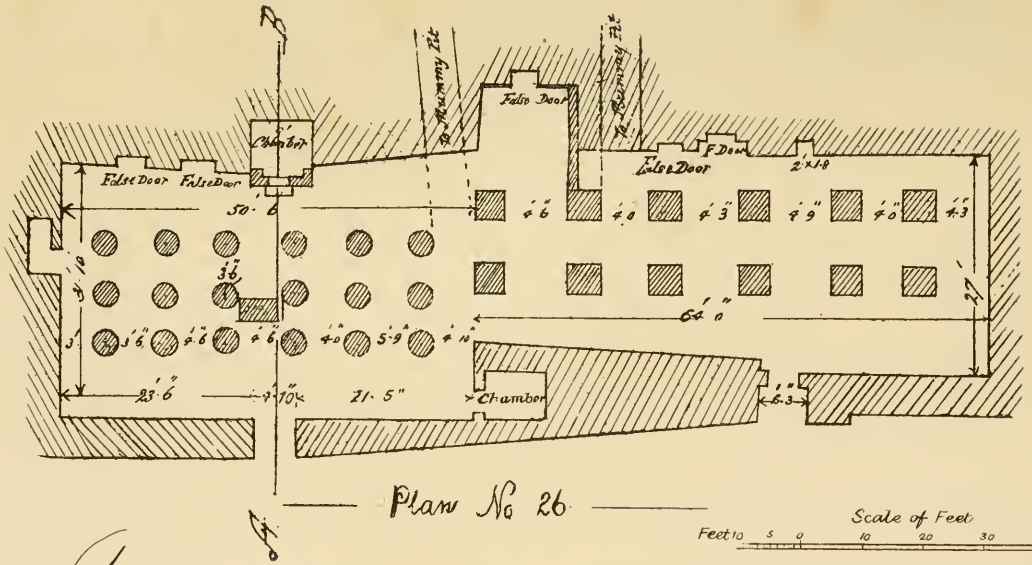
§ An excellent engraving of this convent is printed in Ebers, *Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 196.

On the same side of the river as the convent, but about a mile to the north, we come to the scene of Sir F. Grenfell's excavations, which were made in a hill in Western Aswân (*i.e.*, ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲣⲣⲉⲛⲧ) or Contra Syene. At this point the low undulating range of hills which faces the whole of the island of Elephantine, rises up into a bold headland, which has been found to be literally honeycombed with tombs, tier above tier, of various epochs. In ancient days there was down at the water's edge a massive stone quay, from which a broad fine double staircase, cut in the living rock, ascended to a layer of firm rock about 150 feet higher. At Thebes and at Beni-ḥassân, where such staircases must have existed, they have been destroyed, and only the traces remain which show that they ever existed. At Aswân it is quite different, for the whole of this remarkable staircase is intact. The staircase begins at the bottom of the slope, well above the highest point reached by the waters of the Nile during the inundation, and following the outward curve of the hill, ends in a platform in front of the highest tombs. Between each set of steps which form the staircase is a slope, up which the coffins and sarcophagi were drawn to the tomb by the men who walked up the steps on each side. At the bottom of the staircase the steps are only a few inches deep, but towards the top they are more than a foot. On each side of the staircase is a wall which appears to be of a later date than the staircase itself, and about one third of the way up there is a break in each wall, which appears to be a specially constructed opening leading to passages on the right and left respectively. It is very doubtful if the walls existed when the upper tombs were made, for they appear to have been made about the Roman period. Sir F. Grenfell cleared the staircase most thoroughly from sand, but less than eight months after it was blocked up almost as completely as if it had never been cleared at all. It was decided that before we did anything else, it was necessary to clear the staircase once more, both for the passage of the Egyptian soldiers who were going to dig out the tombs, and for the purpose of seeing this remarkable object. Sir F. Grenfell told off forty soldiers for the excavations, and with these we set to work to clear the staircase. Shortly after we began, we discovered at the top four small chambers under the walls in which mummies had been deposited. In the largest of these there was a coffin, on the foot of which I saw traced in black outline the figure of a bull with a mummy upon his back, made certainly during the

Roman occupation of Egypt. In the afternoon of the following day I went over to the river with Mustafa Shakîr to take the coffin out and see what the mummy was like, and if there were any inscriptions upon it. When we came to the spot we found that the coffin and mummy had disappeared as completely as if they had never existed. Further inquiries did not produce any satisfactory information, and we had to be content with the statement of the watchman who knew nothing about anything whatsoever. Before we leave the stone staircase, I must say that the soldiers of the 11th Company of Royal Engineers, under Major G. T. Plunkett, repaired the walls in several places, and placed horizontal wooden supports between parts of the walls at intervals to strengthen them. Before I left Aswân some of these had gone the way of all wood in Egypt, and had no doubt helped to boil some Egyptian's coffee. Another very excellent piece of work which the same company of Engineers did was to bracket together with a stout iron band the two cracked parts of a huge stone over the doorway at one end of the so-called 'Pharaoh's bed' at Philæ. Had this stone fallen it would no doubt have brought others after it, and would certainly have destroyed the fine effect of that building on the beautiful little island of Philæ.

In the hill of the tombs at Aswân there are three distinct layers of stone which have been chosen by the ancient Egyptians for the purpose of excavating tombs. The finest layer, and the thickest, is at the top, and this has been chosen principally by the architects of the VIth Dynasty for the sepulchres of the rulers of Elephantine. The tombs in all cases here follow the track of the layers of stone, and when the seam is thick, the tombs are high; when it is thin, the tombs are small. The first tomb excavated by Sir F. Grenfell was that which has since been numbered 25 and 26, and of which a plan and section is given on Plate I. He found therein tons of fragments of coffins, the remains of burnt mummies which had fallen to pieces, several small coarse earthenware pots, and some funereal tablets. The tablets were made of the common stone of the mountain, and were inscribed some in hieroglyphics, and some in Demotic characters. Some of these found their way to the Bûlâḳ Museum, where they were shown to me by the courtesy of Brugsch Bey, and I saw a few in the house of Mustafa Shakîr. The tablets belong to a very late period, the inscriptions being very carelessly done; and they are nearly all dedicated to Chnem, the principal deity of the triad of ancient Aswân, which consisted of Chnem, Sati, and Sept. I was

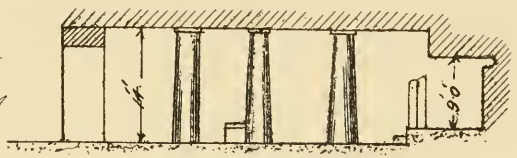
I. DOUBLE TOMB OF SABBEN AND MECHU, AT ASWÂN, VI. DYNASTY.



Plan No 26

Scale of Feet

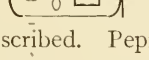
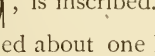
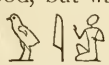
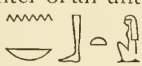
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Section on AB

Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch. Nov. 1887.

shown some few *ushabtiu* figures, which looked as if they had been made at a time when the form of Osiris and the hieroglyphic characters had been forgotten. Several hundreds of wooden faces of coffins had been preserved simply because they had been made of a harder wood than the rest of the coffins; and there were also in the house of Mustafa the upper parts of some stone coffins which showed how degraded Egyptian art had become at the time when they were made.

The tombs excavated by Sir F. Grenfell belong to, and were made at, two different periods, viz., the VIth and XIIth Dynasties. We are quite certain of this fact, because the names of kings who were reigning over Egypt when they were made are given. The largest and most important tomb of the earlier epoch is that of Sab-ben (or Sabbena, or Sabbent), at the top of the stone staircase. On the right hand side of the door of this tomb is a partially erased inscription of nineteen lines, which record the titles and dignities held by the man for whom the tomb was built, and which state that he was an officer in the service of His Majesty Pepi II, a monarch of the VIth Dynasty. Many parts of the inscription are nearly effaced, and the breaking away of the softer seams of stone in the hill has destroyed the continuity of the lines; but I took careful squeezes, and a copy of what is left of the text will be published as soon as possible. In the last line but one of this inscription, and on the left hand side of the door of the tomb  *Nefer-ka-Rā*, the prenomen of Pepi II , is inscribed. Pepi II, the Φιόψ of Manetho, is said to have reigned about one hundred years. He built a pyramid at Saḳḳâra, which was opened in 1881, and a town which was called after his name. His mother's name was Ānch-nes-meri-Rā, and that of his brother, who reigned before him, Mer-en-Rā.* Ānch-nes-meri-Rā was not of royal blood, but was the daughter of an untitled father and mother called  χuà and  Nebt respectively. The name and titles of Pepi II are found inscribed on rocks at Wâdy Maghara, Girgeh, El-kab, and Elephantine, as well as on the walls of the tombs excavated by Sir F. Grenfell. Very little is known of the events which happened in Egypt during the reign of Pepi II, but the civil administration of the provinces appears to have been placed in the hands of able servants of the king. Pepi II,

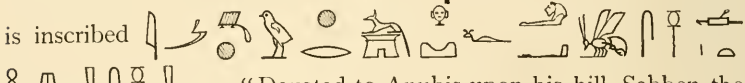
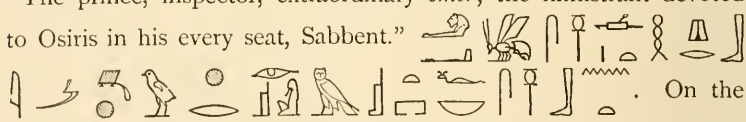
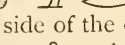
* See Mariette, Cat., *Monuments d'Abydos*, p. 85.

like his father, took care to appoint skilful governors over Elephantine and ancient Aswân, and it is the tomb of one of these which we will now describe.

The entrance to the tomb is made through a rectangular opening, in which is a small doorway about one third of the height of the opening; that is to say, we enter the tomb through a door within a door. The roof and upper part of the walls have been smoked black by the smoke arising from mummies and coffins burnt there.

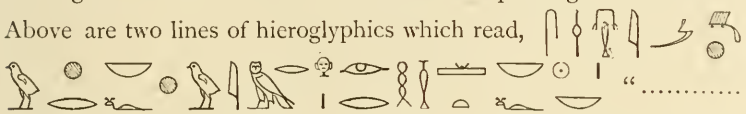
On the right hand side of the doorway* is a figure of Sabben, the man for whom the tomb was made. Above him is inscribed:—



ḥā net mer resu smer uat χer ḥeb mer set meḥ àb suten em resu Sabben. "Sabben,† the prince, inspector, president of the South, the extraordinary *smer*, the ministrant, the president of the countries filling the heart of the King in the South." Sabben holds a sceptre, , and by the side of this is inscribed  "Devoted to Anubis upon his hill, Sabben the prince, inspector, extraordinary *smer*, and ministrant." A '*ka* priest,' , called  Chuâ, stands before him pouring out a libation, and by his side is a son of Sabben, who held the same dignities as his father. The inscription over the doorway reads, "The prince, inspector, extraordinary *smer*, the ministrant devoted to Osiris in his every seat, Sabbent." . On the left hand side of the doorway are figures of Sabben, his son, and a *ka* priest called  *Se-rut-nefer-f*, "Making his beauty to increase;" and above them is a repetition of the name and titles of Sabben. The roof of this tomb is supported by rough-hewn

* A woodcut of this doorway is given in Maspero's *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 26, and another of the staircase on p. 141 of the same work.

† This name is spelt  in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, bl. 94 a.

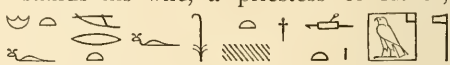
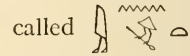
square stone pillars, and on the side of the first pillar on the right as we enter is a standing figure of Sabben. His face is painted red, and his hair black, and he wears a white linen tunic tucked in at the waist and terminating in a point below the knees. His titles are inscribed above him. This painting has been made upon a thin layer of plaster laid upon the surface of the pillar, and I regret to say that some dozen names neither ancient nor Egyptian have been inscribed upon it. On another side of the pillar are two figures dressed in the same manner pouring out libations. Above are two lines of hieroglyphics which read, 

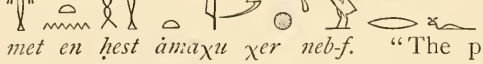
Chua, devoted to his lord, delighting to do the behests of his lord every day." On the second pillar on the right as we enter is a plastered surface 3 ft. × 18 in., and upon this is represented a man making an offering. In rudely cut hieroglyphics are inscribed beneath him the following lines :—



Exactly opposite the doorway is a large plastered surface on which is painted a figure of the deceased in a boat spearing fish, while his son, or a friend, also in a boat, is catching the birds which rise up from the papyrus plants. He is followed by many servants. The painting has been nearly obscured by smoke, and the name and titles of the deceased can only be made out with difficulty. Above the fresco is a niche which probably contained a statue of the deceased. In the early morning the sun shines full upon the fishing scene, and it is best seen at this time. To the left of this scene is a false door, fashioned after the manner of the doors of the VIth Dynasty, and inscribed with the usual scene, table of offerings,

* The characters which are here represented by I could not read.

etc., and the name and titles of the deceased. On each side of the small door within this large door is a standing figure of the deceased making offerings to the gods Anubis and Osiris. To the left of this false door is a hollow which leads to a long winding chamber, which was used in late times for storing mummies, remains of which we found scattered everywhere. I suspect that careful excavations would lead to the discovery of a shaft and chamber in which the man for whom the tomb was originally made was buried. Passing by this, still going to the left, we enter what was originally a second tomb, in which are eighteen rough-hewn round pillars which taper slightly towards the roof. The tomb is of the same period as that of Sabben, and was made for a man of like rank and dignity called Mechu , or Chemu . Maspero thinks that it was violated shortly after it was made, and that it was enlarged, and the partition between the two tombs removed by the new owner about the time of the XIIth Dynasty.* The entrance to this tomb is not made through a door within a door, as in the case of that of Sabben, and there is no trace of the second door ever having existed. The outside wall of the tomb appears never to have been inscribed. On the left hand side of the door is a figure of the deceased Mechu, and close by him is his son Meri, , the 'prince and inspector.' In front of him stands his wife, a priestess of Athor, and above her is inscribed . Beneath these figures is a man called  Ĭ-en-χent offering wine. Above him is the inscription 

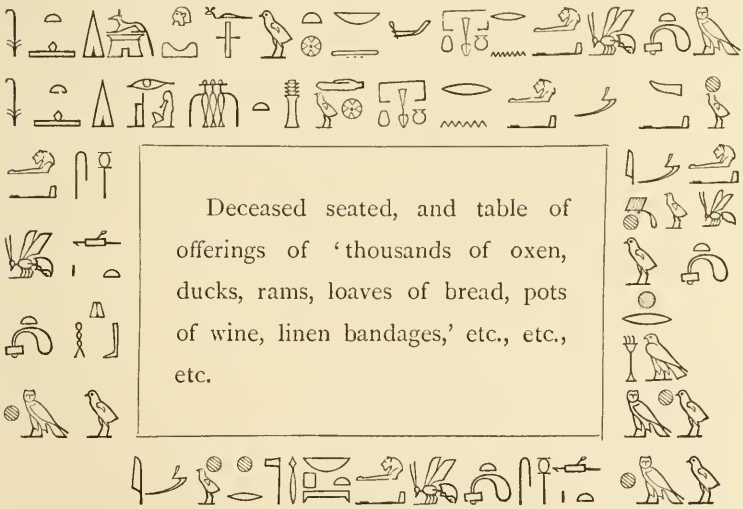


χerp ṣehu smer ḥen ka met en ḥest åmaχu χer neb-f. "The president of the council chamber, the *smer*, the *ka* priest, the devoted to his lord." Next comes his son the *ka* priest, whose name ends in , holding in each hand, and behind him comes his wife Åmå , offering  and his two daughters, Ḥest-f-set

* *Rapport*, p. 35.

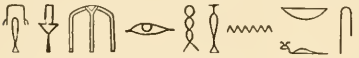
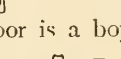
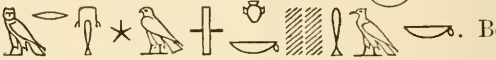
† The character wanting here must be . See Mariette, *Cat. Mon. d'Abydos*, p. 89, where the lady Nebet has the same titles.

, and Inside the tomb, on the right hand side of the door, the wall has been smoothed for a distance of fourteen feet, and upon this are depicted scenes in the life of the deceased Mechu. In the first we see three men each called Ī-en-Chentâ pouring out libations before Mechu, who appears to lean heavily on a stick; as one leg is slightly bent and the knee enlarged, it is probable that he was a lame man. In the second scene Mechu is seen cutting up an animal for sacrifice, and further on he is shown reaping corn and ploughing with yokes of oxen. There are here some spirited representations of the long-eared Egyptian donkey. Between the second pair of pillars from the doorway, resting on three uprights, is a flat stone slab, which served as a table on which to place the sepulchral offerings of the dead. Exactly opposite this table is a raised platform approached by steps. On the wall a false door has been cut, and round about it is inscribed the following :—

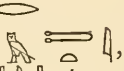


Deceased seated, and table of offerings of 'thousands of oxen, ducks, rams, loaves of bread, pots of wine, linen bandages,' etc., etc., etc.

The inscriptions read, "May Anubis upon his hill and in the city of Ut, the lord of Ta-ser, grant a royal oblation and sepulchral meals to the prince, the inspector Mechu. May Osiris at the head of Abṭu (Abydos) grant a royal oblation and sepulchral meals to the veritable prince Mechu. The prince, the inspector devoted to Horus, Mechu. The prince, the inspector, the extraordinary *smer*,

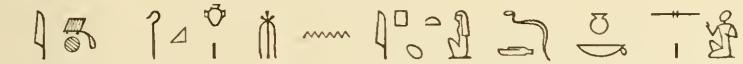
the ministrant, Mechu. Mechu, prince, inspector, extraordinary *smer*, the devoted to the great god the lord of heaven." On several of the pillars of this tomb spaces have been smoothed, and various sepulchral scenes are depicted thereon. On the first pillar on the right-hand side of the door is a figure of the deceased Mechu, and his son, also called Mechu, and his wife  (Sent), offering . On the pillar next this is a figure of a man partly obliterated. On the last pillar of the second row from the door on the right-hand side is a man pouring out a libation, and above him is inscribed  "Set (?)—Neferâ, the *ka* priest, performing the behests of his lord." By his side is his son, called  Sabben. On the last pillar of the third row from the door is a boy called Sabben, offering , and above him is inscribed . Behind him are three males offering two ducks, and . On the second pillar of the second row, on the left, are the figures of a man and his wife and his two daughters. The inscription over the man is—



The wife is called Emteta , the first daughter  Erunṭâ, and the second  Âbâb. The daughters wear long white garments, attached to the neck by a collar. There are one or two other sepulchral scenes inscribed on different parts of the walls, but the examples given above will serve to indicate what they are like. On the wall at the back of the tombs are several smaller false doors, uninscribed, and made at a period subsequent to the hewing

out of the tomb; there are also three small passages, which, so far as I know, have never been excavated. This brings the description of the double tomb (Nos. 25 and 26) to a close.

On leaving this tomb we ascend a little, and, keeping to the left, we find several doors of tombs, but mostly without inscriptions, and calling for no special notice. There is among these, however, one which was made for a man called Ḥeq-âb, and which is remarkable for its shape. A rectangular opening enables the explorer to enter into a low chamber about eight feet by four by three feet. Each wall has been covered with a thin layer of plaster, and upon this has been painted pictures of the deceased, with his wife and attendants. Many of the scenes and inscriptions are entirely defaced, but a few remain. On the left hand wall are three lines of inscription which read:—



âmaχ ḥeq-âb mes en Àpt t'eṭ nuk se

The devoted Ḥeq-âb son of Apt, saying, "I am a person



nemχet meri en ḥeq-f ḥes-f em

'pursuivant' beloved of king his, obedient to him in the



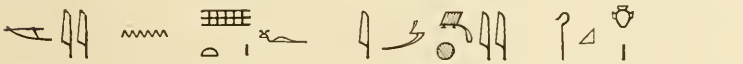
χert ent hru neb t'eṭ nefert nem mert

course of day every, speaking fair, reciprocating love,



śui em t'eṭ ban ḥesi en nutâr-nu-f

void of speaking evil, doing the behests of local deity his,

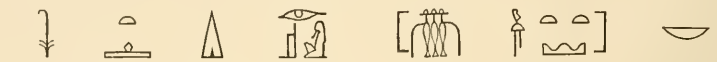


meri en sept (?)-f âmaχi Ḥeq-âb.

beloved of nome his, the devoted Ḥeq-âb."

In the floor of the chamber a deep rectangular opening has been made, and from this a narrow passage runs leading to the coffin chamber. In this passage a small stone seated figure of the deceased,

of exquisite workmanship, was found; it is now in the possession of Sir Edward Malet. Outside the tomb, over the entrance, are four lines of inscription, which read:—



suten ḥetep ṭā Uaṣar χent Ȧmenta neb

Royal oblation give Osiris at the head of Amenta, lord of



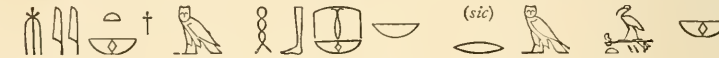
Ȧbṭu em uaset-f neb ṭā-f per χeru

Abydos in places his all, may give he sepulchral meals,



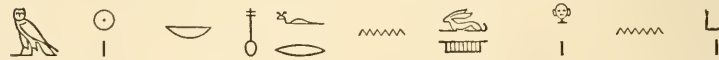
âḥ âpṭ ta em Uaqait em

oxen, ducks, cakes, at the Uaqait festival, at the



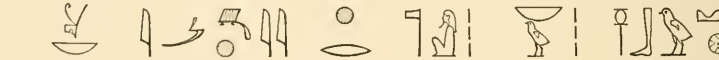
mesit em ḥeb neb (*sic*) er em Teḥuti

Mesit festival, at festival every, at the Thoth festival,



em hru neb nefer en un ḥra§ en ka

on day every good of opening the face of the ka



en neb âmaχ χer nutaru nebu Ȧbṭu

of the lord of fidelity before the gods, the lords of Abydos,



âmaχi ḥeq-âb se Pen-âṭeb â

the devoted Ḥeq-âb, son of Pen-aṭeb-a (?)

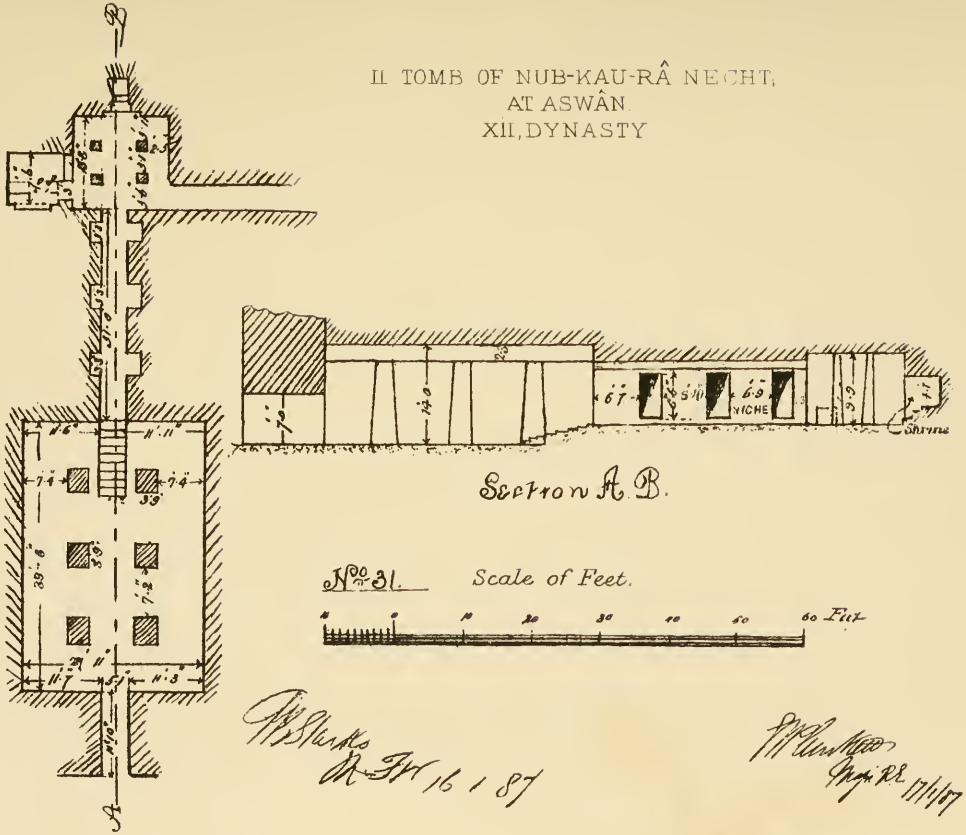
* This festival took place on the 17th and 18th of the month of Thoth.

† See Brugsch, *Kalendarische Inschriften*, p. 243.

‡ This festival took place on the 19th of Thoth. See Brugsch, *Kalendarische Inschriften*, p. 238.

§ *i.e.*, the manifestation of the *ka* of Ḥeq-âb.

II. TOMB OF NUB-KAU-RÂ NECHT,
AT ASWÂN.
XII. DYNASTY



Section A. B.

No. 31. Scale of Feet.

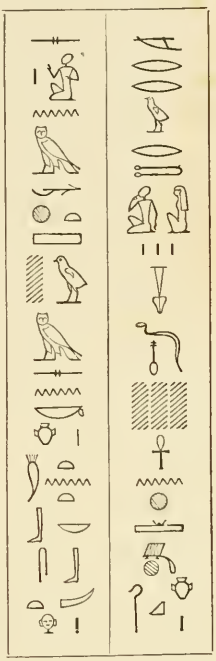
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 Feet

W. M. Flinders Petrie 16/1/87

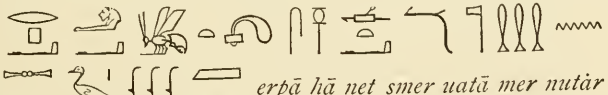
W. M. Flinders Petrie 17/1/87

Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch. Vol. 9 p. 85.

On the right hand side of the doorway are two lines of inscription which run, "May Anubis upon his hill, the lord of Ut give a royal oblation, may he give sepulchral meals of oxen, ducks, and all good things to the *ka* of the devoted Ḥeq-âb, son of Âpet."



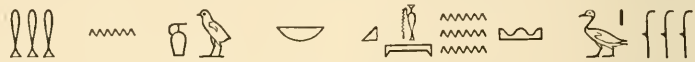
On the left hand side of the doorway are also two lines of hieroglyphics, which I reproduce here, but am unable to translate wholly.

The next most interesting and important of the Aswân tombs is No. 31, or that of Nub-kau-Rā-Neχt, a plan of which is shown on Plate II. The entrance to this tomb is cut in the solid rock, which has been smoothed, and slants back a few degrees to form the front. Having passed through a short passage of twelve feet, a spacious chamber with two rows of massive square hewn pillars, which taper slightly towards the roof, is reached. The walls of this chamber have been smoothed carefully, and are without any inscription or painted plaster lining whatsoever. At the end of this chamber is a slightly vaulted passage about twenty-two feet long, which is approached by an ascent of six steps. The end of the passage opening out of the large chamber was originally hermetically closed by blocks of stone. In each side of the passage, at about equal distances from each other, are three rectangular niches in each of which stands a bearded mummied figure of Osiris. They are all plain and uninscribed save the first on the left hand side as we enter the passage, and some of them have been mutilated. The inscription on the figure reads  *erpā ḥā net smer uatā mer nutâr ḥenu en χnemu ḥer tes Se-renput mātχeru*, "The chief, the prince, the inspector, the extraordinary *smer*, the president of the prophets of Chnem, the superintendent of the frontier (?) Se-renput, triumphant!" Se-renput appears to have taken the tomb originally made for Nub-kau-Rā-neχt, and made it the burial place for himself; the solid Osiris figures which stand in the niches were no doubt intended to have been inscribed with the names of the various members of his

family when they were buried there. In one of these niches there still remains a blank stele, placed there in readiness for inscribing the names and titles of the person to be buried there. On the left hand side of the inscribed figure is a painted funereal scene. Se-renput wearing a collar of rows of various coloured beads and bracelets, stands dressed in a tunic terminating in points above the knees; he holds a sceptre and , and in the four lines of inscription above his head it is said :—

erpā ḥā net smer uatā mer

Chief, prince, inspector, smer extraordinary, president of



ḥenu en Chnemu neb Qebḥ Se-renput

the prophets of Chnemu, lord of Elephantine Se-renput,



t'eṭ ī - nà er ta pen emχet ur en

saying, Come have I to land this after old age to the



åtf åmu nutår-χert åri-nà śet en nutår-å

fathers who are in Nutår-χert, done have I of god my,



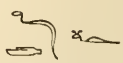
sper-nà år χer ka-f ån åri

come forth have I to ka his, not made [have I]



uau χer-f ån

falsehood before him, not

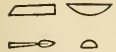
Before him is a line of hieroglyphics which reads 





From a drawing by Lenr Wilkinson, R.I.

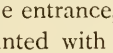
FIGURE OF SE-RENPUT CARVED ON PILLAR IN THE TOMB OF THE SAME



t'eṭ bånå ḥā Se-renput mātχeru neb åmaχ ari en Sati-ḥetep mātχeru nebt åmaχ. Says he, "..... the prince Se-renput, triumphant, lord of devotion, son of Sati-ḥetep, triumphant, lady of devotion." Behind Se-renput is his son Anχu and the inscription

"His son loving to perform his behests in the course of every day, the prince Ānchu, triumphant."

At the end of this passage is a smaller square chamber containing four square pillars. On one side of each of these is a standing figure of Se-renput wearing tunic, necklace or collar, and white sandals with straps tied over the ankles. Each pillar is ornamented with stripes of red, green, yellow, and white colours, and has been inscribed with the name and titles of the deceased. The titles are the same on each pillar, but on one pair he is said to be the 'president of the prophets of Chnem,' and on the other 'president of the prophets of Sati.'*

At the end of this chamber a niche was hewn out of the rock, and was lined with smooth flat slabs of stone plastered over and painted with figures and inscriptions. The roof slab is ornamented with a wave-pattern , painted red upon a yellow ground. The slab facing the entrance, which is well illuminated by the sun about 9 a.m., is painted with a representation of the man for whom the tomb was made, Nub-kau-Rā-neχt. The two lines of hieroglyphics above begin in the middle of the slab, and read:—

1. 

* 

2. 

I. Nub-kau-Rā-neχt, the devoted to Sati, the lady of Elephantine and to the goddess Euχebit.

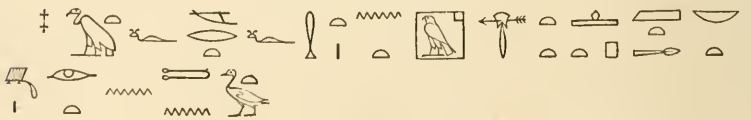
II. Nub-kau-Rā-neχt, the devoted to Chnem the lord of Qebḥ, * by Elephantine.

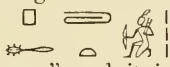
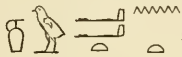
Before the deceased is a table of offerings, by which stands Ānχu, "the son of his body delighting to perform his behests in the course of every day." † On the right-hand slab is painted a table of offerings, and "his mother, loving him, the priestess of Athor, Sati-ḥetep, triumphant, the lady of devotion, the daughter of Tenset." ‡ Behind her stand Se-renput and his wife and son. The six short lines of inscription close by him repeat his titles, and add that he was the 'overseer of the works.' On the left-hand side is painted another figure of Se-renput and the following inscription:—



* Qebḥ was the sacred name of the first nome of Upper Egypt, called usually *Abu* or Elephantine. Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 824.

† 

‡ 

"May Seb, and Anubis in Ut, and Osiris at the head of Âmenta, give a royal oblation and a happy burial to the *ka* of the chief, the prince, the inspector, the extraordinary *smer*, the prince filling the heart of the king (*i.e.*, doing the king's will) as captain of the skirmishers (?) of the door of the opening of the southern lands, the prince, the president of the prophets of Sati the lady of Elephantine, the general of the soldiers, Se-renput, triumphant, lord of devotion." From this inscription we learn that Se-renput not only held the ordinary offices of a ruler of Elephantine, but that he was in addition the officer commanding the whole military force stationed there in general, and of the  *peχert* in particular. The word *peχert* means "runners," and it is clear that some swiftly-moving and lightly armed body of soldiers, useful for attacking the enemy in an irregular way, is intended to be understood by this word. By 'the door of the opening of the lands of the south,' the first cataract is meant. On the other side of the inscription are figures of the son of the deceased and "his beloved wife, the prophet of Athor, Chnemuāātnet, , triumphant, lady of devotion."

As we enter the chamber in which this beautifully painted niche or shrine is situated, we find on the right-hand side a large tunnel or passage, rough-hewn out of the solid rock—and one afternoon a small party of us went to explore this passage, and to find out where it led. Having provided ourselves with lights and ropes, we entered the passage, and found that it bent round to the left, and went down with a rapid descent as well. After a few minutes our way was stopped by a square pit, about fifteen feet deep, into which, having fastened a rope to one of the pillars at the entrance of the passage, we descended, accompanied by showers of small stones and dust. When the latter had subsided we found that, apparently, the pit led nowhere, but closer examination showed that one side of the pit was made of sun-dried mud bricks, evenly and regularly laid. With a little trouble some of these were removed, and we were able to scramble through into what afterwards proved to be a second pit. Here again we found a brick wall, which we proceeded to go through, whereupon we found ourselves a third time in a square pit like the other two, but without any mud brick wall. By this time we found the air very hot and oppressive, and it was so bad that the candles burnt very dimly. After some searching we found in one

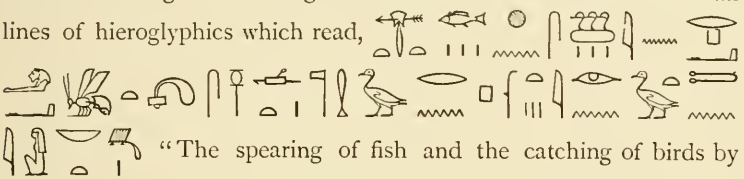
corner of the pit a hollow about two feet deep, which led to a very narrow passage about two feet wide by eighteen inches high. We dragged ourselves through this passage one by one, and found that on the other side there was a fourth square pit or shaft, the sides of which had been carefully smoothed. This shaft was filled nearly to the top with small stones, and was, I believe, the resting-place of the sarcophagus of Nub-kau-Rā-neχt and Se-renput. I noted and measured carefully the direction in which the curved passage and the series of three pits or shafts led, and I made out that the fourth shaft, nearly filled with stones, was exactly under the painted shrine described above. To have emptied this shaft would have taken some time, for only a very few men could work there at once, and as I had to leave Aswân in a few days, I was obliged to give up all thoughts of doing it. The tomb has clearly been ransacked in ancient days, but something might have been found which would have given us a little more information about the lords of Elephantine who were buried in it. Architecturally and artistically this tomb is the best of those excavated by Sir F. Grenfell, and from every point of view is of great interest. Much of the ornamentation is due to the care of the friends of Se-renput; but, unfortunately, there is no means of saying what relationship he bore to Nub-Kau-Rā-neχt, who was an officer under Âmen-em-ḥāt II, the third king of the XIIth Dynasty; it is probable that he was a son.

The tombs that have just been described were opened out and excavated in the winter of 1885-6; I shall now proceed to speak of those which were opened in the winter of 1886-7. After having cleared away the sand from the stone staircase in front of the tomb of Sabben, we dug in several of the tombs in the upper layer, but found nothing except fragments of pottery and remains of badly made mummies. In some of them there had been painted shrines, but these had been smashed to pieces, and only the parts formed by the solid rock remained; in others the walls had been whitewashed. Away round to the north side of the hill there was an opening of a tomb which appeared to be worth a complete clearing out. The whole of the doorway with the exception of a space of two feet, was blocked up with sand, and on each side it was piled up to the height of some yards. The inscription over the doorway showed that the tomb was made in the time of the XIIth Dynasty, and for a man of great importance; it was therefore decided that we should devote

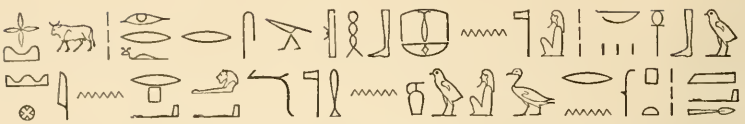


From a drawing by Henry Wallis Esq.

VIEW OF THE BATTLE SACRIFICED TO THE GODS OF ASWAN AND THE STEARING OF FISH
CARVED ON THE OUTER FACE OF THE TOMB OF SIRENPUT

nearly all our forces to the excavation of this promising tomb * Having removed the sand from the sides and door of this tomb No. 32, we found that the surface of the rock was inscribed with scenes and inscriptions for several yards to the right and to the left. The rock slopes at an angle of 30°, and at a distance of six feet from the top of the smoothed rock there runs a hollow ledge along the whole length of the face of the tomb. The door is not situated in the middle of the smoothed part of the rock, the space to the left of it being longer by some feet than that on the right. The rock here and elsewhere in the hill is seamed with layers of soft friable stone, which, through the action of water, has crumbled away and caused much destruction to parts of the tombs. On each side of the doorway are large cracks, which have been filled up and repaired with small stones laid in plaster; and at right angles to the rock are small pylon-shaped openings or alcoves. On the left hand side of the door are inscribed two rows of cattle, and figures of the deceased represented spearing fish and driving cattle along. In front of him are two horizontal lines of hieroglyphics which read,  "The spearing of fish and the catching of birds by the chief, the prince, the inspector, the extraordinary *smer*, the prophet, Se-renput, son of Set-Tenâ, the Lady of devotion." Facing the cattle stands the deceased, and in front of him are two lines of inscription which read 

* The excavations were made by Egyptian soldiers under the direction of Major G. T. Plunkett, R.E., who told off, whenever possible, two or three corporals from the 11th Company of Royal Engineers to superintend the work. When Major Plunkett was ordered to Malta, Major Hare, R.E., undertook the direction in his place. To carry away the sand Colonel Leach, R.E., kindly placed at our disposal several lengths of a small line of railway and a few trucks. It would have been impossible to have done as much work as was done without the steady help of General the Hon. R. H. de Montmorency, Colonel Sandwith, Colonel Chermside, Majors Bagnold, Hepper, Hare and Plunkett, Captains Hales and Handcock, and Lieuts. Stuart, Leahy, Sparks and Cecil King. I am personally greatly indebted to these and many other officers, and I take this opportunity of publicly thanking them, and also the men belonging to the 11th Company of Royal Engineers who were stationed at Aswân during the winter of 1886-7, for their help.



"A view of the bulls, and oxen, and calves, which the chief, the prince, the prophet of Chnemu, Se-renput, triumphant, sacrificed for carrying out the festival of all the gods the lords of Elephantine." The drawings from which the reproductions which accompany this paper were made, are by Henry Wallis, Esq., and represent with great exactness the scenes on the face of the tomb. Facing to the right is another figure of the deceased and two lines of inscription recording his titles and dignities,* from which we learn that he was also "supreme governor of Ethiopia, , and president of the countries of the south."

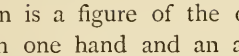
The space to the right hand side of the door is divided into two parts. In the upper the deceased Se-renput is represented sitting on a chair holding . This scene is divided into two parts by three lotus columns, and in each are two women facing to the right; they all hold lotus flowers, and wear head-dresses and necklaces, but have no other clothing. The first lady is "his wife, the beloved of the seat of his heart, the lady of the house, Set-ten;† the second is "his dear mother, Set-ten;"‡ the third is "his dear daughter Sati-hetep;"§

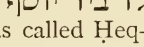
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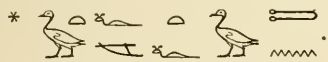
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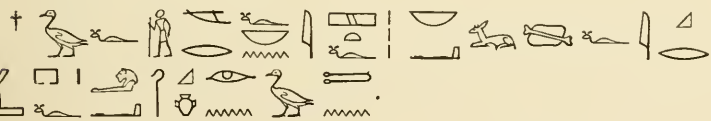
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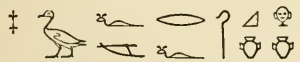
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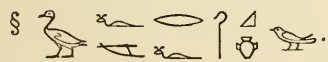
and the fourth is "his dear daughter Set-ten."* In the lower division is a figure of the deceased and that of a man holding a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other, followed by a fine hunting dog. Behind him are the figures of his three sons, the first of whom is described as "his eldest son, loving him the master of his property, the ruler of his heritage, perfectly acquainted with everything going on in his house, the prince Ḥeq-âb, son of Set-ten."† The phrase  *âqer ḳer pa-f*, "perfect in the knowledge of the matters of the house," is interesting, and the trust imposed in the son by the father was exactly that with which Potiphar trusted Joseph, and which is so well described in the words ויעזב כל אשר לו ביד יוסף ולא ידע אתו מאומה (Gen. xxxix, 6). The second son was called Ḥeq-âb, but was distinguished from the eldest son by the epithet  *ḥer-âb*, "the middle;"‡ and the third son was called Ḥeq-âb, and was distinguished from his two brothers by the epithet  '*seràu*,' the youngest.'§

The tomb of Se-renput must have been one of the earliest of the XIIth Dynasty tombs made at Aswân, and his family probably continued to rule there for a considerable period after his death. He was, as we learn from an inscription painted in plaster inside his tomb, an officer in the service of  χeper-ka-Rā or Usertsen I, the second king of Egypt of the XIIth Dynasty. Whether he is the same Se-renput who is shown making offerings in the tomb of Nub-kau-Rā-neχt is not easy to say, but it is very probable; especially as Nub-kau-Rā-neχt lived in the time of Àmenemḥat, the third king of Egypt of the XIIth Dynasty. One of the daughters of Se-renput was called Sati-ḥetep, and the mother of Nub-kau-Rā-neχt was also called Sati-ḥetep, and these I think are one and the same person. The tomb

* 

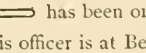
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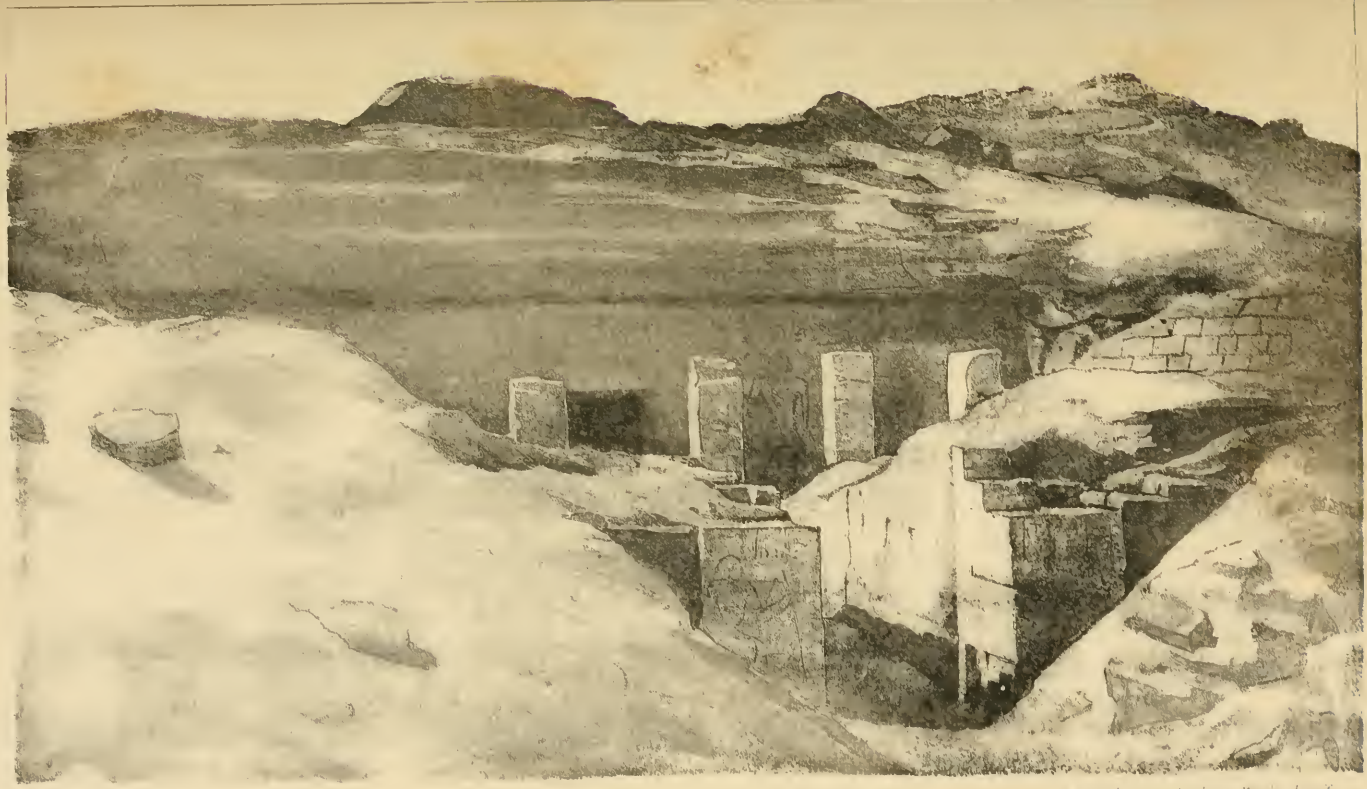
of Ḥeq-âb, which I have described above, is no doubt that of one of the sons of Se-renput, probably of the eldest; and I read the fragments of an inscription in a wrecked tomb which showed that it had been made for Set-ten, a daughter of Set-ten, without doubt the second daughter of Se-renput. It is perfectly clear then that, so far as we know now, Se-renput was the founder of a great family of rulers of Elephantine during the XIIth Dynasty, and that the tombs hewn there were made for himself and his successors. As he was the governor of Ethiopia and the 'commandant' of the garrison of the important frontier town of Aswân, he must have been a man of the greatest importance in the land of Egypt; and however great he was his tomb was worthy of him.

But to return to the description of his tomb. Over the door of the tomb are nine lines of inscription, and on each side are five. These inscriptions have been mutilated in several places through the rending of the rock itself, and the natural decay of the stone, which in places is very friable. I took 'squeezes' of all these inscriptions, but owing to the spoiling of the paper by the rain, they did not preserve the form of the characters, and were quite useless. I hope to have a photograph of the nine lines of inscription shortly, but meanwhile it will be sufficient to say that they contain a very full list of the titles of Se-renput, and his offerings and gifts to the gods, and a statement to the effect that when his majesty Usertsen I went to conquer Ethiopia, he was the king's general-in-chief.* This expedition to Ethiopia took place in the forty-third year of the reign of Usertsen I, and was that in which Âmen-em-ḥât-Âmeni, at the head of four hundred men, distinguished himself so signally.† Usertsen conquered the entire country of Ethiopia as far as Wâdy-Halfa, and a stele found there, which is now at Florence, gives the names of some of the tribes conquered by him;‡ we may be certain that Se-renput and his soldiers were not idle when his lord was marching south.

* In the first line of the inscription over the door we are told that Se-renput was the son of the lady Set-nâ, ; but in the scene inscribed on the right hand side of the door his mother is called Set-ten. In this case I think the  has been omitted by the scribe.

† The grave of this officer is at Beni-hassan, and the text has been published by Lepsius in the *Denkmäler*, II, Bl. 121, 122.

‡ See Champollion, *Notices*, p. 692; and Birch, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1874, pp. 111—113.



From a drawing by Henry Wyatt Esq.r

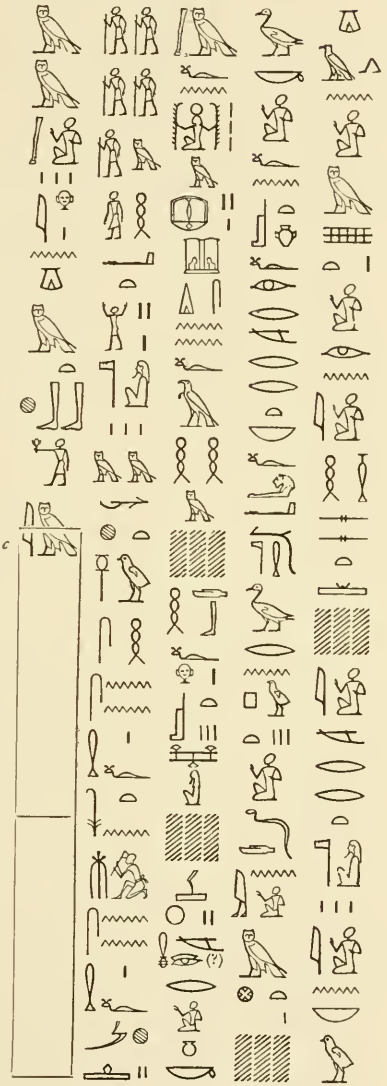
GENERAL VIEW OF OUTER COURT & PILLARS OF THE TOMB OF SE-RENPUT

The inscriptions on the right and left hand sides of the door are as follows:—

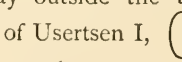
Left Hand Side.



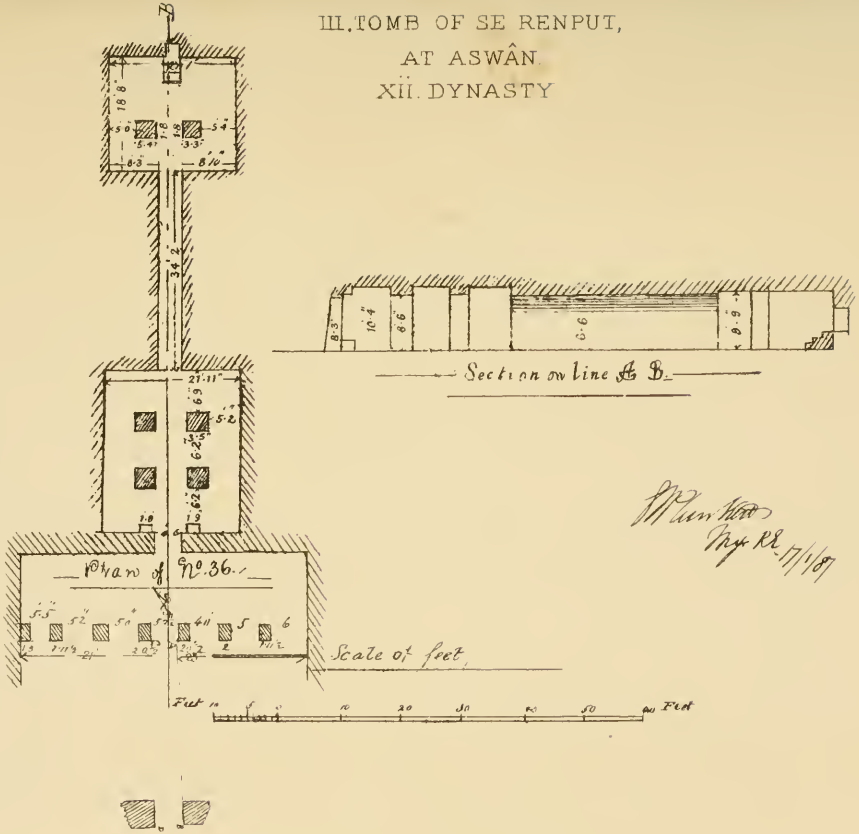
Right Hand Side.



The hieroglyphics enclosed by lines *a*, *b*, *c*, have been carved at a period subsequent to the building of the tomb, on stones which have been inserted by way of repairing the breaks in the surface of the rock; it will be seen, however, that the sculptor has made some mistake, and that the hieroglyphics which he cut do not suit the context. In one case, *c*, two flat slabs of stone have been let in edgewise, and the inscription has been forgotten altogether. When we had dug down about three feet, we came across the remains of square pillars, and further digging showed that there were seven of them; three to the right-hand of the door, and four to the left. They were originally inscribed on all their four sides for about two-thirds of their length, beginning at the top; but the remains of these inscriptions are so fragmentary that they are not worth reproducing here. These pillars must have been about eighteen feet high when complete, and must have supported a roof made of flat slabs of stone, the ends of which rested on the pillars and in the ledge which I have mentioned before, thus forming a sort of covered gallery. The pillars are about two feet square, and are on an average about five feet six inches from each other. Some three weeks' digging enabled us to clear out all the sand from round about these pillars, and we then found that they stood in an open court-yard, 48 ft. 6 in. by 41 ft. 4 in., entered by a doorway formed of blocks of fine white hard stone, which must have been brought from the other side of the river, from the hill near which the modern Fort Harûn has been built. On the blocks of stone of this doorway figures of the deceased Se-renput are cut, and one of these has been drawn by Mr. Wallis, and is reproduced on Plate IV.

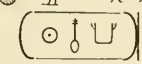
From the brow of the hill, through this doorway and across the courtyard a line of railway was next laid, and the work of clearing out the inner chambers of the tomb began. Day by day for some weeks many tons of sand were drawn out, and after six weeks' work the tomb was emptied. Passing through the door, we find on each side a niche, in which statues of Se-renput probably stood; and then we come to a rectangular chamber having four square pillars, two on each side of the door. Originally the whole wall surface was covered with plaster, and upon it were painted scenes in the life of Se-renput; this has, however, all disappeared with the exception of one piece inscribed with a duplicate copy of the inscriptions found on each side of the doorway outside the tomb. Fortunately, a cartouche with the prenomen of Usertsen I, , has been

III. TOMB OF SE RENPUT,
AT ASWÂN.
XII. DYNASTY



Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch. Nov. 1887.

spared by time and decay, and thus we know the exact period when Se-renput lived. Nothing was found in clearing this chamber except a few small terra-cotta pots of the Roman period. From this chamber we walk through a slightly vaulted passage about thirty-five feet long, and find ourselves in a second rectangular chamber having only two square pillars, and exactly opposite to the doorway is the shrine or niche in which was probably a stone statue of Se-renput. The top and walls are unpainted and perfectly plain, but on the edges are the usual prayers that Anubis and Osiris will grant sepulchral offerings to the dead man. To the left of this niche is the mummy-pit in which Se-renput was buried, but this has long since been rifled, and it is now filled to the top with broken bits of stone and sand. I regret to say that we found absolutely nothing in the tomb but sand, and a few small coarse earthenware jars, and the skeletons of two or three people who had died and had been hidden in the sand, like the Egyptian whom Moses slew. I need hardly say that every one at Aswân was disappointed at the result.

While the digging out of this tomb was proceeding, we had a few men digging at another place in the hill where we had found traces of a second stone staircase. After some few weeks' digging they reached the doorway of another tomb of the VIth Dynasty, made for a 'prince and extraordinary *smer*, and chief scribe of the god Chnemu,' called  Neχu, who lived in the time of Pepi II, whose prenomen  is inscribed on the walls. H.R.H. the Prince of Naples visited this tomb with a small party the morning after it was opened, and expressed himself much pleased with the freshness of the colours, which were painted on the plaster about 5000 years ago. This tomb has now become generally known as the Prince of Naples' tomb. The tomb was irregular in shape, and was filled to within two feet of the roof with fragments of pots and heaps of badly mummied bodies, whose skulls grinned at the intruder from every corner, and whose bones cracked loudly under the feet. This tomb like all the others had been rifled in days of old, and the shrine broken in and smashed, though, curiously enough, the paintings had been untouched. A figure of the deceased Neχu, wearing a spotted leopard skin, is particularly fine, and well worth a visit by any traveller intending to go to Aswân. With the digging-out of this tomb our labours for this year came to an end. The English soldiers were ordered to Cairo, and the plant

belonging to the XIth Company of Royal Engineers, which had been so freely lent to us by Majors Hepper, Hare, and Plunkett, and Captain Hales, had to be taken with them. A month or two after I left Aswân, Colonel Holled Smith came there from Wâdy Halfah, and continued Sir F. W. Grenfell's excavations. He commenced digging in the second ledge of rock near tomb No. 31 and that named after the Prince of Naples. Here he found a rock-hewn rectangular tomb, the roof of which was supported by three pillars. On each side of it, north and south, small chambers were found containing remains of mummies; on the west side was a chamber actually containing mummies. Seeing indications of mummy pits here, excavations were made, and twelve feet down a small passage leading to a pit was found, which was found to contain about 200 uninscribed earthenware pots. Ten feet to the south a second pit was found into which no sand had intruded, and which seemed to be intact. Here, in the centre of the chamber, was a well made mummy in a black painted but uninscribed case. On the top of the coffin two boats, with oars and masts, and pilots at bow and stern, were found in perfect order; in one was a canopy under which was a seated figure. I am glad to be able to say that one of these boats is to be presented to the British Museum, and will arrive in England shortly. At the head of the coffin was a square box which contained the model of a granary. This contains several compartments filled with grain, and over the door of each is an inscription; on the floor of the granary stands a man holding a basket. Some alabaster jars and about 300 earthenware pots were also found. The three pillars in the tomb are decorated with figures of the deceased wearing a leopard skin, and all the walls of the tombs have inscriptions upon them.

And now, it may be asked, "When were the Aswân tombs broken into and robbed; and by whom?" and these questions are not easy to answer. The tombs of Sabben and Meχu and Neχu of the VIth Dynasty were probably opened soon after the end of the rule of this dynasty of Egyptian kings, in the troublous interval between the VIth and XIIth Dynasties; and those of Nub-kau-Rā-neχt and Se-renput, of the XIIth Dynasty, may have been broken into during the period between the XIIth and the XVIIth Dynasties; but I do not think that the destruction wrought in these tombs was by the hands of Egyptians. I am inclined to put down the smashing of the statues and shrines of these tombs to the savage

Cambyses. The way in which he wrecked sarcophagi and mummies is a matter of history, and is too well known to need repetition here; and since we have in the Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, the express statement that his soldiers ሳሠቱ : ሀገረ : አስዋን : "destroyed the town of Aswân,"* we may be sure that the tombs in Contra Syene suffered in like manner. Great damage was also done to Egyptian sepulchres by the crowd of fanatical recluses, anchorites, and ascetics which took up their abode in them. The paintings and representations of Egypt's gods they took for the likenesses of devils, and they wantonly effaced and destroyed them. Nor were the Copts innocent in this respect, for where they did not absolutely destroy Egyptian remains, they carefully plastered over the scenes and inscriptions, as any one may see to this day in one of Ḥāt-shepsu's buildings at Dêr el-Bahari. In the *Revue Egyptologique* for 1882, p. 69, M. Revillout published a very interesting passage from the Coptic life of Pisentios,† the Bishop of Coptos, relating how the holy man took his son John to show him the place in the mountain of Gêmî, ϭⲏⲗⲓ, near Hermonthis, where he lived. After they had walked for three miles they came to a rectangular chamber cut in the rock, the roof of which was supported by six pillars, where they found a large number of mummies in coffins. Pisentios asked his son how long these men had been dead, and John replied, "God knows." Pisentios then advised his son to keep his soul with all diligence, and reminded him that this world would pass away, and that any moment might separate them: after which the young man went to go out. As he was going out he saw a roll of parchment on one of the pillars, which his father unrolled and read, and found that it contained the names of those who had been mummified and laid in this chamber; after Pisentios had read it, he gave it back to his son, who put it back in its place. But for one intelligent and instructed recluse who respected the tombs of the dead, there would be throughout the length of Egypt hundreds of fanatics who would destroy statues, and burn mummies and papyri, with the idea that they were doing a religious act. The hill of the tombs at Aswân was made the seat of a Coptic monastery, and one or two of the

* Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, Évêque de Nikiou*, p. 51, l. 26.

† The Coptic text of this life has recently been published by M. Amélineau under the title, *Étude sur le Christianisme en Égypte au Septième siècle.*

tombs, which had been used and altered freely by the monks, have smoke-effaced *graffiti* scrawled everywhere; here and there too are to be found imitations of Egyptian hieroglyphics such as are to be seen engraved on Gnostic gems, clearly the work of the Roman Period.

On the extreme summit of the hill is a mud-brick dome-shaped erection, built in honour of some local magnate by the Muḥammedan population of Aswân. The inside has been white-washed, and upon it is scrawled everywhere the declaration of the unity of God, prayers for Prophet, and the names of pilgrims who have prayed there. The building is called the 'house of the wind.'

In spite of all the vicissitudes of time and weather, and the destruction wrought on Aswân by Persian, Greek, Roman, Arabic, Turkish and Nubian invaders, the tombs are still wonderful, and their inscriptions most interesting. The stone staircase is unique, and the so-called proto-Doric pillars of the double tomb of Sabben and Mechu, are, so far as I know, not to be met with elsewhere. It is sincerely to be hoped that Sir F. W. Grenfell will continue his excavations, for it is very probable that tombs earlier than the VIth Dynasty may be found there, and it seems very doubtful to me if six dynasties of kings had nearly passed away before it was found out what an excellent place the bold hill of Contra Syene made for sepulture. It is meet too that the Sirdâr, or first soldier of the army of Egypt of to-day, should bring to light and preserve the tombs of his predecessors, the old warrior princes of Elephantine or Aswân who lived and ruled five thousand years ago. In conclusion, I wish to express my obligations to Mr. Le Page Renouf for his help in translating some difficult passages which occur in the inscriptions.

The following Paper, by Dr. W. Pleyte, was read by the Secretary.

ORACLE OF AMON.

Papyrus in the British Museum, No. 10335.

The small Papyrus I have undertaken to treat in the *Proceedings* of our Society is written on both sides. The writing though of the best period, of the XIXth Dynasty, is yet so carelessly executed, that some of the signs defy a positive transcription; many breaks disturb the sense; I give here a commentary on the whole, although some names of things, and some titles of functionaries, may be translated otherwise. The whole is clear enough, and places us before the judgment of the god Amon about a theft made from one of the dependencies of the temple. The text consists of eight lines on the *recto* and eighteen on the *verso*.

An exact copy, or rather a photographic reproduction, would enable my colleagues to correct my transcription of this curious document; the words not transcribed are not wanting in the original, but I could not read them.

1. 





renpit mah snau abot snau šā hiri-ua hān

The second year, the second month of the season šā, the first day, there was

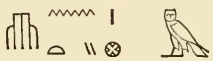
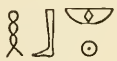





āš en sotem Àmonemheb

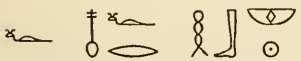
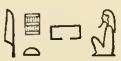
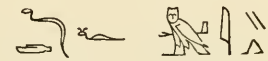
an invocation by the chief priest Amonemheb



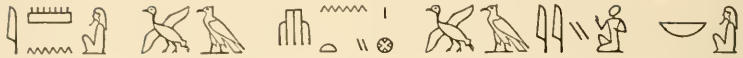
en Àmon pa χonti em heb

to Amon of the χonti at his feast

ef nofre heb ȧpet t'ot ef māi

the beautiful feast of Apet He says O



Âmon pa χonti pai-â neb

Amon *of the* *χonti* *my* *lord*



nofre mer 2. tāuâ Pa-men en

good *beloved,* *I deliver* *Pamen* *of*



ta χau hā-â erχet pa χonti

the *hall.* *I stay* *at* *the* *χonti*



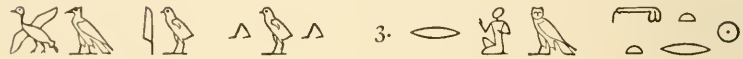
en nu-t-u her sauu ta-ief

of the *citizens* *in order to guard* *its*



šent šetuu tai-ef šaiu—

magazine *to care of* *its* *treasures,*



pa au iu 3. er a em meter

he came *to* *me* *at* *the mid-day,*



āt'au seχt uu-u em-tat-â

stolen *is the book* *of treasures* *from me*



pai-â neb, nofre mer, âu ek ta-a

O my *lord!* *good!* *beloved;* *will you* *render me*



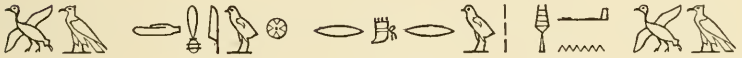
pai-u t'au hān pa nuter
these *robbed things.* *Then the god*



han eruru sop-ui hān Sotemu
bowed *very (deep)* *Then the Chief Priest*



Amonemhab 4. nemuenef nai-u
Amonemheb *began again,* *these*



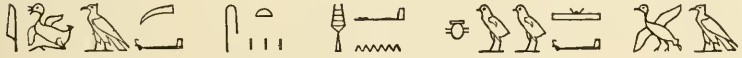
pa temau er-ter-u hān pa
are inhabitants of the city all *Then the*



nuter hān er ābuu pa
god *bowed* *to the* *superintendent of the*



χnum Emneχtamon er t'ot ementuf er
kitchen *Emneχtamon* *and said,* *He has*



åt'au set hān åbuu pa
stolen *it.* *Then* *the superintendent of the*

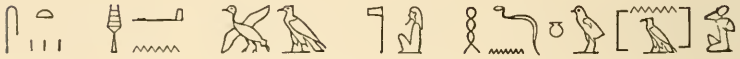


χnum Emneχtamon 5. t'oṭ embah pa
kitchen *Emneχtamon* *saith in the presence of the*



nuter — àt'ai — ânok — er — àt'au

god, — *it is lie* — *that I* — *have* — *stolen*



set — han — pa — nuter — het'ennu na

it. — *Then* — *the* — *god* — *was concerned,*



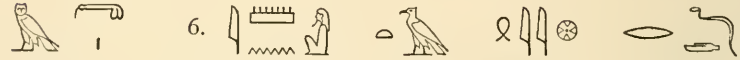
bektu — nemu — sop — an — ábuu

cast down — *Another* — *time* — *the superintendent*



pa — χnum — Emneχtamon — šem

of the — *kitchen* — *Emneχtamon* — *came*



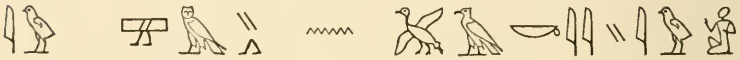
embah — 6. Amon — ta — šeni — er t'ot

to the presence of Amon — *from the* — *šeni* — *saying*



tuà — uab-uà — en — pai-à — nuter

I am pure — *before my* — *god*



àu — šemi — en — Pa - ki-àu

I — *came* — *to* — *Pakiau*



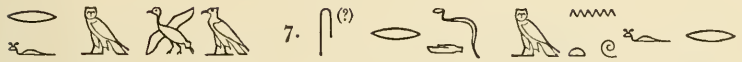
at' - au - ef — ta — er — pai - ef

he has stolen — *the things* — *in* — *his*



uba hān pa nuter han

bower. *Then* *the* *god* *inclined*



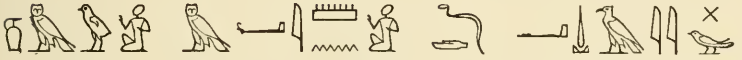
er-ef em pa s er t'oṭ ementuf er

to him from *his* *seat,* *saying,* *he* *has*



t'au set hān ábuu pa

stolen *it.* *Then* *the superintendent of the*



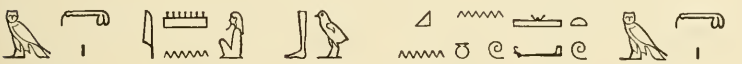
χnum Em - neχt - amen t'ot ā t'ai

kitchen *Emneχtamen* *said* *he is culpable.*



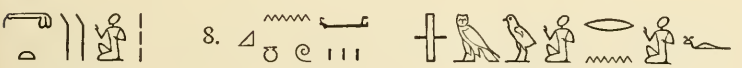
hān pa nuter t'ot at'au su

Then *the* *god* *says:* *He has stolen it*



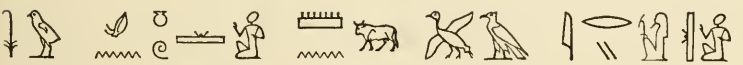
embah Amon bu kennu - tu embah

in presence of Amon, *he shall* *not be tortured* *in presence of*



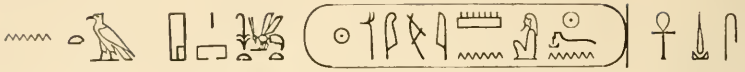
metu kennu Amu - ran-ef

witnesses *many.* *The list of names is*



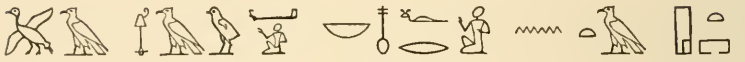
su aṭennu Mena pa ari

this *the officer* *(Pa)men.* *The* *guard*



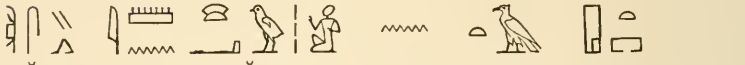
en ta ha - t Rā-user-mā mer-åmon-step-en-rā

of the house of the king



pa ubau Nebnofre en ta ha-t

The artist Nebnofre of the palace.



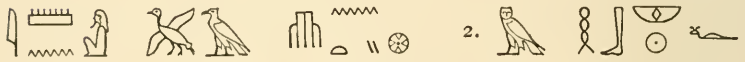
Šesi Amon Šāu en ta hat

The servant Amonšaū of the palace



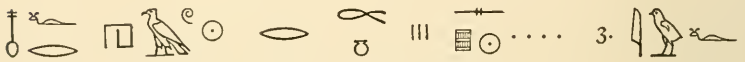
Verso 1. hā - ef nemu sop hā em-bah

He stays a second time He stays before



Amon pa χenti 2. em heb - ef

Amon of the χenti on his feast



nofre hau er mah χemt sop 3. auf

the beautiful day for the third time he



āš er t'ot māiá Amon pa

invokes saying O Amon of the



χenti pai - a neb nofre mer

χenti *my lord good beloved*



anoh | ât'au | 4. | hebesu | hān | pa

I | *have stolen* | | *the clothes.* | *Then* | *the*



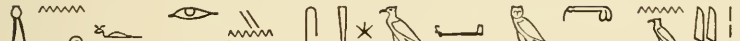
nuter | han | er | ur | sopui | 5. | er t'ot

god | *bowed* | | *very* | *(deep)* | | *saying*



ementuf | at'au | set | au - ef

he has | *stolen* | *it.* | *He shall*



antuef | ari - en - ef | Shā | embah | nai - u

be brought for he shall be flagellated | | | *in presence of the*



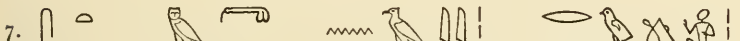
ṭemau | au-ef | ari | 6. | ānχ

inhabitants. | *He must take an oath to his majesty*



embah | pa | nutr | er t'ot | ânok | ât'âu

in presence of the god, | | | *saying I have stolen*



7. | set | embah | nai - u | ṛtuu

| *it* | *before* | *the* | *verificators,*



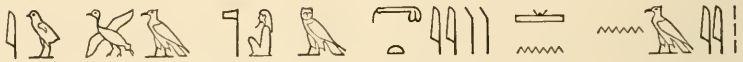
nai - u | seχu | 8. | pai | nemu

the | *scribes,* | | *the* | *orator*



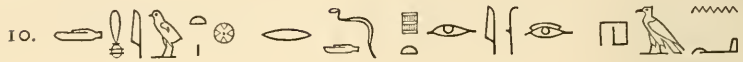
en ubuu pa-men en 9. pa-ptaḥ

of the intendant Pamen of the temple of Ptah.



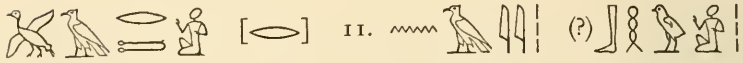
åu pa nuter em meti en nai - u

And the god administered justice to those



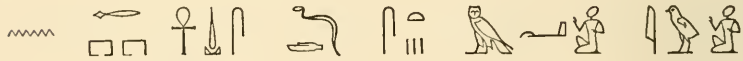
10. temau er t'ot ptar han

of the city saying, See, confessed has



pa rat er 11. naiu beḥu - u

the man to the intendants



en Pharao t'ot set em tot a au a

of the Pharao saying, it is in my hand, I will



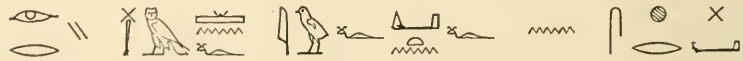
tā u åm 12. reṭuu pen ur en

render it to the verificator the great one of the



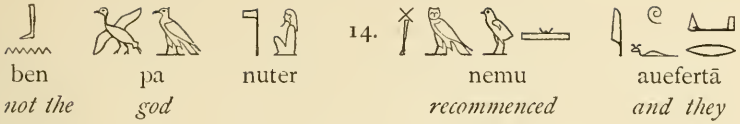
pa hertep en suten Rā-user-mā-step-en-rā 13.

house of the chief of the King Rauserma-step-en-ra.

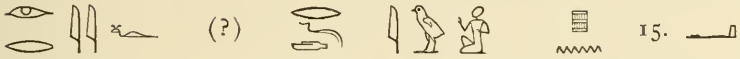


å-a-ri nemuenef āuf-tå-en-ef en seχer

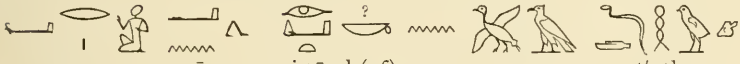
And this they let repeat him. And they delivered him to the chastisement



ben pa nuter 14. nemu auefertā
not the god *recommenced and they*



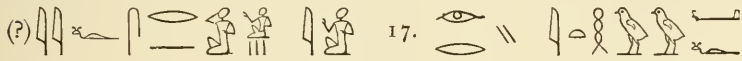
ari-ef (?) er t'ot āu a 15. penā
let him repeat saying I have converted



ra a ān ari tā ek(ef) en pa t'oṯu
my mouth again. And they made him to the prison



em 16. naiu-ef ari u nai-u-ef
by his guards and his



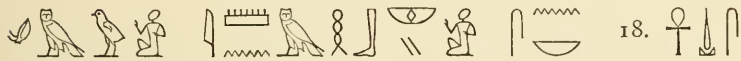
(?) ser-u ȧ 17. ȧri ȧṯḥuu-ef
[magicians and they made him bound



em bah pa nuter set em-tot-ef em met
in the presence of the god. The things in his hands as witness



m han āu pa nuter rtu ȧri
of confession ; and the god made



sotemu Amonemhebi seneb 18.
the chief priest Amonemhebi safe



er t'ot ben šetuu t'au em tot-ef
saying not he has kept the theft in his hand.

Translation.

The second year, the first paophi, there was an invocation by the chief priest Amonemheb to Amon of the χenti at his beautiful feast of Apet.

He says, O Amon of the χenti, my good, beloved Lord! I deliver Pamen of the Hall. I stay at the χenti of the citizens, in order to guard its magazine, to take care of its treasures. He came to me at mid-day. Stolen is the book of the treasures. O my good beloved Lord! wilt thou give back to me those stolen things.

Then the god bowed very deep.

Then the sotem began again. These are all inhabitants of the city.

Then the god inclined to the superintendent of the kitchen, Emneχtamon, and said: He has stolen it.

Then the superintendent of the kitchen, Emneχtamon, said in the presence of the god, It is a lie that I have stolen it.

Then the god was concerned, cast down.

Another time came the superintendent of the kitchen, Emneχtamon, to the presence of Amon of the Seni, and said:

I am pure before my god, I came to Pakiau, he has the stolen things (?) in his bower.

Then the god inclined to him from his seat and said: He has stolen it.

Then the superintendent of the kitchen, Emneχtamon, said: He is culpable.

Then the god says: He has stolen it in the presence of Amon. He shall not be tortured in the presence of so many witnesses.

This is the list of the names:

The officer Pamen, the Guard of the house of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Ra-user-ma Stepenra, the Artist, Nebnofre of the palace; the servant Amonšau of the palace.

He stays a second time.

He stays before Amon of the χenti on his feast, the beautiful day for the third time he invokes, saying:

O Amon of the χenti, good Lord! beloved! Have I stole the clothes?

Then the god bowed very low, and said: He has stolen it; he shall be brought forward, and he shall be whipped in the presence of the inhabitants; he must take an oath to his majesty in presence

of the god, saying: I have stolen it in presence of the witnesses of truth, of the scribes, the orator of the intendant Pamen of the temple of Ptah.

And the god administered justice to those of the city, saying, see, the man has confessed to the intendants of the Pharaoh saying, it is in my hand. I will render it to the verificator of the chief of the temple of Ptah of the house of the King Rā-user-mā-step-en-rā. And this they made him repeat, and they delivered him over to the chastisement.

The god did not recommence.

And they made him confess, saying:

I have converted again my mouth!

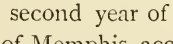
And they had him conducted to the prison by the guards and his magicians. And they bound him in the presence of the god. The things were in his hand as witness of confession.

And the god made the chief priest Amonemheb safe, saying:

He has not kept the stolen goods in his hand.

Commentary.

Line 1, *recto*. The reign of the king and the dynasty are not noted in the manuscript, but we may conclude by the indication of the house of Ramses the II, that the papyrus was written during the reign of one of the kings of the XXth Dynasty, as the character of writing agrees with that time.

In the second year of the reign of Ramses came a *Sotem* or a highpriest of Memphis, according to Dr. Brugsch, named *Amonemheb* to the god Amon, which *Amonemheb* seems to be the same as another of the same name, whose statue yet exists in the museum at Turin. This supposition may be supported by the texts on the back, mentioned by Dr. Brugsch in his *Dictionary of Geography*, p. 1281. The gods Sebak-Rā and Amon-rā-Sonter are named herāb, chiefs of . Amon of χenti occurs nowhere else as far as I know, and thus the connection between the Turin *Amon-em-heb* and that of the Papyrus becomes possible.

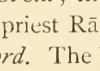
Amonemheb. The reading of the name is not certain, as the endings of proper names are sometimes not to be recognized in the text; we must supply them by conjecture. The Turin statue confirms my reading.

The *χenti* is, according to the late M. Devéria, the harem of the king, but in general it is an enclosure, a building, and has different special significations in connection with its determinatives. It seems here to be one of the dependencies of a temple of Amon, probably at Memphis.

Amonpaχenti seems to be a local god as *Amontašeni: Tašeni* is another part of Memphis according to Dr. Brugsch. It might be translated by *Amonpaχenti* or the *Paχentian Amon* and the *Tašenian Amon.*

Amonemheb invoked the god at his beautiful feast, the feast of Apet. This great feast was celebrated during the second month of the year, *Paophi;* the month was named after the feast *pa-api.* Dr. Brugsch cites a text of the time of Tiberius in his *Thesaurus*, p. 289. A temple was restored at that feast, the beautiful day the second Paophi, the great feast of rejoicing of the whole of the country. *See* also *Thesaurus*, pp. 312, 315, 316, referring to another feast of Amon.

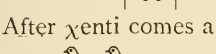
When Pianχi had celebrated the feast of the new year, he was going to Thebes to see the god Amon at his beautiful feast in the month Paophi; he would have him carried round in procession to the city of Apet, at his beautiful feast of Apet, a feast that Rā had instituted for him.

Lines 2, 3. "He says, O Amon of the χenti, my good dear lord." Mr. Le Page Renouf, with whom I had the honour to read this text this summer, called my attention to two other texts published by Dr. Brugsch in his *Receuil*, Part I, XXI and XXII. The texts contain similar subjects, that is to say, oracles of Amon. The second is dated in the reign of Pinot'em; the god is invoked also at a beautiful feast in Apet; the high priest Rāmenχeper invokes the god, saying, *paia neb nofre, my good lord.* The hieratic signs in our text transcribed by *nofre* seem to contain ; if that is the case, the translation would be "*beloved* or *dear chief*," but the texts given in the *Receuil* prove the correct reading to be *nofre.*

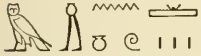
The two following lines present great difficulties, and I believe that some words may be otherwise transcribed, but the end is not at all difficult, and the following sentences make it quite clear that the oracle of Amon is invoked for a theft. The stolen objects are clothes, and the *sotem* was instructed to place them in safety in a magazine.

The name *Pamen* is not certain, the same sign occurs many times in this text. I think it is the lying bull, but it might also be  *Ur* or  *her*, but *Ur* is always written in another manner in our manuscripts, and *her* as a proper name is written *hera* .

The χaut is the *hall*, the *palace* we find it also with the determinative .

After χenti comes a word in the plural; I read it *nu-t-u*, citizens.  occurs twice in the text, but in both instances the word is damaged in the same manner; but this reading is certain.

The transcription *meter* is uncertain; the word might also be translated by another that signifies a compartment.

Seχ is well written, but *uu*, richness, may be the word  *the list of revenues.*

What part *Pamen* plays in the question is not clear. He seems to be a high functionary verifying the statement of the theft.

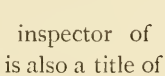
Line 3. "Then the god bowed very low." Dr. Brugsch has given to the words this sense in his history, when referring to the oracle, Plate XXII of the *Receuil*. (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 645, &c.) "Da stimmte der Gott dem gar sehr bei," then the god consented thoroughly to it. I suppose that *han* is to *nod*, to *bow*, to *incline his head*, or give a sign of agreement with arm or head. In what manner the god expressed his consent is not indicated. In the oracle of *Pinot'em* the god speaks nothing, but it is always said of the god that he *han er urur*.

Line 4. *Ābu* is an inspector of the brewers or bakers, the drinks and spices; *χnum* is also a title of a domestic servant employed in the Pharaonic kitchen.

The god indicates thus the kitchen master or superintendent as the thief.

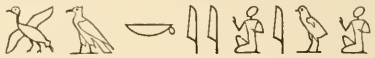
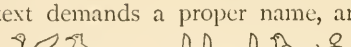
The form *ementuf* is treated by Dr. A. Erman (*Grammatik*, p. 139, § 216 ss), and the titles *ābu* and *χnum* by him and Dr. Brugsch.

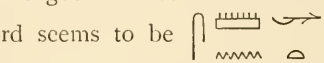
Emneχtamon may also be read *Emtotamon* or *Emtaamon*.

Line 5.  is restored by conjecture: *at'ennu* is an unknown word; *het'ennu* is cited in the dictionary of Dr. Brugsch.

Tašeni; Šeni is the name of different places (see Brugsch, *Dictionary*); also of a quarter of Memphis (*Geogr.* I, pp. 243-44).

Line 6. The form *tua-ub* is restored, and nearly illegible.

Pakiau is written , but the context demands a proper name, and then the characters may be read . I have not found this name in other texts.

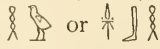
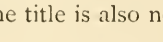
Line 7. The god inclines himself to him from his seat, or his place; the word seems to be .

The end of this sentence is very difficult to read, and other readings than those I have given are possible. We should expect that the god decreed that the thief was to be chastised, but the sense begins with *bu*, *not*.

Line 8. *Am-u-ranef* is the list upon which are written the names of certain persons. (See Brugsch *Dictionary*). The *aṭennu* is named *Men*. I take this sign to be the lying bull.

The title *ari* may have many meanings, and the determination of the meaning of *uba* is not clear.

Verso, line 8. The *retu*, the *seχu*, and the *nemu*, the *ur* or *Pamen*, of the temple, are mentioned as personally present at the punishment, but these words are carelessly written, and my colleagues will read them perhaps otherwise.

Line 11. The initial of the line  or  gives me no title that I can explain in the word  or  of the Pharaoh.

Line 12. This initial of the title is also not certain.

Line 13. *Seχer* may be read *seχet*; both words seem to signify the place of punishment.

Line 14. The word translated by, *to repeat*, is not quite clear to me.

Line 15. *Ari-ta-ek* is unintelligible in this sense, therefore I have changed *ek* into *ef*. *T'oṭhu* is restored. The following titles, *ari-u* and *ser-u* are connected with a group, *kri-ef*, but *kri* is not certain; it seems to signify "to be in connection with;" then the translation would be, "with his guards and the sorcerers belonging to him."

If my translation is accepted, I believe that we have in this judgment of the oracle on a theft a precious relic of the ancient Egyptian administration of justice, a mixture of theology and jurisprudence, but the oracle of the god, and of this there is no doubt, is very singular. Other explanations and translations will no doubt be offered of this document, and my only object in now publishing it is to call forth the opinions of others.

The following Letter was read by the Secretary :—

Mon cher ami,

Je vois que dans la prochaine séance de notre *société* on doit lire un travail de mon vieil ami Pleyte "sur un papyrus du British Museum se rapportant à un oracle égyptien." J'ai moi-même recueilli un assez grand nombre de notes sur un sujet semblable. Mais, en attendant que j'aie le temps de rédiger un mémoire plus complet, je crois devoir vous signaler quelques documents qui ont, ces temps derniers, attiré vivement mon attention : je veux parler des inscriptions démotiques de Nubie.

Dans ces inscriptions il est très fréquemment question des oracles d'Isis de Philée et de Thot de Pnebes (à Dakké) qu'on consultait sans cesse à l'époque romaine, et pendant tout le temps de cet empire *blemmye* auquel j'ai déjà consacré et auquel je vais consacrer encore plusieurs articles de ma *Revue Égyptologique*.

Dans le dernier No. (1—11 de la 5e année), p. 75, je citais les deux inscriptions bilingues (démotiques et grecques) d'Harpaesis venu du fond de l'Éthiopie consulter l'oracle d'Isis de Philée pour une femme qui l'avait chargé de ce pieux pèlerinage. Il disait dans l'une :

"Harpaesis, fils d'Ammonius, a parlé pour la femme et le chef du sanctuaire a fait interroger le dieu au nom éternel en l'an 8 de Sévère et Antonin"

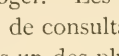
Dans l'autre :

"Harpaesis, fils d'Ammonius, a parlé pour la femme et le chef du sanctuaire a fait interroger le nom des dieux du sanctuaire en l'an 8 de Sévère et Antonin."

Or ici le mot  "interroger" ne laisse aucun doute. C'est celui que les papyrus démotiques gnostiques, ou plutôt magiques, emploient continuellement quand il s'agit des interrogations ma-

giques : "tu feras telle ou telle chose et tu interrogeras* le dieu sur tout ce que tu désires, etc." Souvent les formules de ces interrogations sont données par demande et réponse, ou bien l'on indique les moyens spéciaux pour interroger les divinités mâles ou femelles, les démons, les esprits des morts, etc., et c'est ordinairement , qui signifie interroger. Les magiciens ne faisaient en cela qu'imiter dans leurs cabinets de consultation libres les oracles officiels des temples, † parmi lesquels un des plus célèbres était certainement l'oracle d'Isis de Philée et d'Osiris de l'abaton "le dieu à nom éternel."

Je ne puis énumérer toutes les consultations de l'oracle d'Isis de Philée qui, constatées par des inscriptions, ont été relevées par moi. Le temps me manque maintenant pour ce travail. Je me bornerai seulement à en mentionner une que je n'ai pas encore signalée dans mes travaux déjà parus, et qui présente historiquement un certain intérêt : c'est l'inscription 120 de Lepsius ainsi conçue :

"L'an 23 du roi Pšèru (?) Kšnenfi  on a interrogé le grand oracle d'Isis."

Ainsi que je l'établirai bientôt, ce Pšèru Kšnenfi, par le règne duquel au date dans la ville romaine de Philée, est un des rois Blemmyes qui joignirent à leurs états la Thébaïde, comme ce roi de Thèbes (rex thebæorum) qui fit cadeau d'une si belle statue de basalte au pretendant imperial Pescennius Niger dont il était l'allié, comme ce Psentès roi d'Éthiopie, dont Letronne a publié l'inscription grecque, et comme, empereur (autocrator César Auguste) Pšilaan dont les légendes hiéroglyphiques suivaient à Edfou celles de l'empereur Décius. Au reste ceux que cette histoire si curieuse de l'empire Blemmye intéresse n'auront qu'a lire le No. III de la 5e année de ma *Revue Égyptologique*, qui va paraître sous peu. Revenons en donc à nos oracles éthiopiens.

A côté de l'oracle de Philée, un des plus vénérés des Blemmyes ou Éthiopiens était certainement celui de Pselcis ou Dakké, dont il est question dans l'inscription suivante, qui se trouve à Dakké même et que je n'ai pas encore publiée :

* Le mot = *ouo* sert aussi de synonyme : Voir *Poëme satyrique*, p. 237 et suiv.

† C'est pour cela qu'ils répondaient sur les maladies, aussi bien que sur les désirs, plus ou moins passionnels, de leurs clients. On sait que les temples faisaient de même et que le Serapeum, par exemple, était célèbre par les consultations médicales du dieu, répondant au malade soit dans l'état de veille soit dans l'état de sommeil.

"Le grand fils Siaritu, chef de panégyrie de cette grande majesté, Thot de Pnebes, le dieu grand, et des dieux de la ville de Dakké a fait fête (herut) étant dans le sanctuaire nommé."

"Nous avons fait accomplir les services du *bo en lo** de ce grand dieu, avec Senpet, le grand prêtre, mon frère, en lui (dans ce sanctuaire). *Nous avons parlé au dieu, interrogeant ce grand dieu sur la tête*

* *bo en lo* était le nom Blemmye de la grande panégyrie de Thot, comme *linat'ep* était le nom Blemmye de la grande panégyrie de la déesse Isis, que l'on transportait chaque année en Éthiopie. En égyptien on disait alors : "faire *sortir Isis*," *tipeire*  *nèse :* C'est justement au sujet de cette sortie d'Isis qu'on avait soin de consulter d'avance les différents oracles, pour qu'elle se fît dans de bonnes conditions. Malgré toutes ces précautions, des accidents arrivaient quelquefois en route, comme nous le prouve l'inscription de Xemi. Ce Xemi était arbatenkeri d'Isis ou aprocrysiaire de l'église Blemmye à Philée, spécialement chargé de diriger chaque année le *linatep* ou voyage sacré d'Isis en Éthiopie, du temps de l'empereur chrétien Arcadius (ainsi qu'on le veut par la mention du préfet augustal Archélaüs). Voici le texte en question, déjà cité par moi, avec d'autres de même période, dans ma *Revue Égyptologique :*

"Adoration de Xemi, Arbatenkeri d'Isis, la grande,—devant Isis de Philée dans l'abaton, la déesse grande, vénérable et bonne.—Bonne libation annuelle et pains de propitiation des Éthiopiens de Napata et de la terre de Tateri.

"J'ai fait dix ans d'Arbatenkeri : j'ai aimé le temple d'Isis, étant lié à lui d'un grand lien d'amour, sans jamais briser ce lien. Quand je fus devenu vieux, cassé, mais agissant encore, pendant ces dix ans, par un service juste et parfait, le fils du Kerni de Coptos du lac, l'ennemi puissant, Persée, chef de l'Abaton du mont de vérité d'Éléphantine, vint en haut vers moi, qui étais sans préparatifs pour les recevoir, il vint, dis-je, sans fatigue, au lieu où était le navire. Il fit emporter par ses gens la statue (d'Isis) à Syène, loin de là. Il empêcha par là de faire le droit d'Isis. Il ouvrit le temple de la mère (divine) d'Éléphantine en disant : "Ne venez pas à l'Abaton de Philée." Je passai l'année entière à Philée sans qu'il rendit le chemin libre pour aller au sud. Je passai l'année entière. Voici que je payai l'huile pour l'éclairage d'Isis et cinq talents à ceux qui chantent les hymnes et pour les largesses de la fête—étant venu moi-même adorer à l'Abaton, étant toujours sur le dromos de Philée et à l'extérieur du bourg. L'augustal Archélaüs vint ici. J'allai à lui, à Syène, pour la statue sublime (d'Isis). Il m'accorda (ma demande), en sorte qu'il fit faire le droit du monde sur le temple. Je fis apporter de l'huile *il* pure pour une grande onction et pour une libation à Isis.

"Je m'occupe de la faire voyager (la déesse). Je suis dedans, dehors, pour le *linat'ep* (voyage sacré) d'Isis pour mon Éthiopie. Je prie à savoir : tu me donneras le chemin pour amener aujourd'hui celle-ci (la statue). Que je m'occupe de la faire reposer. Que je m'en aille encore et que tu m'accordes de chanter avec joie, devant le grand frère Pachnumis, dans la chapelle du midi ! Amène-moi à l'intérieur ! Conseille au chef de l'Éthiopie le bien en paix ! Son nom affermise à jamais !"

de 500 *victimes, dans la grande fête d'uka, le* 21 *athyr, pour faire sortir* (3 1 3 ⟋ 𓊪𓏏𓏏𓂋 ⟍) *Isis: et le grand dieu nous donna réponse pour que nous fassions bien toute chose.*

"Thot de Pnebes, le maître du temple, me protègea. Moi Siaritu, en qualité de grand prêtre, j'allai à Philée pour accomplir la divine panégyrie et nous donnâmes *tant* de talents en choiak, à Isis. Mes frères firent fête (*herut*) : nous fîmes aussi cela devant la dame, devant Isis, la grande déesse, sur son dromos—au nom du roi de nos éthiopiens. Ce que le roi de mon Éthiopie avait fait apporter jusqu'au temple de Philée, moi, Siaritu, comme chef de panégyrie, je le donnai dans la place nommée, écrivant ces choses en langage (égyptien) de Syène et en langue du Hitit 𓄿𓃀𓅱𓊵𓏲. On a ainsi accompli les rites prescrits par Mentu, le Kerni d'Isis, l'agent d'Isis, le prince de Xes, mon ami. Après ces choses, moi, Siaritu, chef de panégyrie, je suis revenu en cette place de nouveau, pour t'adorer, dieu grand, etc."

En résumé, Mentu, dont nous avons déjà publié d'autres inscriptions et qui était l'un des deux ministres du roi des Blemmyes lors de l'empereur Sévère Alexandre, avait confié à son "ami" le prince et prêtre Siaritu, également bien connu de nous, la direction des fêtes à accomplir, au nom du roi d'Éthiopie, tant dans le sanctuaire de Thot de Dakké que dans celui d'Isis de Philée. Siaritu présida donc d'abord, comme chef de panégyrie, à la solennité du *bo en lo*, grande fête de Thot. Ce fut à cette occasion qu'il consulta l'oracle sur la sortie d'Isis de Philée, le voyage annuel (*linat'ep*) de sa barque sacrée jusqu'en Éthiopie, voyage annuel dont nous parlent sans cesse nos inscriptions démotiques, et qui avait été déjà décrit également par Priscus, par une inscription grecque de Letronne, etc. Thot, ainsi interrogé sur 500 victimes, donna une réponse favorable. Siaritu s'apprêta donc aussitôt à accomplir la seconde partie de sa mission et il partit pour Philée avec son cortège. Là il offrit à la déesse les présents du roi d'Éthiopie, comme le firent tant d'autres de ses devanciers et de ses successeurs, particulièrement les ministres du roi Terermen contemporain de Théodose et d'Arcadius dont nous avons récemment traduit la si intéressante inscription.* Mais, chose digne de remarque, au lieu de se contenter d'une stèle, soit démotique égyptienne, soit nubienne ou méroïtique, il fit faire de ces

* Voir le Nos. 1–11 de la 5e année de la *Revue Égyptologique* pour cette inscription, excessivement instructive, relative aux lettres suprêmes entre le paganisme expirant et le christianisme triomphant.

évènements un récit bilingue qu'il plaça à Philée même. C'est donc là qu'il faut chercher cette nouvelle pierre de Rosette du meroïtique, ce texte capital, si important à trouver si l'on veut lire enfin avec certitude les textes meroïtiques, que M. Brugsch essaie maintenant d'interpréter sans preuve et sans base. Puisque le dernier No. des *Proceedings* nous montre à Philée un officier anglais s'intéressant à la science et collaborant utilement aux travaux de notre société, nous ne saurions trop l'engager à employer ses hommes à des fouilles jusqu'à ce que l'on ait enfin mis la main sur ce précieux bilingue de Siaritu.*

Quant à l'inscription purement démotique que nous venons de traduire, elle fut rédigée au retour de Siaritu et placée à Dakké dans ce temple de Thot qui avait vu commencer et finir le pèlerinage.

L'oracle de Philée et celui de Dakké ne furent du reste pas les seuls que vénéraient et consultaient les Éthiopiens de cette période. Une autre inscription, datée du regne du chef du peuple Ousouni et que je publie dans le No. de ma *Revue Égyptologique* qui va paraître prouve l'importance de l'oracle de Phripihor de Korta (Korti actuel) auquel le grand prêtre Pachome confie le choix de son successeur.

Mais ceci rentre dans ces désignations royales ou sacerdotales par la divinité aux quelles les textes de Diodore, la stèle de l'intronisation, la stèle éthiopienne du Louvre, etc., nous ont habitué en Nubie et qui s'y rattachaient aux traditions ammôniennes des prêtres et rois de la 21e dynastie, origine probable des princes de Napata. On sait que sous la 21e dynastie Amon décidait lui-même de tout et qu'on le consultait soit dans les procès civils † ou criminels (comme dans le procès des scribes d'Amon, récemment publié par M. Naville) soit dans les affaires politiques (comme dans la stèle du Louvre dite stèle de l'exil), etc. etc.

Je vous serai bien obligé, mon cher ami, de lire cette lettre dans la prochaine séance de notre société.

Agréez, etc., Prof. Eugène Revillout.

* Un de nos chers élèves, M. G. Bénédite, élève diplomé de l'École du Louvre, qui va séjourner cet hiver à Philée, pourra diriger ces recherches au point de vue démotique. Nous recommandons vivement à tous les amis de la science, particulièrement à nos confrères et aux officiers anglais qui pourront protéger son voyage jusqu'en Nubie, ce jeune savant si méritant, qui s'est dévoué à cette œuvre importante.

† C'était aussi Amon qui, dans deux décrets célèbres qu'on a comparés à tort à des contrats de mariage, fixait l'hérédité de deux princesses. Il en était de même pour les décrets d'Amon rendus à l'occasion de funérailles.

ASSYRIAN LETTERS, II.

By S. Alden Smith.

It would be quite true to say that each Assyrian tablet is sufficiently different from all others to require a special study. But every letter or report-tablet absolutely demands for its explanation the use of all the resources of the philologist. He may have succeeded in obtaining a fairly good translation and explanation of one hundred letters, but after that the same laborious method must be pursued with the second hundred. So many entirely new words and forms occur, that the student is often puzzled to know how he shall at all succeed in arriving at a knowledge of the contents of the documents before him. Often the word which forms the key-note to the letter is entirely unknown. The connection with anything else that is known is often so slight, that we are aided very little. In such cases as this it not unfrequently happens that the translations of two independent scholars resemble more nearly the conflicting accounts of the political opponents at the "Round Table Conference," than a translation of the same Assyrian document.

Continued study of this class of tablets has also convinced me that many of them are "gossipy." Sometimes various small matters that seem to have become public talk are brought before the king. Private grievances are stated, and the interference of the king is implored. In others again the writer is a suppliant who asks to be dealt with mercifully by the king. Sometimes again the author is defending himself against the attacks of others. What charges had been made against him can generally only be learned by the hints given in his answers.

A new interest attaches to the collection of letters which follows; they are filled with quite new words, forms, and expressions. These are valuable though we may not be able to explain them. Of course, when two or three such words occur in the same small letter, it cannot be translated with any certainty. It may be possible to give a translation which will make sense, but it will still be doubtful whether we have conveyed the meaning the writer intended.

I give these texts, therefore, realizing how doubtful much that I have written is, but hoping that parallel passages will soon be found which will make many a dark place light.

K. 21.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri bêli-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Nabû-nâdin-šum	*thy servant, Nabû-nâdin-šum.*
lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord.*
Nabû u Marduk a-na šarri	*May Nebo and Merodach to the king,*
be-li-ia lik-ru-bu	*my lord, be gracious.*
ina êlî nam-bur-bi ḫul du-a-bi	*About the explanation of evil of all kinds,*
šarru be-li iš-pur-an-ni	*the king, my lord, has sent to me*
ma-a a-na ši-ia-a-ri	*thus: In the morning*
e-pu-uš û-mu la ṭâbu	*it shall be done, to-day is not good.*
ûmu XXV kan nu-ša-aṣ-bat	*The twenty-fifth day one will cause it to be taken in hand;*
ûmu XXVI kan ni-pa-aš	*the twenty-sixth day, we will do (it);*
u ina êlî it-ti	*and concerning this*
an-ni-ti šarru be-li	*sign, may the king, my lord,*
(dib)-bi-šu	*his word*
lu la id-da-ab-bu-ub	*not speak.*
Bêl u Nabû am-mar	*Bel and Nebo I saw,*
ittu še-tu-uḳ-ḳi	*the sign they caused to advance.*
ma-ṣu a-na šarri bêli-ia	*As? to the king, my lord,*
u-še-tu-uḳ-ḳu	*they cause to advance,*
šarru be-li lu la i-pa-luḫ.	*may the king, my lord, not fear.*

Remarks.

This text is quoted by Strassmaier, A V (*cf.* Bezold, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 237). It is written in quite clear Assyrian, and only two or three places are at all doubtful. The letter seems to be an answer to the king, who had written asking for some explanations. The day being unpropitious, the answer could not be given at once, but the matter should receive immediate attention.

Line 6. I have transcribed this line into Accadian, since the Assyrians themselves probably pronounced it thus. For the value

of the sign 𒀀𒈾, *cf.* S^{b} 171–2, where it is explained by *pa-ša-ru*. It, therefore, means "explanation." Whether *nam-bul* was ever pronounced in this way, I am unable to say. The character *bi* corresponds to the suffix *šu* in Assyrian. *Cf.* K. 1794, col. X. (*Asurbanipaltexte, Hefte II*). 𒆳 𒁹 𒆳, is the Assyrian *kâlama*.

Line 8. *Ši-ia-a-ri*. Strassmaier, A V No. 7034 gives incorrectly 𒀀𒈾 *-ia-a-ri*. *Cf.* the Hebrew שָׁחַר.

Line 12. *It-ti*. This word and the first one in line 17 are to be derived from the Hebrew אוֹת.

Line 14. *Dib-bi-šu*. This is the most probable restoration of the line. The root is דבב, from which the verb *id-da-ab-bu-ub* in the following line also comes.

Line 17. *Še-tu-uḳ-ḳi*. The sign 𒀀𒄑 is not certain, though it seems to me highly probable. The tablet is badly broken. The stem is אתק. The form is shaphel permansive.

Line 18. *Ma-ṣu*. *Cf.* Strassmaier, A V No. 5097, V R 29, 65. 66, where this word is explained by 𒁲𒈾, which certainly means "as."

Line 19. *U-še-tu-uḳ-ḳi*, is to be derived from אתק.

K. 80.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri be-li-a	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Nabû-nâdin-šum	*thy servant, Nabû-nâdin-šum.*
lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri be-li-a	*Peace to the king, my lord.*
Nabû Marduk a-na šarri	*May Nebo, Merodach to the king,*
5 be-li-ia lik-ru-bu	*my lord be gracious.*
ina êlî taḳ-pi-ir-ti	*As to the digging* (?),
ša ṭe-e-mu šak-na-ku-ni	*about which command has been given,*
at-ta-lak taḳ-pi-ir-tu	*I went. The work of digging*
da-at-tu u-sa-aṣ-bit	*immediately* (?) *I caused to be taken in hand,*
10 ultu Ni-nu-a	*from Nineveh*
pag-lu ša âli Zi-	*the canal of Zi-*
uk-te-li-[lu?]	*I finished.*
a-du âli Sa-si-na-ni	*To the city of Sasinani*
at-ta-lak ṭe-e-mu	*I went; command*

15	a-na am. da-a-a-li	*to the* Dâ'ali,
	ša ultu Ninua	*who from Nineveh*
	is-si-ia u-ṣa-an-ni	*with me went forth*
	u a-na am. da-a-a-li	*and to the* Dâ'ali
	ša Kal-ḫa a-sa-kan-šu-nu	*of Kalach I gave.*
20	mu-uk tu-ba-la	*Therefore* (?) *thou shalt bring* (*them*),
	ina lib-bi âli Ka-šap-pa	*into Kasappa*
	tu-ša-lik-a	*thou shalt cause* (*them*) *to enter.*

Remarks.

This tablet is perfect except part of two signs in line 9, obverse, and the ends of the last two lines of the same side are broken away. The writing is Assyrian. It has not been mentioned anywhere before. I am not at all sure that I have the right idea of the contents of this letter. It all turns upon the derivation given to *taḳ-pi-ir-ti*. It seems to me to be connected with the root קבר from which we have *Ḳabru* "grave," the Hebrew קֶבֶר. *Cf.* Strassm., A V No. 7305. The form of the word which we have here is unknown to me elsewhere, and when other passages are found, the connection may compel us to seek for another derivation and explanation.

Line 7, *šak-na-ku-ni*. The root is שכי.

Line 9, *da-at-tu*. I think the text reading is without doubt correct; part of *tu* is however broken away. The word is entirely new, and I have no explanation to offer. It may be an adjective qualifying *taḳ-pi-ir-tu*, or it may be an adverb belonging to the verb. I have taken it in the latter sense and given it a meaning which seemed to me to suit the connection.

Line 11, *paḳ-lu*. The reading may be *ḫu-lu*. Here again I have been compelled to translate according to the connection, without being able to explain the word.—The sign  seems to me quite certain, but the following two characters I cannot make out with any certainty. The traces of the first lend themselves to  or some other character beginning in that way. For the last sign, what I see is . Strassmaier suggested to me the restoration *kir-tu*, since the name occurs elsewhere.

Line 12, *uk-te-li-*[*lu*(?)]. I am obliged to Mr. Strassmaier for this completion. The root is כלל, "to complete."

Line 15. It is impossible to tell what functionary is meant by the *Dâ'ali*.

Line 20, *mu-uk*. I think that this word is to be written with ב, for I have found it elsewhere written 𒀀𒈾. *Cf.* K. 662, 36 (Strass., A V No. 5452), *mu-uk šarri lu-ki-na-an-ni-ni*, "therefore (?) may the king establish me." *Nu-uk*(*ug*) is perhaps the same word. The particle 𒀀𒉡 is also found; it seems to correspond to the Latin "quod" and the Greek ὅτι. *Cf.* also בְּיָא. This *mu-uk* may be a formation like the Syriac מִכַּן. See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, p. 204. The stem is quite certainly pronominal.

Line 22, *tu-ša-lik-a*. This word is the Shaphel form of הלך.

K. 81.

Transcription.

A-na šarri mâtâtê be-li-ia
ardu-ka Kudurru Uruk u Bitan-na
a-na šarri mâtâtê be-li-ia lik-ru-bu
û-um-us-su Ištar Uruk u Na-na-a
a-na balaṭ napšâtê šarri bêli-ia u-ṣal-lu
Ba-ša-a am. apil šipri (?) ša sarri be-li-a
a-na bul-ṭi-ia iš-pu-ra
ub-tal-liṭ-an-ni ilâni rabûtê
ša šame-e u irṣi-tim a-na šarri bêli-a
lik-tar-ra-bu u kussu šarri bêli-ia
lib-bu-u šame-e a-na da-riš lu-kin-nu
ša mi-i-tu a-na-ku u šarru bêli-ia
u-bal-liṭ-an-ni ṭa-ab-ta-a-ti
ša šarri be-li-ia i-na muḫ-ḫi-ia
ma-'-da a-na a-ma-ru
ša šarru be-li-ia at-tal-ka
um-ma al-lak-ma pa-ni ša šarri bêli-ia
am-mar-ma u-rad-di-e-ma
a-bal-luṭ am. rab *mu* ul-tu harrâna
a-na Uruk
ut-tir-ra-an-ni
um-ma am. rab ka-ṣir
ul-tu êkalli âli Ḳu
a-na muḫ-ḫi-ka it-ta ša-'

25 it-ti-ia ana Uruk
ta-nam-ḫi-iṣ-ma
ṭi-e-mu i-šag-gan-ga
a-na Uruk ut-tir-an-ni
šarru bêli-a lu-u i-di.

Translation.

To the king of countries, my lord,
thy servant Kudurru. May Erech and Bitanna
to the king of countries, my lord, be gracious.
Daily (?) *to Istar of Erech and Nanâ*
5 *for the saving of the life of the king, my lord, I pray,*
Basa, the Messenger (?) *of the king, my lord,*
for my life sent;
he preserved my life. May the great gods
of heaven and earth to the king, my lord,
10 *be gracious and the throne of the king, my lord,*
in the midst of the heavens for ever establish.
For I was to die and the king, my lord,
preserved my life; the benefits
of the king, my lord, to me
15 (*are*) *many. To see*
the king, my lord, I went.
Thus I went, and in presence of the king, my lord,
I saw and came forth and
shall live. The chief of the Mu *from the roads*
20 *to Erech*
has returned to me,
thus: the chief of the forces
from the palace of Ḳu
to thee was brought.
25 *with me to Erech*
thou shalt urge (*him*) *forward and*
news will be given.
To Erech he will return to me.
May the king, my lord, know.

Remarks.

This letter is written in very clear, new Babylonian. The writer seems to have lived at Erech, for the gods of this city are mentioned.

The expression in the second line (Erech and Bitanna) probably stands for all the gods of these places, as Mr. Pinches suggested to me. The letter, like many others from Babylonia, is very flattering to the Assyrian king. It may be that the writer desired to convince the king of his loyalty; I am—however, often inclined to doubt the sincerity of many of those generals and other officials of Babylonia, who professed such devotion to the will and wish of the great king. For, it must be remembered, that the Babylonians were struggling for their independence, and hence they were ready to do anything that was likely to aid them in attaining that end. Asurbanipal himself tells us that his brother Šamaš-šum-ukîn, the king of Babylon, constantly professed loyalty with his lips, while in his heart he was planning a most rebellious revolt. These letters, therefore, may have been intended to deceive.

Line 4, *û-mu-us-su*. I think that this word is an adverb from יום, "day." *Assurbanipaltexte Heft* II, pp. 41. 75.

Line 6. I am uncertain what the seventh sign is, but the reading  suits the connection. The character is badly broken on the tablet.

Line 10, *lik-tar-ra-bu*, is Iftaal, from ברב, "to be gracious."

Line 19, *am. rab Mu*. It may be that instead of *mu* we are to read , the numeral sign for 50. Mr. Pinches, however, sees also *mu*, and thinks that he has found such an official elsewhere, but we could not find a passage.

Line 23, *Ḳu*. This seems to be the name of a city, but I am unacquainted with the name in other passages.

Line 24, *it-ta-ša-'* is Iftaal, from נשוא.

Line 26, *ta-nam-ḫi-iṣ-ma*. I derive this word from the root נחץ, which occurs in several passages in my *Asurbanipaltexte*, *Heft* II. See the remarks p. 53.

Line 27, *i-šag-gan-ga*, is a very peculiar form, undoubtedly from the root שכן.

K. 89.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri bêli-ni	*To the king, our lord,*
ardâni-ka	*thy servants,*
Marduk-šum-iddin (?)	*Marduk-šum-iddin,*

	Na-ṣi-ru A-gar-a-a	*Naṣiru, Agarâ'.*
5	Nabû Marduk	*May Nebo (and) Merodach*
	a-na šarri bêli-ni	*to the king, our lord,*
	lik-ru-bu	*be gracious.*
	til-li-ni	*Our work*
	ina lib-bi ki-ir-si	*in the cold* (?)
10	i-ba-aš-ši	*was.*
	sarru bêli-ni	*May the king, our lord,*
	a-na Sa-ṣi-di	*to Saṣidi*
	ṭi-e-mu	*command*
	liš-ku-un	*give,*
15	lu-še-ṣu-na-ši	*may he cause (him) to go out to us.*
	me-mê-ni	*All*
	la u-ram-ma-na-ši	*do not love us;*
	la nu-ṣa	*we will not go forth.*

Remarks.

This is a very curious letter; I am not sure that I understand what is intended by it. The three mentioned as servants of the king seem to have been entrusted with some official work and to be now making a report upon it to the king. If my understanding and rendering of it be correct, they make the complaint which doubtless most officials of their time could have made, "nobody loves us." Oriental rulers or officials of any kind, have never been specially loved by their people, chiefly because they were despotic, and took away or abridged the rights and privileges of the governed. But officials in many another land may also complain, "none love us."

Line 9, *ki-ir-si.* This is a difficult word. It occurs also K. 113, 6. I think that the Arabic قرس "to freeze" is to be compared. According to this, the meaning may be "ice," "snow" or "frost," but I have preferred to use the general term "cold." I have elsewhere found the writing 𒄑𒊭𒊭 𒄑𒌋.

Line 15, *lu-še-ṣu-na-ši.* I think this must be the correct reading, although the original is not very clear. The form is the precative of the shaphel from יצא with the suffix of the 1st pers. plu.

Line 16, *me-mê-ni.* I take this word to be the plural of the well-known indefinite pronoun *manman, mamma*, etc. *Cf.* Pinches in my *Assurbanipal texte, Heft II*, p. 63.

Line 17, *u-ram-ma-na-ši* I derive from the root רא֫ם "to love."

K. 478.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na ummi šarri	*To the mother of the king,*
be-li-ia	*my lord,*
ardu-ka A-ša-ri-du	*thy servant, Asaridu.*
Nabû u Marduk	*May Nebo and Merodach*
a-na ummi šarri	*to the mother of the king,*
be-li-ia lik-ru-bu	*my lord, be gracious.*
û-mu-us-su	*Daily* (?)
Nergal u La-as	*to Nergal and Merodach*
a-na balaṭ napšâtê	*to preserve the life*
ša šarri u ummi šarri	*of the king and the mother of the king,*
be-li pl.	*the lords,*
u-ṣal-lu	*I pray.*
šul-mu a-na âli	*Peace to the city*
u bît ilâni	*and to the palace of the gods*
ša šarri u a-du-u	*of the king; and now*
ma-aṣ-ṣar-tu	*the watch*
ša šarri be-li-ia	*of the king, my lord,*
a-na-aṣ-ṣar	*I keep.*

Remarks.

This small tablet is merely a letter of congratulation as others in our collection are. They are simple, since the words they contain are of such frequent repetition. This text is quoted by Strassmaier, A V *Cf.* Bezold, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 261. Part of the name is wanting here, but I see it plainly enough on the tablet.

Line 8, *La-as.* I am uncertain how this name is to be read; I know no passage that decides it.

K. 481.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri bêli-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Na-bu-u-a	*thy servant, Nabûa.*
Aššûr Ša-maš	*May Asur, Samas,*
Bêl Nabû	*Bel, Nebo,*
a-na-šarri bêli-ia	*to the king, my lord,*
lik-ru-bu	*be gracious;*

ṣu-um-rat lib-bi	*the wish of the heart*
a-na šarri bêli-ia	*to the king, my lord,*
lu-šak-ši- du	*may it cause to take.*
ma-ṣar-tu	*The watch*
ni-ta-ṣar	*we keep;*
ûmu XIV kam Sin Šamaš	*on the fourteenth day the moon and sun*
a-ḫi-is	*together*
e-ta-am-ru	*were seen.*

Remarks.

Strassmaier, A V, Nos. 415, 5096, 5696, has given part of this text quite correctly. *Cf.* Bezold, *Lit.*, p. 262. The letter probably came from an astrologer, or some one whose duty it was to observe the movements of the heavenly bodies, and foretell coming events by them. The meaning of the appearance of the sun and moon at the same moment which is here communicated, was doubtless very well known.

Line 7, *ṣu-um-rat.* The root of this word is צמר. *Cf.* W.A.I., V 16, 44, *ṣu-um-mu-ru.* This expression occurs frequently in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal and elsewhere.

Line 9, *lu-šak-ši-du*, is the precative of the shaphel of בשׂד.

Line 14, *e-tam-ru*, is to be derived from אמר, "to see."

K. 493.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri be-li-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Marduk(?)-šum(?)-iddin	*thy servant, Marduk(?)-šum(?)-iddin.*
lu šul-mu a-na šarri	*Peace to the king,*
be-li-ia a-dan-niš a-dan-niš	*my lord. Constantly, constantly*
Nabû Marduk a-na šarri	*may Nebo (and) Merodach to the king,*
be-li-ia lik-ru-bu	*my lord, be gracious.*
XXV u-ra-a-te	25 *animals*(?) (*for offerings*)
ša na-kan-te	*from the treasury*
ša III pi-ir-ra-a-ni	*of which three (are) young*(?)
ša Kal-ḫi	*from Kalach*
ša Ni-nu-a	*from Nineveh*

	ša Dûr-šar-ukin	*from Dûr-šar-ukin*
	it-tal-ka-a-ni	*have arrived;*
	la as-ṭi-e-ri	*they are not provided for*(?).
15	ina ši-a-ri	*In the morning*
	mi-i-nu	*the count* (*will be made*),
	ša šarru be-li	*as the king, my lord*
	i-ḳab-bu-u-ni	*has commanded.*

Remarks.

This letter has been translated by Mr. Pinches in the *Records of the Past*, Vol. XI, p. 75. My translation differs from his throughout, but it will be observed that many of my renderings are queried. The translation of my valued friend in the R. P. cannot certainly lay claim to correctness, as he now freely admits. It should certainly have been put forward doubtfully from the first. Mr. Pinches has since labelled the tablet: "About Horses and Mares," and in a private communication he still maintains it; I cannot, however, see that the reasons for it justify the translation, and hence I have not adopted it. The above translation must be regarded as very doubtful. I should not have given it, but the text has never been edited, and it belongs to the collection of letters which this series of papers is intended to give.

Line 7, *u-ra-a-te.* For the meaning "horses," Mr. Pinches refers me to his paper in the *Proceedings* for April 1st, 1884, p. 159, line 53, *am. u-ri-e*, *u-ra-a;* but it does not seem to me that the translation "master of horses, foals," is necessary or conclusive. My translation makes the word mean animals in general for offering.

Line 8, *na-kan-te.* The root of this word seems certainly to be נכם, "to heap up." See the passages given under this word in the *Glossar* to *Heft I*, of my *Asurbanipaltexte. Cf.* further W.A.I., V 13, 20, *en-nu-un na-kan-tum*, | ditto (*ma-ṣar*) *na-ka-an-ti.* Asurnaṣirpal II, 64. The word certainly means "treasury." It appears to be the place where all things necessary for the temple service were kept.

Line 9, *pi-ir-ra-a-ni*, seems to be connected with פרח, "young," though I am not certain about it.

Line 14. I think that the characters following *la* form one word, *as-ṭi-e-ri.* I connect the word with the Syriac ܐܣܛ; of this, however, I am in doubt.

K. 498.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri be-li-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Rammânu-ibnî	*thy servant, Rammânu-ibnî.*
lu šul-mu a-na šarri	*Peace to the king,*
be-li-ia	*my lord.*
apil Bâbîli	*The son of Babylon,*
šu-u ina muḫ-ḫi-ia	*he to me*
it-tal-ka ma-a di-bi	*came; both the word*
ina pi-ia ma-a ina êkalli	*in my mouth and in the palace*
lu-bi-lu-u-ni	*may he bring.*
u-ma-a an-nu-šim	*Now at once*
ina pa-an šarri be-li-ia	*before the king, my lord,*
u-si-bi-la-šu	*I will bring him.*
šarru be-li liš-al-šu	*May the king, my lord, ask him*
me-nu ša di-bi-šu-u-ni	*what their words (are).*
ûmu XXVIII kan ultu libbi	*On the 28th day from*
Za-ad-di	*Zaddi*
ina pa-an šarri be-li-ia	*before the king, my lord,*
u-si-bi-la-šu	*I will bring him.*

Remarks.

There is little to be noticed, though it is not easy to see the meaning of the tablet as a whole.

Line 7, , I regard as the same word as *dib-bi*, which is usually found. The root is of course דבב.

Line 16, *Za-ad-di*. *Cf.* as passages where this word occurs W.A.I., I, pl. 33, Col. II, line 10; pl. 34, Col. IV, line 2.

K. 522.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri bêli-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Ištar-šum-êreš	*thy servant, Istar-šum-êreš.*
lu šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord.*
Nabû u Marduk	*May Nebo and Merodach*
a-na šarri bêli-ia	*to the king, my lord,*
lik-ru-bu	*be gracious.*
ša šarri be-li	*As to what the king, my lord,*
iš-pur-an-ni	*has sent to me,*

	ma-a i-ṣir(?)-tu-u	*thus; the document* (?)
10	me-me-ni ina lib-bi	*whatever in the midst*
	ša-aṭ-rat	*is written,*
	ub-ta-'-i	*I have sought.*
	la aš-šu	*There is not;*
	i-ṣir-tu	*the document* (?)
15	la ša-aṭ-rat.	*is not written.*

Remarks.

This letter is quoted by Strassmaier A V in several places. See Bezold, *Lit.*, p. 264. He has, however, given ⟨⟨⟨ doubtfully at the end of line 2, which does not exist on the tablet.

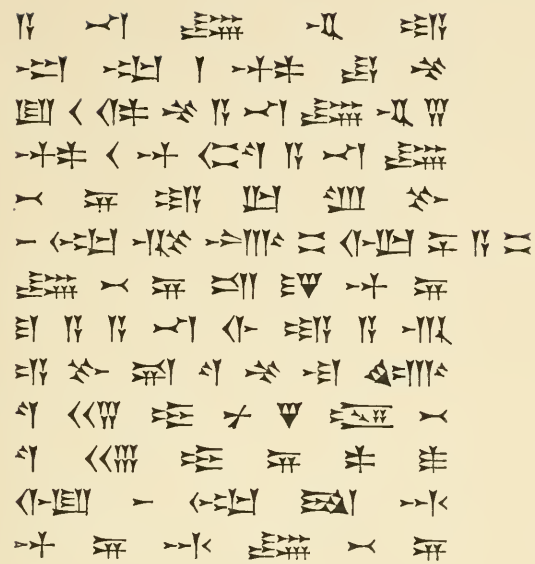
Line 9, *i-ṣir*(?)*-tu-u.* I cannot explain this word. My translation is only what the connection seems to me to demand.

Line 12, *ub-ta-'-i.* This word is to be derived from בקשׁ, "to seek."

Line 13, *la aš-šu. Cf.* Arabic لنس.

PLATE I.

K. 21.



REVERSE.

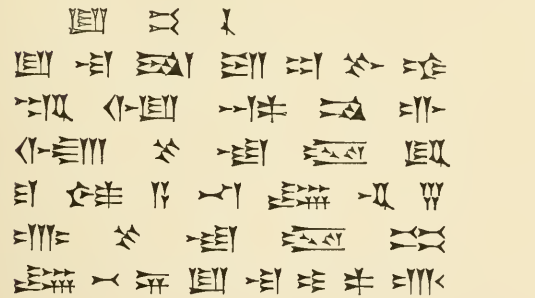
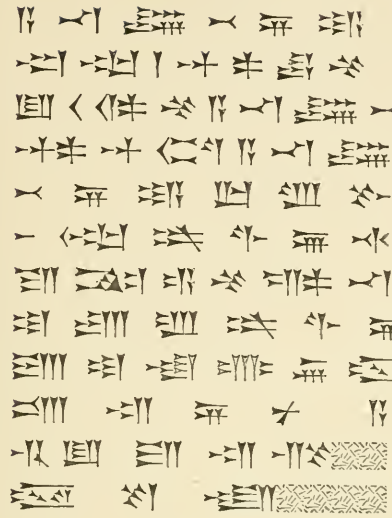


PLATE II.

K. 80.



REVERSE.

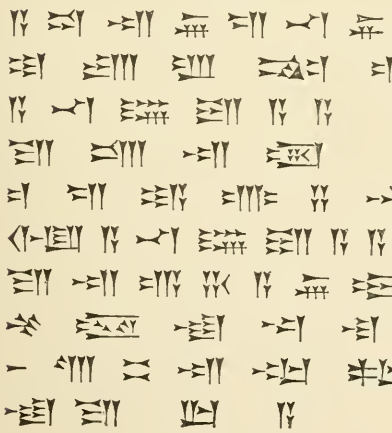
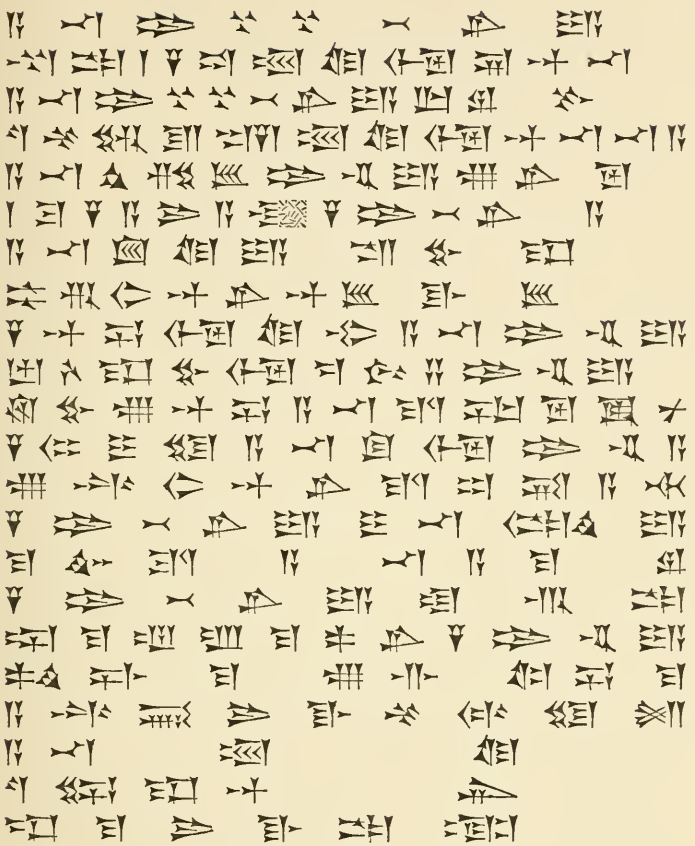


PLATE III.

K. 81.

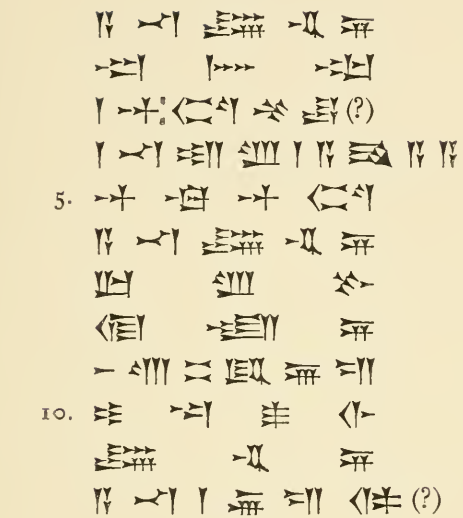


REVERSE.



PLATE IV.

K. 89.



REVERSE.

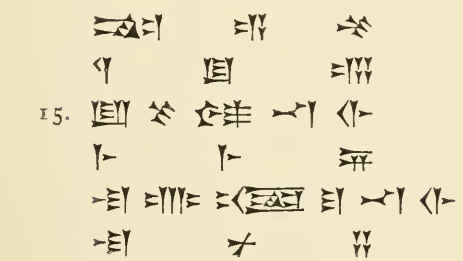
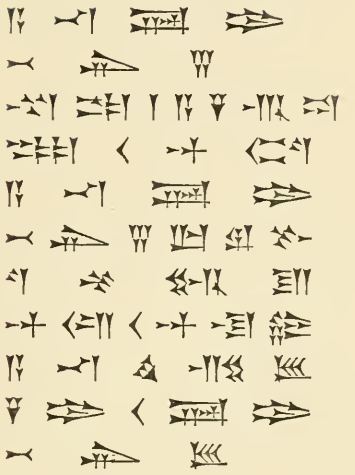


PLATE V.

K. 478.

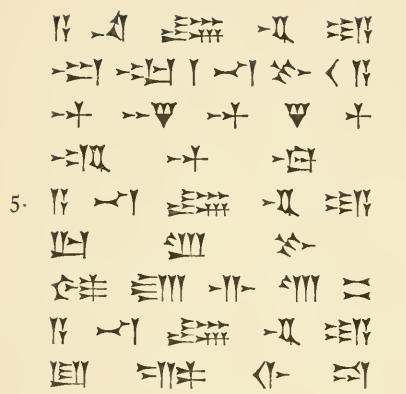


REVERSE.



PLATE VI.

K. 481.



REVERSE.

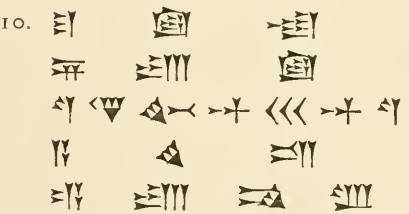
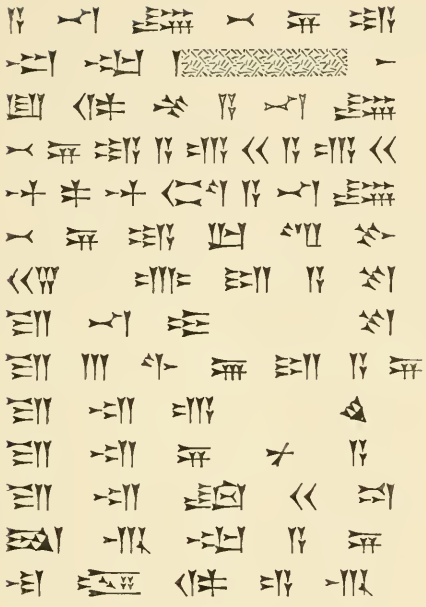


PLATE VII.

K. 493.



REVERSE.

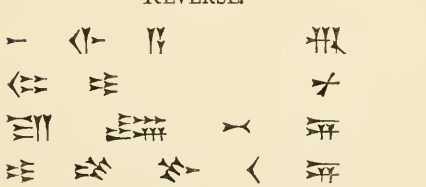
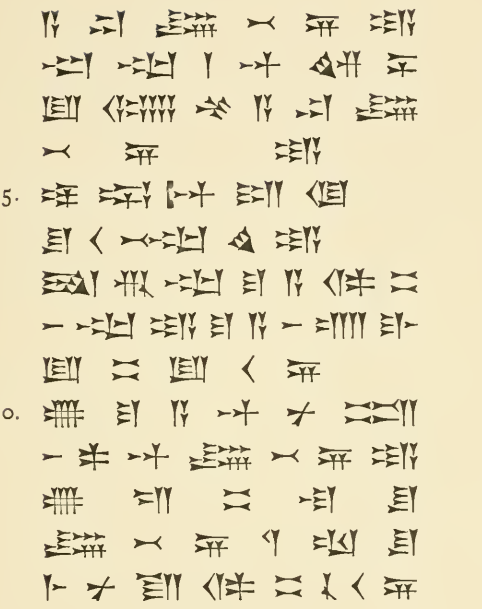


PLATE VIII.

K. 498.



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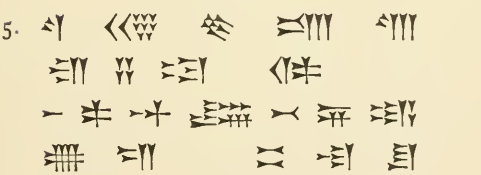
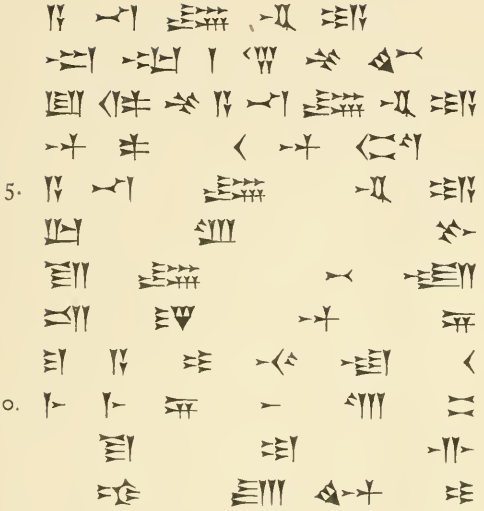


PLATE IX.

K. 522.



REVERSE.

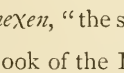


INSCRIPTION AT KŪM-EL-AḤMAR.

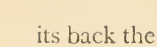
By P. le Page Renouf (*President*).

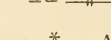
The inscriptions copied by Professor Sayce at *Kūm-el-aḥmar*, the site of the ancient Hieracōnpolis, are memorials of a distinguished personage named Thoth, who lived in the reign of Thothmes II, in the early part of the eighteenth dynasty. They contain many of the "phrases banales," as M. Mariette called them, which are found on so many well-known funereal inscriptions, but the text is unfortunately damaged, or requires corrections in some of the most interesting parts, especially of the smaller inscriptions. An analysis of the contents of the principal one is therefore at present preferable to a rough and necessarily conjectural translation.

The large inscription is surmounted by the Winged Disk, beneath which are the usual words, "Beḥutet the great god lord of heaven," and under the invocation, "Live (viva) the fair god, *Āa-χeper-ka*, who loves the Hawk of Neχen" (*written from left to right*), "the Son of Rā, Ṯhutmes like Rā, loving Osiris" (*written from right to left*).

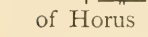
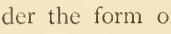
The third nome of Upper Egypt  *Ṯen* had for metropolis the town of  *Enχebit*, called by the Greeks Eilethyia, the ruins of which are on the site of the modern El Kab, on the right bank of the Nile, between Esneh and Edfu. One of the autonomous districts of this nome called *Ḳamḥesu* was situated on the left bank of the river, and the chief town was  otherwise written , , , and in other forms having the phonetic value *neχen*. The Greek name Hieracōnpolis, city of the Hawks, is derived from the three hawk-headed divinities,* who were called  *baiu neχen*, "the spirits of Nechen," and are said in the 113th chapter of the Book of the Dead to be Horus, Tuamutef, and Kebehsenuf. Horus, the chief of these gods, was worshipped here under the form of a hawk crouching, sometimes bearing upon its head the feathers , sometimes the royal crown , and sometimes upon

* See vignette in M. Naville's edition of the Book of the Dead.

its back the flail . The Egyptian name for this form of the hawk is , , , *ḳamḥesu* or , *kamχasu*.* Another very frequent appellative of Horus under the form of the crouching hawk is  *septu*. This god was by no means a minor divinity, but a supreme god whenever mentioned, even when his name is followed by such epithets as 'god of the East,' or 'god of war.' His name occurs in the Pyramid Texts.

The third line begins a *Suten-ḥotep-ṭā*, in which Amon the lord of the thrones of the universe,† Horus of the Horizon, the divinities of Hieracōnpolis, and the gods reposing in their shrines are requested to grant their offerings of the staff of life ( *χet en ānχ*) and their provisions of the divine Netherworld to the *ka* of Thoth, chief of Artists, . The 'Artists' in question were employed in sculpture and engraving, and the merits of Thoth were not of a mechanical order, but like those of one of his predecessors, whose tablet has been interpreted by M. Maspero,‡ distinguished by learning and originality of composition.

The words immediately following the name and title of Thoth are doubtful, but he is spoken of as "holding a first rank in the royal service, vigilant over the public works, dexterous in the exercise of art, and gentle of heart towards associates who celebrate his name because of his works, and without a fault on his part towards his lord. There proceeded nought perverse from his mouth. Upright of heart was he towards his honourable associates."

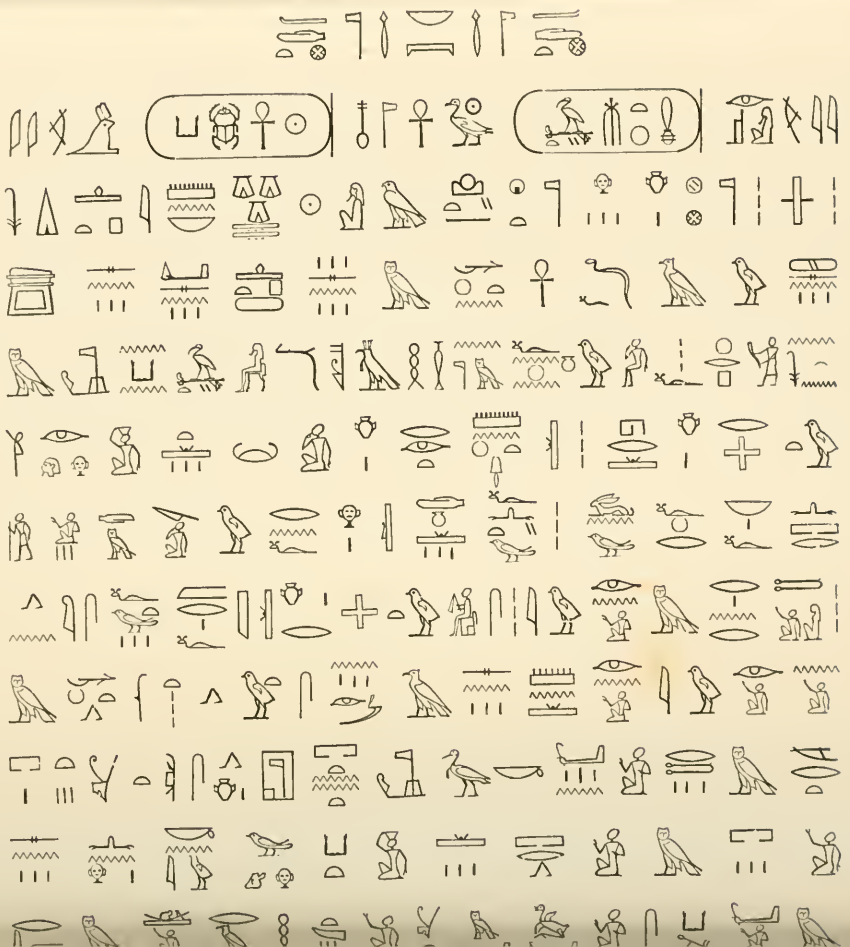
The word which I translate "associates" is generally written  or  *unṯuu* in hieroglyphics. The absence of the sign  *ṯu*, which is not phonetically the same as  *tu*, might however imply a different word.

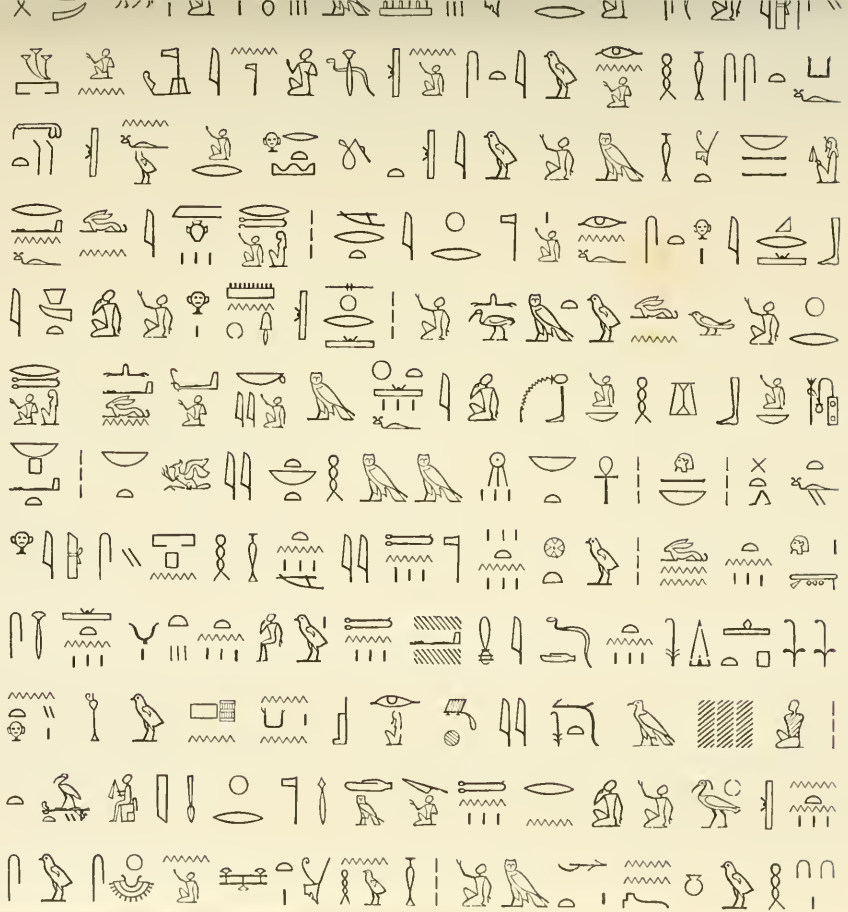
The deceased is then, according to the Egyptian fashion, made to speak in the first person :—

* See Brugsch *Wörterbuch*, p. 1546, and *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 30.

† *Nes-tau*, 'thrones of the universe,' was the name of Amon's sanctuary at Thebes ; see Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 360.

‡ *Transactions*, Vol. V, pp. 555-562.





INSCRIPTION AT KŪM-EL-AḤMAR.

FROM A COPY BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

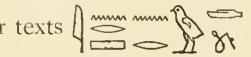
"I have done what men esteem and the gods desire, may they grant that my house be established for ever, and that my name may flourish in the mouth of men after years to come, when they see standing what I have done."

There is clearly a word (such as ) missing at the end of the tenth line, which must be supplied to satisfy the grammar of the sentence. The sense would then run: "I made halls of pleasaunce of this abode of the Netherworld, men worked for me with pleasure."

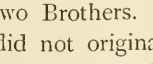
What follows seems to be a description of the pictures in the tomb: "I am coming forth from my house into my barge to those fields of mine which I laid out; I am ploughing with my yokes of oxen the best of the arable land which I myself created for my monument of the Netherworld; my god made it prosper for me. I did that which pleased his genius, and he appointed me to the command of the *ruṭ* district, ."

The meaning of the last expression is open to considerable doubt.

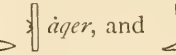
Brugsch has shown in his Geographical Dictionary that the word  *ruṭ* or *ruṭ'* enters into the composition of geographical names, and his last researches have led him to believe that it corresponds to the Arabic term حوف *ḥauf*, which is given to certain districts containing several villages or hamlets.

Ruṭ, however, has many other meanings, and one of the best known is in connection with the expression  *āat ruṭ*, which occurs in the Rosetta inscription, corresponding to the Greek στερεοῦ λίθου "hard stone," or in much earlier texts  *ȧner en ruṭ*.

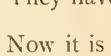
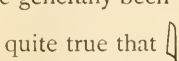
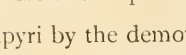
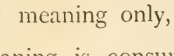
It may therefore be conjectured that the jurisdiction of Thoth extended over all the quarries of hard stone.

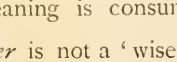
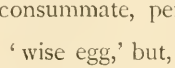
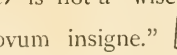
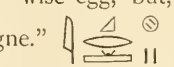
It will be observed that the group  *ḥeter* is used for oxen, as it is also in the Tale of the Two Brothers. This is a new and convincing proof that the word did not originally mean *horse*, but that it was applied at a comparatively late period to that animal, and that at first only in the sense of *biga*.

The text continues, "I was in the favour of the lord of the universe [the King], and he made me to be agreeable to men and loved by my god; this he did through extreme admiration of me in consequence of the excellence of my designs."

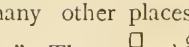
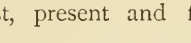
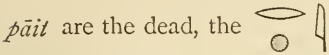
There are two words in the last sentence which require explanation,  *àqer*, and  *bàat*. They are words of frequent occurrence, and they are sometimes found together.

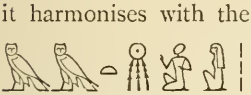
They have generally been rendered 'wisdom,' and 'merit.'

Now it is quite true that  *àqer* is translated in the Rhind papyri by the demotic group signifying 'wise.' But this is a secondary meaning only, and depends upon the context. The original meaning is consummate, perfect, extreme.  *ṣuhi àqer* is not a 'wise egg,' but, as M. de Rougé long ago translated it, "ovum insigne."  *aqer aqer* is not "most wisely," but "most exceedingly."  *seàqer* (Todt., 148, 1) is not to *instruct*, but to *make perfect*.

 *bàat* may come to signify *merit*, but it means much more than this. The word means wonder, astonishment, admiration.  *bàaiu* are marvels, miracles, mirabilia, נִפְלָאוֹת.  *àqer bàat* is therefore equivalent to غاية العجب, "the extreme of wonder" or "admiration."  differs only in grammatical construction, *àqer* being used adjectively.

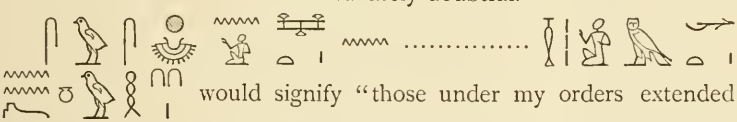
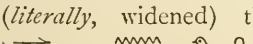
"No fault," continues Thoth, "was found before men. I molested no one in his property. O all ye priests, all ye ministrants (*χer-ḥebu*), all ye scribes, generations past, present, and future, who live upon earth, and pass by this tomb, as ye wish that your gods and local divinities should love you whilst you are upon earth, and that you should transmit your dignities to your children ... say this *Sutenḥotep-ṭā* which is upon this tablet for the *ka* of the Osiris, the faithful one, the chief of Artists, Thoth, triumphant before the great god;—proclaim ye his name, glorify"

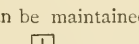
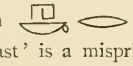
Mankind is here divided as in so many other places into the "generations past, present and future." The  *pāit* are the dead, the  *reχit* are the living, and the  *hamemu* are people yet to be born. The translations "gens éclaires," "illuminés"—and the notion of classes of initiated persons are utterly devoid of foundation.

The orthography  *ḥememu* is remarkable, but it harmonises with the forms  and  of the Pyramid texts. The  first disappeared by assimilation with , and the hard  *ḥ* was softened to *h*. This latter change which is frequent in other languages is most rare in Egyptian.*

The determinative  attached to the word is explained by the notion that the *ḥemmemit* or *hamemu* were attached to the Sun's disk,† or in other words that the human soul before entering upon its earthly career has had a previous existence of light, glory and splendour.

Part of the last line is unfortunately doubtful.

 would signify "those under my orders extended (*literally*, widened) the road of ... by 21 *schoenia*." The  *χet en ennuh* or *σχοινιον* was a measure of 40 Egyptian cubits, or 21·31 metres, at the rate of ·5328 per cubit.

* Not a single one of the instances given in that utterly worthless publication called *Einleitung in ein aegyptisch-semitisch-indoeuropäisches Wurzelwörterbuch* of Dr. Carl Ábel, p. 38, can be maintained. The first  *ḥeqer*, to hunger, has no connection with  the name of an Egyptian festival, In Dr. Birch's Dictionary 'fast' is a misprint for 'feast.' Hence probably the blunder. Most of the instances throughout the work are on a par with this.

† *Cf. Todt.* 124, 8, as corrected in M. Naville's edition, and Pyramid of Unas, line 211.

The word about which I am doubtful seems to be  *uṯḥu*, which is in itself susceptible of very different meanings, but there is no determinative to assist us in the selection.

The smaller inscriptions add nothing to our information. The name of Thoth's mother was written on the lintel of the outer door, but it has disappeared.

Thanks were returned for these Communications.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 6th December, 1887, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

I.—Dr. Gaster :—"On a Jewish Apocalypse of Moses."

II.—Professor Amélineau :—"Histoire des Deux Filles de l'Empereur Zénan." (In Coptic.)

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. X. EIGHTEENTH SESSION.

Second Meeting, 6th December, 1887.

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PROCEEDINGS

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OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

EIGHTEENTH SESSION, 1887-88.

Second Meeting, 6th December, 1887.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author :—Collection de Clerc. Catalogue Méthodique et Raisonné. Folio. III, pt. 1. Paris, 1885.

From Dr. Wiedemann :—Alt und Neu Ägyptische Schädel. Von Dr. Schmidt, &c.

From Dr. Wiedemann :—Zeitschrift für Aegyp. Spr., 1879. Article J. Dümichen. Ein Salbölrecept aus dem Laboratorium des Edfutempels. 8vo.

From Dr. Wiedemann :—Geschichte der 18ten Egyptischen Dynastie bis zum Tode Tutmes III. Von A. Wiedemann.

From Dr. Wiedemann :—Eine Aegyptische Statuette aus Würtemburg. Von A. Wiedemann.

From the Author :—Some unpublished Esarhaddon Inscriptions. By Dr. Robert F. Harper. 8vo. Conn., U.S.A.

From the Author :—The Assyrian "E" Vowel. Dr. Paul Haupt, &c. 8vo. Baltimore, 1887.

From the Author :—Mitteilungen des Akademisch-Orientalistischen Vereins zu Berlin. By Dr. Hugo Winckler. 8vo. 1887.

From the Author :—Resultats Epigraphiques d'une excursion en Ouâdi-Hammamât. Par Dr. W. Golenischeff.

From Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A. :—Notes on Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis. By J. G. Spurrell, M.A. Oxford. 8vo. 1887.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on January 10th, 1888 :—

Dr. M. Gaster, 19, Brondesbury Villas, Kilburn, N.W.
Edward C. Malan, The School House, Sherburne.
Arthur Cayley Headlam, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

The following were submitted for election, having been nominated on November 1st, 1887, and were elected members of the Society :—

Rev. J. M. Acland, The Clergy House, Kilburn Park Road.
Professor E. Amélineau, 43, Boulevard St. Germain, Paris.
George H. Birch, F.S.A., 2, Devereux Chambers, Devereux Court, Temple, E.C.
Mrs. Goodison, Coniston Bank, Coniston, nr. Ambleside.
Major-General Sir Francis Grenfell, K.C.B., Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, Cairo, Egypt.
Professor Henri Hyvernat, Via dell' Anima, 39, Rome.
Professor Albert L. Long, D.D., Robert College, Constantinople.
Rev. Professor Robert W. Rogers, B.A., 621, North 37th Street, Philadelphia.
Rev. John Urquhart, 8, Coombe Road, Weston-super-Mare.

The Secretary announced that he had received, too late for the present meeting, from MM. E. and V. Révillout, a paper of considerable interest, which would be read in January, entitled, "Une Prophétie Messianique Assyrienne.

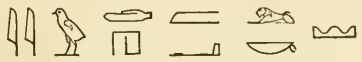
A Paper was read by Dr. Gaster on an Apocalypse of Moses, which will appear in a future number of the Proceedings.

The Secretary read a paper by Prof. E. Amélineau, entitled, "Histoire des Deux Filles de l'Empereur Zénon" (Coptic), which will appear in a future number of the Proceedings.

The President read and explained the following letter from Dr. Max Müller, "On the Supposed Name of Judah in the List of Shoshenq."

THE SUPPOSED NAME OF JUDAH IN THE LIST OF SHOSHENQ.

It is sufficiently known that the Egyptian king Shoshenq* has left in the temple of Karnak, as a monument of his victorious expedition against the kingdom of Judah in the fifth year of Rehoboam, not only a symbolical representation of the usua shape, but also an extremely interesting and scientifically not yet exhausted list of conquered towns. In this list the earliest Egyptologists believed they had found the name of Judah itself in the sixteenth name—



i u dh ma' l(or r)k

They were rather agreed in the transcription by "Judah-malek, Judahamalek, Judah-hamalek;" less in the explanation, which was either "king" or "kingdom of Judah."† The first translation involved even the opinion that the ornamental figure of a bound prisoner above it might be an authentic portrait of Rehoboam himself. This opinion seems to be fortunately forgotten, but not the explanations; which, although impossible both in Hebrew and

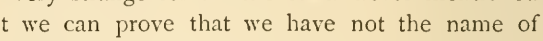
* This name is written without any sign of vowels, which indicates that it is to be read with the regular pronunciation of Egyptian quadriliteral substantives *ŏ—ĕ: Shoshenq*, which is perfectly confirmed by the Assyrian *Shushinqu*. The false pronunciation Σέσογχις of Manetho shows that the name was entirely out of use after the Saïtic period. The present Biblical form שִׁישַׁק is corrupted by the frequent mistake of ׳ for ו, which was followed by an impossible punctuation of vowels. We must restore שׁוּשַׁק.

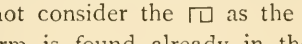
† Then the name would undoubtedly form the commencement of the whole list.

in the Egyptian language, remain to this day in many popular works. I do not think that any Egyptologist has taken the pains to refute them. I find still in Brugsch's "History of Egypt" (German edition, p. 661) the transcription "Judah-malek," which proves that the author believes at least the name to be composed with that of Judah, although he seems to abandon the early opinions of its signification and to consider it as that of a town. De Rougé explained it still (Mélanges d'Arch., II, 274) "Royaume de Juda."

It must first be confessed that if we consider the end of the name as the root מלך, we cannot explain the whole, מלך being substantive or verb, otherwise than "Judah is king." Such a name would be very strange for a little town never mentioned in the Bible. But we can prove that we have not the name of Judah contained in it at all. There is no trace of the first *h* of this word, which the Assyrians, more than two hundred years after, heard as "Yahudah." Why should the Egyptians suppress it, although they had two different kinds of *h*?

Then we cannot consider the  as the feminine termination. It is true this form is found already in the inscription of king Mesha, but never in Egyptian, where the *-at* is commonly kept as  *tȧ* or  *tu*, and in only few cases the ה־ expressed by  *ȧa* (=א־), more rarely by  *ai* (=י־).* The form *ȧa* is the more usual also in the list of Shoshenq.

Moreover, we cannot even keep the *u*, considering the usual syllabic writing of Semitic names. This principle of writing disappears gradually after the XXth Dynasty, and is already here not perfectly followed out, for מֶלֶךְ would be written  *ma'-lu-ka*, but as the after *m* is a mere determinative, we must suppress also the *u* after *i* in transcription.†

* Papyrus Anast. 3, 6, *verso*  *gazai*, עזה.

† Champollion already in his hieroglyphical alphabet declared  *iu* not to be different from *i*. I think this use derives from the analogy of the plural termination *-iu*, turned into simple *i* after many substantives in the New Egyptian period. Afterwards, it seems to denote especially the long *î*. Also the usual Demotic sign of *i* is derived from , not from , etc.

The true designing of the name appears from the consequent transcription, ידהמלך. The soft *h* must be followed by a vowel, therefore it is most probably the article, and the whole name must denote "hand of the king," יַד־הַמֶּלֶךְ.

Such a name, mentioning (by the article) a certain king, would best square with a fortress built by a Canaanitish or Hebrew king. I must leave it to the fancy of the reader whether he will like to suppose a Canaanitish king, or Solomon (1 Kings ix, 19; 2 Chron. viii, 6) or Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi, 5) as founder of this (certainly very small) fortified town.

What I hope to have demonstrated is only that we have here no mention of the name "Yehudah, Judah."

Nürnberg, *August*, 1887.

Remarks by P. le Page Renouf (*President*).

It may not be out of place to add a few observations to the preceding communication from a very promising young scholar. Champollion understood the hieroglyphic name on the monument at Karnak as signifying "Kingdom of Judah." His brother, M. Champollion Figeac, describes the Egyptian king as dragging before the gods of Thebes "the chiefs of more than thirty conquered nations, among which there figures very distinctly *Jouda-hamalek*, the kingdom of Judah or the Jews *personified*. This figure of the kingdom of Judah," he goes on to say,* "may be considered as a type of the Jewish people of the 10th century before the Christian era, and perhaps as a portrait of Rehoboam himself." Rosellini,† who at first approved of this interpretation, was led by philological scruples into another equally untenable. "L'aspirazione *hori* è un necessario complemento della prima voce *Jeudah*, e non appartiene alla seconda parola, la quale, ridotta alla pronunzia *hamalek* o *amalek*, non ha senso in ebraico, e molto meno in egiziano. Leggo adunque IOUDA-MELEK, che è precisamente l'ebraico מלך־יהודה, *Melek-Jeudah*, *re di Giuda*." Lepsius in his *Letters from Egypt*,‡ published in 1852, reverts to Champollion's first interpretation. "Among the names of the prisoners,"

* *Egypte Ancienne*, p. 151. † *Monumenti Storici*, iv, p. 158.

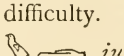
‡ Page 275.

he says, "befindet sich einer, den man nicht ohne Grund für eine Bezeichnung des Reiches Judä hält."

Six years later the condition of Egyptian philology had greatly improved, and Brugsch, in his Geography,* gave the death-blow to these interpretations, for which, as he says, there is not the slightest plausibility. Why should the "Kingdom of Juda" hold an undistinguished place in a list of towns, some of them belonging to the kingdom of Judah and others to the kingdom of Israel? In the next place, *Judahmalek* cannot possibly mean either 'King' or 'Kingdom' of Judah. Where has one ever seen an instance, either in Hebrew or Egyptian, of a genitive placed before a nominative? We have surely here only the name of a town like all the others on the list, the name of it being "*Judh-malk.*"

Brugsch still recognised *Judah* as the first constituent of the name. He did not overlook the objection that the first *h* of Jehudah is missing, but did not attach sufficient importance to it. The objection, as Herr Müller justly thinks, is absolutely fatal. The first *h* is so essential a part of the name that it is never omitted in Assyrian, Syriac, or Arabic, and it is only omitted in Greek (from which we have borrowed our forms) because there is nothing in Greek corresponding to *h* when that letter occurs elsewhere than at the beginning of a word.

So far then Herr Müller's main contention is unassailable.

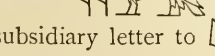
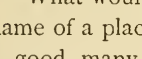
I believe that the interpretation which he puts upon the Egyptian form of the name is equally sound, though it may at first sight present some difficulty. Why, it may be asked, should יְהוּדָה be transcribed  *iuṭ*, and why should  *ā*, which often answers to the Hebrew ע, be introduced into the transcription of מֶלֶךְ? What does Herr Müller mean by saying that "as the after *m* is a mere determinative, we must suppress also the *u* after *i* in transcription?"

The answer lies in "the usual Egyptian way of writing Semitic names." Dr. Hincks was the first scholar who paid attention to this subject. He noticed the fact that in their transcriptions the Egyptians employed a larger number of vowel letters than the Hebrews, so much so, that a Hebrew word of one syllable would be expressed in hieroglyphics by a word of two or three syllables, and a Hebrew noun of three syllables by a word of five syllables. Some

* *Geographische Inschriften*, II, 62.

of the Egyptian vowel letters therefore were not to be sounded, and he observed that each of these letters appeared regularly to be the concomitant of a certain consonant. The theory which he built upon these observations he enunciated as follows: "The phonoglyphs which compose the proper Egyptian alphabet had *names* which consisted of *themselves with the addition of certain expletive characters;*" and these names might be, and often were, used in place of certain phonoglyphs. If then a phonoglyph belonging to the alphabet be followed by the expletive character which appertains to it, that expletive *may be*, and for the most part *should be*, *altogether neglected.**

This theory was unfortunately applied by its author to native Egyptian words as well as to transcriptions of Semitic words. It was modified by Brugsch, and still more by the late M. de Rougé. The rule laid down by the last named scholar with reference to the vowels is as follows:† "Les voyelles vagues, employées comme lettres de prolongation ou comme *mater lectionis*, n'étaient pas en usage dans l'ancien système sémitique les Egyptiens les employaient au contraire, et souvent à profusion; les formes sémitiques des mots transcrits prouvent qu'il faut alors leur reconnaître un vague absolu, et qu'elles correspondent aussi bien au simple *scheva* ou *e* muet qu'aux autres sons voyelles."

This peculiar method of transcription has led more than one Egyptologist astray in his theorizing, but the facts are not to be denied. And as the Hebrew יָם 'the sea' is hieroglyphically written ,  being what Dr. Hincks called the subsidiary letter to , there is no reason why  should not stand for יך.

What would be the meaning of יִדְהַמֶּלֶךְ, 'King's hand,' as the name of a place? A reference to the Lexicon will show that יך has a good many metaphorical senses. Besides those of possession, power, strength, and the like, it frequently is used with local acceptations: coast, place, memorial, waymark, &c. There can therefore be no objection to its occurrence in a proper name, even though we may not be able to point out its actual occurrence anywhere.

* "On the Number, Names, and Powers of the Letters of the Hieroglyphic Alphabet," p. 10.

† *Rev. Archéologique*, 1861, p. 353.

The monument which Absalom reared up for himself in the King's Dale, and which to this day is called 'Absalom's Place,' יַד אַבְשָׁלוֹם,* may perhaps have obtained its name from causes which do not apply to the name of a town. Dr. Paul Schroeder in his Phœnician Grammar explains the name of Idalion, as יְדָאָלֹן, 'God's Hand,' and compares with it the Biblical name Idalah יִדְאָלָה.† The Phœnician inscriptions, however, found in Cyprus since the publication of Dr. Schroeder's book regularly give אדיל as the native name of Idalium.

The Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series.

Dear Mr. Rylands,

In the year 1883, at the November meeting of our Society, I read a paper on a fragment of the fourth tablet of the Creation series which Mr. Rassam had brought home from Abû-Habbah the year before. This tablet fragment is inscribed in Babylonian with a description of the fight between Marduk and Tiamat, and forms a valuable addition to our knowledge of the contents of the fourth tablet of the Creation series, parts of which have been published by the late George Smith in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IV, Part 2, and by Delitzsch in his *Assyrische Lesestücke*. In my paper I pointed out the metrical nature of the composition, and drew attention to the importance of the document to all interested in the comparative mythology and religious works of the Semitic race.

I have delayed the publication of the Babylonian text until now, hoping that I might be able to satisfactorily explain the difficulties which occur in it; but as I am very little nearer to this much to be desired end than I was four years ago, I venture to publish a text which will be of the greatest interest to scholars, at the same time referring the general reader to the English version of it made from my copy by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, and published by him in the Hibbert Lectures for 1887, pp. 379–584.

Yours, etc., E. A. Wallis Budge.

* 2 Sam. xviii, 18. † Jos. xix, 15.

THE FOURTH TABLET OF THE CREATION SERIES.

82-9-18, 3737. $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

OBVERSE.

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THE FOURTH TABLET OF THE CREATION SERIES.

82-9-18, 3737. $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

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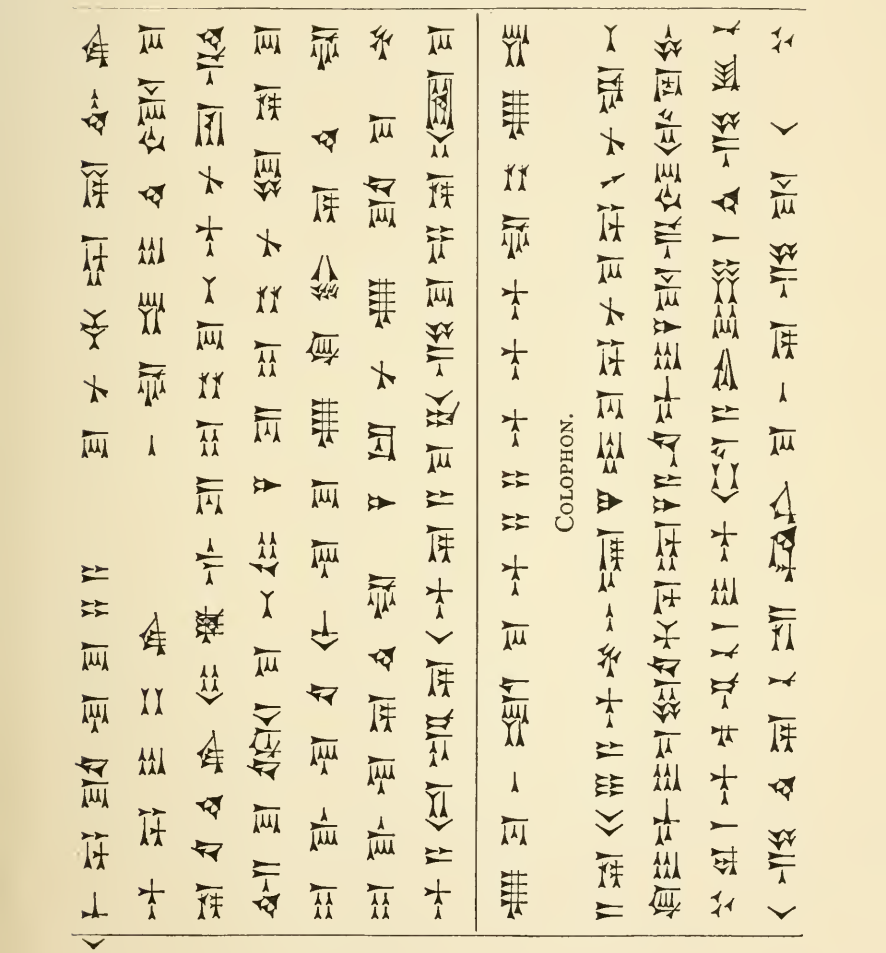
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THE FOURTH TABLET OF THE CREATION SERIES.

82-9-18, 3737. $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

REVERSE.



COLOPHON.

The following Communication has been received from the Rev. C. J. Ball:—

INSCRIPTIONS OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II.

I. The India House Inscription.

The authentic personal records of the king who built Babylon and razed Jerusalem must always possess a high degree of interest both for students of the history of Israel, and for students of that larger history in the *nexus* of which the history of the Chosen People constitutes but a single though a leading strand. I have therefore thought that a revised text and a new translation of the Standard Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar might prove not unacceptable to many of the members of our Society; and I propose to lay before them from time to time other records of the same monarch preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere.

As regards the present inscription, I am acquainted with the labours of Ménant, Rodwell, and Flemming. I had substantially completed my own text and version, before, through the kindness of Mr. T. G. Pinches, I obtained a copy of the work of the last-named scholar. It proved an invaluable help in revising my own. How far I have succeeded in carrying further the elucidation of what is, in certain passages, a most difficult text, must be left to others to decide. A careful comparison of the published lithographs with the stone itself has enabled me in several instances to correct the received readings (see notes on, i, 50; ii, 55; iii, 46; v, 18, 30; vi, 13, 22, 32; vii, 4, 12, 15, 36; ix, 60); and repeated examination of the syllabaries and related documents has furnished me with solutions, more or less probable, of some of the linguistic puzzles of the text. In the study of the unfamiliar Babylonian script, I have found Mr. Pinches' sign-list most serviceable; and I have also had the advantage of consulting him personally on one or two occasions. It is much to be regretted that he has not yet given to the world the remainder of his conspectus of the Assyrian verb. It would be more useful to students than a hundred transcriptions and translations of the ordinary type.

I cannot conclude without saying that it is to my dear friend and former college tutor, Prof. A. H. Sayce, that I owe my first interest in Assyro-Babylonian studies; and that, but for his kindly encourage-

ment and freely accorded help in past years, I might never have ventured thus far into what is still the obscure field of cuneiform decipherment and interpretation.

Column I.

	Transcription.	*Translation.*
1	*ilu* Nabiu^{m}-ku-dur-ri-u-çu-ur	*Nebuchadrezzar*
	šar Bâbilî	*king of Babylon,*
	ru-ba-a na-a-da^{m}	*the prince exalted,*
	mi-gi-ir *ilu* Marduk	*the favourite of Merodach,*
5	iššakku çi-i-ri	*the pontiff supreme,*
	na-ra-am *ilu* Na-bi-u^{m}	*the darling of Nebo,*
	mu-uš-ta-la^{m} a-ḫi-iz ni-me-qi	*the mild, the possessor of wisdom,*
	ša a-lak-ti i-lu-ti-šu-nu	*who the way of their godhead*
	iš-te-ni-'-u	*seeketh after,*
10	bi-it-lu-ḫu bi-e-lu-ut-su-un	(*who*) *hath feared their lordship;*
	šakkanakku la-a ne-ḫa	*the ruler unresting,*
	ša a-na zi-in-na-a-ti	*who for the maintenance*
	E-SAG-ILLA u E-ZI-DA	*of Esagilla and Ezida*
	u-mi-ša-am ti-iš-mu-ru-ma	*daily is careful, and*
15	da-am-ga-a-ti Bâbilî	*the weal of Babylon*
	u Bar-zi-pa	*and Borsippa*
	iš-te-ni-'-u ka-a-a-nam	*seeketh after steadfastly;*
	e-im-ga mu-ut-ni-en-nu-u	*the wise, the pious,*
	za-nin E-SAĠ-ILLA u E-ZI-DA	*the maintainer of Esagilla and Ezida,*
20	ablu a-ša-ri-du	*the princely son*
	ša *ilu* Nabiu^{m}-pal-u-çu-ur	*of Nabopalassar,*
	šar Bâbilî a-na-ku	*king of Babylon, am I.*
	iš-tu ib-na-an-ni belu ilu-u-a	*After that the lord my god had fashioned me,*
	ilu Marduk ib-ši-mu	*that Merodach had laid*
25	na-ab-ni-ti i-na um-mu	*the child in the mother;*
	e-nu-ma al-da-ku	*when I am born,*
	ab-ba-nu-u a-na-ku	*when I was fashioned,*
	aš-ra-a-ti ili aš-te-ni-e	*the places of the god I seek unto,*
	a-la-ak-ti ili er-te-ni-id-di	*the way of the god I follow.*
30	ša *ilu* Marduk beli rabî ili ba-ni-ia	*Of Merodach, the great lord, the god my maker,*

e-ip-še-tu-šu na-ak-la-a-ti — *his cunning works*
e-li-iš at-ta-na-a-du — *highly do I extol.*
ša *ilu* Nabiu^{m} a-bi-il-šu ki-i-ni^{m} — *Of Nebo, his true son,*
na-ra-am šar-ru-ti-ia — *the darling of my majesty,*
a-lak-ti i-lu-ti-šu çir-ti — *the way of his supreme godhead*
ki-ni-iš uš-te-ni-e-du — *steadfastly do I exalt;*
i-na gi-mir libbi-ia ki-i-ni^{m} — *with all my true heart*
a-ra-mu bu-luḫ-ti i-lu-ti-šu-nu — *I love the fear of their godhead,*
pi-it-lu-ḫa-ak be-lu-ut-su-un — *I fear their lordship.*
i-nu-um *ilu* Marduk belu rabû — *When Merodach, the great lord,*
ri-e-ši šar-ru-ti-ia ul-lu-ma — *lifted up the head of my majesty and*
be-lu-ti kiššat ni-ši i-ki-pa-an-nim — *with lordship over the multitude of the people invested me, and*
ilu Nabiu^{m} pa-ki-id kiššat šame u irçiti — *Nebo, the overseer of the multitude of heaven and earth,*
a-na šu-te-šu-ur ni-ši — *for the governing of the people*
içu ḫaṭṭa i-ša-ar-ti — *a sceptre of righteousness*
u-ša-at-mi-iḫ ga-tu-u-a — *placed in my hand;*
ia-ti ša-a-šu-nu ba-la-ak — *for me, of them I stand in awe,*
aš-te-ni-'-a i-lu-ut-su-un — *I seek unto their godhead*
a-na zi-ki-ir šu-mi-šu-nu kabti — *for the invocation of their great name;*
pi-it-lu-ḫa-ak ila u *ilu* ištarita — *I fear god and goddess.*
a-na *ilu* Marduk beli-ia ut-ni-en — *To Merodach my lord I made suppplication,*
su-pi-e-šu aç-ba-at-ma — *prayers to him I undertook, and*
a-ma-at libbi iš-te-'-u — *the word which my heart found* (lit. *sought out*)
ša-a-šu aq-bi-iš — *to him I spake it:*
ul-la-nu rubû bel mi-na-a ba-ši-ma — "*Of old, O prince, lord of all that is!*
a-na šarri ša ta-ra-am-mu-ma — *to the king whom thou lovest, and*
ta-na-am-bu-u zi-ki-ir-šu — *whose name thou proclaimest,*
ša e-li-ka ṭa-a-bu — *that to thee is pleasing;*
tu-uš-te-eš-še-ir šu-um-šu — *thou makest his name supreme,*
ḫa-ra-na i-šar-ta^{m} ta-pa-qid-su — *a straight path thou appointest him,*
a-na-ku ru-bu-u ma-gi-ra-ka — *I am a prince, thy subject,*
bi-nu-ti ga-ti-ka — *the creature of thy hand;*

at-ta ta-ba-na-an-ni-ma	*thou it is that makest me, and*
šar-ru-ti ki-iš-ša-at ni-ši	*with sovereignty over the multitude of the people*
ta-ki-pa-an-ni	*dost invest me ;*
ki-ma du-um-ku-ka be-lu	*according to thy goodness, O Lord,*
ša tu-uš-te-ib-bi-ru	*wherewith thou crownest*
gi-mi-ir-šu-un	*all of them.*
be-lu-ut-ka çir-ti šu-ri-'-im-am-ma	*Thy lordship supreme do thou make loving, and*
bu-lu-uḫ-ti i-lu-ti-ka	*the fear of thy godhead*
šu-ub-ša-a i-na libbi-ia	*cause thou to be in my heart !*
šu-ur-ḫam-ma ša e-li-ka ṭa-a-bu	*Yea, strengthen him that to thee is pleasing,*

Notes to Column I.

2. *Bâbilî :* written KA-DIMMER-RA-KI ; 4, 47, KA-DIMMER-KI ; 4, 28, *Ba-bi-ili ;* 4, 70, TIN-TIR-KI, "place of the Wood of Life :" 4 R. 18, No. 2, 10 *sq.*, Ba-bi-lu.

3. *Cf.* 4 R. 12, 10 : ru-bu-u mu-ṭib lib-bi D. En. lil u D. Nin-lil na-'-du, "The prince that pleaseth the heart of Bel and Beltis, the exalted." *nâdu*, ptcp. I, 1 = *nâ'idu*, cst. st. *nâ'id.*

4. cst. st. of *migru ; magâru ; cf.* Heb. מגר projecit, tradidit ; Ez. xxi, 17 ; Ps. lxxxix, 45 ; Syr. ܡܓܪ, intrans. cecidit. In Assyro-Bab. the root means "to incline to, hearken to, obey, favour." *Lâ mâgiri*, "unyielding," "disobedient," is frequent expression : II, 25 *infra ;* Tigl. II, 69, etc. It is a syn. of *šêmû*, "to hear," 5 R. 39, 24 še-ga = še-mu-u ; *ibid.* 33 še-ga = ma-ga-ru^{m}. The Heb. uses of נטה are parallel.

5. iššakku = PA-TE-SI, an ideogram. See 1 R. 51, 1, 1, 3, iš-ša-ak-ku çi-i-ri na-ra-am *ilu* Na-bi-u^{m}, a duplicate of this passage ; 4 R. 12, 36 *sq.* NAM LU GIŠGAL-LU = îš-šak-ku. 4 R. 21, No. 2 Rev. USI-GAL = belu^{m} iššakku. (In the previous line çirḫu is the Talmudic צירהא דלבא, "disquietude of heart :" Gitt. 69 b.)

6. narâmu = *narhamu ; R. râmu, "to love," "pity ;" רחם.

7. muštâla^{m}, ptcp. II, 2 of šâlu = Ar. سأل III and V, "to be easy or gentle with a man." 4 R. 26, 30, 31, ša-mu-un ša-kušša = be-lu^{m} muš-ta-lu^{m} ; 4 R. 7, 12, 13, nana-a-ni ša-kušša = Iš-tar-šu muš-tal-tu^{m}. Accad. ša = libbu ; kuš = nâḫu, נוח ; 4 R. 21, No. 2, 31 obv. ; 2 R. 48, 5, a, b.

nimequ, "depth," as we say, "a deep fellow." R. עמק, which is so used in Heb., Ps. xcii, 5 ; *cf.* Rom. xi, 33. 5 R. 30, 48 a. b. ZU = ni-me-qu.

8. *alakti :* "way" = Deum colendi ratio, religio, as in Heb. דֶּרֶךְ Amos viii, 14 ; *cf.* Acts xix, 9-23. For *alaktu*, "way," "path," see 4 R. 31, obv. 6 : a-na ḫar-ra-ni ša a-lak-ta-ša la ta-a-a-rat, "to the road whose path returneth not."

9. išteni'u : I, 3 pres. of še'u, שְׁעָה, "to seek," "look round for..." ; Isa. xvii, 7 ; xli, 10 ; written še-e-u | ba-a-u, 2 R. 35, 27 *e. f.* ; ši-te-'-u, Inf. I, 2, synonym of pa-a-ru^{m} and bu-'-u, 2 R. 36, 46–48 *f.* (See "Lotz," p. 135). *Aštênê*, l. 28, is 1 pers. of the same form, without the Relative-ending *-u* ; *aštení'a*, l. 48, corresponds to the Heb. cohortative form. 4 R. 10, 59 obv. aštani'e-ma manman gati ul içabat, "I look round (for help), and no man taketh my hand."

10. bitluḫu : pf. I, 2 of palâḫu. The 1 pers. occurs, ll. 39–50 *infr.* (The final *-u* is characteristic of a verb in a Relative sentence.)

11. *lâ nîḫa : cf.* 2 R. 16, 31 b. c. NIR-MU NU-KUŠ-ŠA la-a ni-ḫa še-pa-a-a, "my feet are unresting." (See on l. 7 *supr.*) 2 R. 48, 8, a. b. nu-kuš-ša = la-a ni-ḫu (*ibid.*, 5 ku-uš = na-a-ḫu).

12. *zinnâti*, fem. pl. R. zanânu, "to feed," "support" : 5 R. 40, 5, e. f. U-A = ri-tu^{m} u maš-ki-tu^{m} ("food and drink") ; U-A = za-ni-nu (Pinches), *cf.* Sarg. Cyl. 39, 47. But Arab. زِينَة , "ornament," seems a better comparison for *zinnâti :* see on 2, 42 ; 3, 11.

13. See 4 R. 20, No. 3, 2, 3 : dû e-sag-il-la, a-bil e-sag-il.

14. *tismur*, tiphel of samâru = Heb. שָׁמַר. umišam (an adv. like arḫišam, "monthly," šattišam, "yearly"). Flemming : tiçmuru = çitmuru, from çamâru, "to think." (Is it not rather a *tiphel* form, than a transposition ?)

15. damqâti, pl. of damiqtu, fem. of damqu, "bright," "pure," "good," "lucky ;" R. damâqu, "to be clear."

16. Sum. Bada-si-abba : 2 R. 20, No. 3, 10, 11 : uruzu bada-si-ab-ba-ki uru numundadi = itti âlika barsib *ki* âlu ul iššannan, "with thy city Borsippa no city may vie."

17. *Cf.* Ph. Cyl. III, 6, aš-te-ni-'-a ka-a-a-nam. *Ka'âna*^{m}, "firm," "steadfast ;" a secondary predicate.

18. emqa, R. עמק (l. 7) 2 R. 16, 64 *b :* um-ma-na im-qa, "profound art" ; 5 R. 13, 37, a. b. *imqu* as syn. of mudû, ippišu, ḫassu.

mutnennû, ptcp. II, 3 of *ênû* = עָנָה (*mu'tananniyu). But utnin (l. 51) rather suggests R. חנן, ptcp. II, 2 (*muḫtanninu : utnin = *uḫtannin).

20. *ašaridu*, dux, præses. Probably a Quadril. from *ašâru* = יסר.

23. *ištu* = *ultu*, "from ;" scil. *ša* = מֵאֲשֶׁר ; מֵאָז Ex. v, 23. *ilu :* text DINGIR-IR, *i.e.*, *dingir*, with a phonetic complement.

24. *bašâmu :* schaffen, stellen, legen, setzen : see Lyon, Sargon, St. 78 ; and the Creation, Fragment K. 3567, ubaššim manzazâ . . . ilâni rabûti, "He set the station of the great gods." 2 R. 36, c. d. as syn. of u-du-u, "to cast," "lay."

26. *ênûma. Cf.* the well-known "enuma eliš la nabû šamamu" of the First Tab. of the Creation Series ; and for the mg., Lotz, Tigl. VIII, 52 (*zur Zeit da* or *dass*). 4 R. 2 col. V, 42, aš-ša-tu ul iḫ-zu ma-ru al-du šu-nu, "wife they take not, child they beget not, they !" *aldaku* Perf. I, 1 of *alâdu* (ילד) used *intrans.*

27. *abbanu.* Impf. IV, 1 of *banû*, (1) to build, (2) to create and procreate.

28. *ašrâti*, pl. of ašru, ašar, "place;" אֲשֶׁר אֲתַר.

29. *ertenîddî* = *artanaddî, with vowel-assimilation; pres. I, 3 of *radû*, Syr. ivit, iter fecit, 2, 23 *ertiddî*, Ifteal (I, 2) pres. *Cf.* 3 R. 5, 6, 53, arkišu artedi, "after him I went," pursued him. I, 1 impf. ardi-šunûti, "I pursued them," Tigl., 4, 100. Another *radû*, mg., "to spread," "sp over" (in III, 1, ušardî, Tigl. 1, 80; 2, 16, etc.) may be compared with רָחַב, "to widen a tent," "to spread a thing on the ground;" while *radû*, "to add," may be akin to רָדָא.

31. *ipšîtu*, pl. of *ipistu*, "work;" R., *epišu*, "to do," "make;" which may perhaps be akin to אָפַם a syn. of תמם, כלה, גמר, Isa. xvi, 4; Ps. lxxvii, 9, and so would str. mean "to finish," "complete." *Ipšîtu* for *ipšâtu, by vowel assimilation. *Naklâti*, fem. pl. of *naklu*, callidus; *cf.* Num. xxv, 18, נכליהם אישר נכלו. *Niklâti*, "arts." Sarg. Cyl., 47.

32. *eliš*, a common adv., meaning "above," opp. to *šapliš*, "below." *attanâdu;* an Ittaphal form of nâdu (l. 3). *Ušteneêdu* (l. 36) is Ištafal (III, 2) pres. of the same verb.

37. *gimir*, st. cst. of *gimru*, as *migir* (l. 4), of *migru* and *zikir* (l. 49), of *zikru* *Gimru* is "summa," from *gamâru* (II, 1) "consummare;" גמר, Heb. and Aram. (Tigl. 6, 57).

38. *arâmu*, for *arḫamu, from *râmu* (l. 6 *supr.*); I, 1 pres. Cf. *tarammu* 2 pers. (l. 56).

40. *înûm=ênûma.* So, apparently, Rodwell: "whereas" (rather, "when"). *Cf.* Bors. 1, 27, i-nu-mi-šu = ina ûmišuma, "at that time:" Nerigl. 2, 15. Phillipps Cyl. 3, 27, i-nu-šu, in a duplicate of the same line (*mi* being omitted by a scribe's error?). Senk. 1, 7, i-nu=i-nu^{m} here. *Inu*^{m} (ênu) "time," is أَوَان, أَوَانٌ or perhaps الآن, "time," "season." I owe the suggestion that the sign 𒄑 in all these places should be read with the value *i*, to Mr. S. A. Smith, editor of *Assurbanipal.* *See* 2 R. 39, No. 4, 51: 𒄑 (𒂗) 𒀀𒈾. With *inu*^{m} or *inu* supply *ša*, and *cf.* Lev. vii, 35: ביום הקריב אתם.

41. *ullû:* Impf. II, 1 of êlû=אלי (עלה). *Cf. ullâ*, ll. .

42. *iqîpannî*^{m}: Impf. II, 1 of. *qâpu*, קוף; *cf.* Sarg. Cyl. 33, *qêpu* (ideogr. 𒂗𒍪 𒀀𒈾; see 3 R. 5, 33) "city-governor," "burgomaster." Fleming renders "anvertrauen" from the context; Lyon, (Sarg.), "einsetzen" (šuquppê, Inf. III. 1). I have rendered "invest" with reference to the Heb. קוף, implied in תְּקוּפָה; *cf.* הִקִּיף (נקף) Lam. iii, 5; Job. xix, 6; and the use of עטר, Ps. v, 13; viii, 6. The verb recurs l. 65; 9, 51.

44. *šutešur:* Inf. III, 2 of *ašâru:* Heb. יָשַׁר Hif. Ps. v, 9; Is. xlv, 2; אֵישַׁר Isa. iii, 12; ix, 15, duxit. 4 R. 29, No. 5, 48 obv. ela kâti ilim muštešeru ul iši, "besides the hand of God, a guide he hath not."

45. Lit. "made my hand hold;" Tigl. 2, 98, Ašur kakka danna . . . qati ušatmeḫu; 6, 2, tamiḫ ḫaṭṭa lâ šanan, "holding an unequalled sceptre." *Tamâḫu* appears to be peculiar to Assyro-Babylonian. תָּמַךְ may be a cognate form.

47. *bâlak*, Pf. I, 1 of *bâlu* = Heb. and Aram. בהל. With the termination, *cf.* that of the Eth. pf.—*ku.*

50. Flemming: *ilâni u Istarâti*, "ich verehre Götter und Göttinnen." But why *plur.?* The ideogram  is not correctly given in 1 R. As regards its value, it is probably equivalent to the usual ideogram of Ištar, which occurs at 5, 47, 55. See also 3, 46, where the form of the sign is again modified.

51. *utnin:* II. 2 of *anânu* = חנן. Or a contracted form of **u'tenin* (like *upteqid*). *Cf.* 9, 46 for the sense. Sanh. Bav. 29: utnin-ma suppê'a išmu-ma. *Sûpê* is shown by the context to mean *preces*. R. שפה سفے "to pour out," or שפע "to overflow"? *Cf.* the use of שפך in Pss. xlii, 4; lxii, 9; cxlii, 3.

53. *amât:* st. constr. before the Relative Sentence. *Ištêḫu:* impf. I, 2 of *šê'û*, "to seek;" with—*u* Relat.

54. *aqbiš* = aqbi-šu, "I spake to him."

55. *ullânu:* (?) "Most High"; but *cf.* 4 R. 51, 3, 51, ultu ul-la-nu-um-ma *iiu* rubatu ina kašadi (ša) išši qašâti rabâti: "when at that (this) time the Great Goddess on her arrival raised the great bow;" and *ibid.* 4, 6. Comp. *ullu*, 10, 4; *ultu ullâ*, "from old time," Sarg. Cyl. 35. The root is not עלה (Schrad.), nor is the term compounded of *ullu* and آن "time" (Haupt after Halévy); but *ullânu* may be from *ullu*, and both be akin to אֵלֶּה, אִלֵּין, أُلَى, أُولَى. When used of time, *ullu*, "that," may refer either to past or future; *cf.* the use of אָז, עוֹלָם, in Heb., and olim (from olle, ille) in Lat. If the term were restricted to the past, we might comp. R. אול "vorne sein" (Nöldeke), and Arab. أَوَّل "first," fem. أُولَى (with long *u*). KU = rubû, 5 R. 13, 44, a. b. *mînâ* "what," "whatever:" 4 R. 22, 55 mi-na-a ebuš amilu šuatu ul idi ina mi-ni-i ipaššaḫ, "what hath that man done? he knoweth not with what he may recover ease." *bâšî*, ptcp. of *bašû*, as a collective; with *ma* emphatic. (For *mînâ*, *cf.* also 2 R. 56, 16 c. d.)

57. *tanambû* = *tanabbû* = pres. 1, 1 of *nabû*.

58. *Cf.* Heb. construction, 1 Ch. xiii, 2; Esth. i, 19.

62. *binûtu:* "creation," abstr. for concr.

67. *tuštibbiru*, III, 2 of אפר, "to cover;" *cf.* אֵפֶר 1 Kings xx, 38, 41; agâ çirâ tuppirašu, "with exalted crown ye decked him," Tigl. 1, 21. Or the R. may be *êbêru* (עבר); "thou lettest pass over" (So Flemming).

69. *šurîmâ-ma:* imper. III, 1 of râmu, רחם, "to love;" precative form, like Heb. הקשיבה.

71. *šubšâ:* imper. III, 1 of *bašû*. *Cf.* the infin. šubši, Sarg. Cyl. 52.

72. *i.e. šurriḫamma.* Otherwise read *šurqamma*. *Šurqâ-ma:* imper. I, 1 of *šarâqu*, the well-known syn. of *nadânu;* "Grant what to thee is pleasing!"

Column II.

	ša ba-la-ṭi-ia lu-te-ip-pi-eš	*thou that my life indeed dost make!"*
	šu-u a-ša-ri-du ka-ab-tu	*Himself, the leader glorious,*
	ŠI-GAL ilâni rubû *ilu* Mar-duk	*the gracious one of the gods, the prince, Merodach,*
	un-ni-en-ni-ia iš-me-e-ma	*my supplications heard and*
5	im-ḫu-ru su-bu-u-a	*received my prayer.*
	uš-ṭi-ba-am-ma be-lu-ut-su çir-ti	*Yea, he made gracious his supreme lordship,*
	bu-lu-uḫ-ti i-lu-ti-šu	*the fear of his godhead*
	u-ša-aš-ki-in i-na libbi-ia	*he made to be in my heart;*
	a-na ša-da-da si-ir-ṭi-e-šu	*to love his laws*
10	u-ša-at-ka-an-ni lib-ba	*he made me incline the heart;*
	pi-it-lu-ḫa-ak be-lu-ut-su	*I have feared his lordship.*
	i-na tu-ku-ul-ti-šu çir-ti	*By his supreme aid,*
	MADA MADA ru-ga-a-ti	*to far-off lands,*
	ša-di-i^{m} ni-su-u-ti	*distant hills,*
15	iš-tu ti-a-am-ti e-li-ti	*from the Upper Sea*
	a-di ti-a-am-ti ša-ap-li-ti	*to the Lower Sea,*
	ur-ḫu-u^{m} aš-ṭu-ti^{m}	*immense journeys,*
	pa-da-ni^{m} pi-ḫu-ti	*blocked ways,*
	a-ša-ar kib-si šu-up-ru-su	*a place where the path is broken,*
20	še-e-pi la i-ba-aš-šu-u	*feet (foot-prints?) are not;*
	ḫa-ra-na^{m} na-am-ra-ça	*a road of difficulty,*
	u-ru-uḫ zu-ma-mi	*a journey of straits,*
	e-ir-te-id-di-e-ma	*I pursued, and*
	la ma-gi-ri a-na-ar	*the disobedient I reduced,*
25	ak-mi za'-i-ri	*I fettered the rebels.*
	MADA uš-te-ši-ir-ma	*The land I ordered, and*
	ni-ši^{m} uš-ta-am-mi-iḫ	*the people I made to thrive;*
	ra-ag-ga u çi-e-ni^{m}	*bad and good*
	i-na ni-ši u-še-is-si	*among the people I separated.*
30	kaspa ḫuraça ni-si-iq abni šu-ku-ru-ti	*silver, gold, glitter of precious stones,*
	e-ra-a *içu* mis-ma-kan-na *içu* erinu	*bronze, palm-wood, pine-wood,*
	mi-im-ma šu-um-šu šu-ku-ru	*what thing soever's name is precious,*

ḫi-gal ru-uš-ša-a — *a large abundance;*
bi-ši-ti ša-di-i^{m} — *the produce of mountains,*
ḫi-is-bi ta-ma-a-ti^{m} — *the fullness of seas,*
ib-ti ka-bi-it-ti — *a rich present,*
i-gi-sa-a šu-um-mu-ḫu — *a splendid gift,*
a-na âli-ia Babili — *to my city of Babylon*
a-na maḫ-ri-šu u-še-ri-im-ma — *to his presence I bore; and*
i-na E-SAG-ILLA — *in Esagilla,*
e-kal be-lu-ti-šu — *the palace of his lordship,*
aš-tak-kan zi-in-na-a-ti — *I place them as ornaments.*
E-KU-A pa-pa-ḫa — *Ekua, the abode*
ilu bel ilâni *ilu* Marduk — *of the lord of the gods, Merodach,*
u-ša-an-bi-iṭ ša-aš-ša-ni-iš — *I made to glisten with white marbles* (?)
ša-al-la-ru-uš-šu — *the wall thereof;*
ḫu-ra-çu ru-uš-ša-a — *with massy gold,*
ki-ma im-tu-u a-ban (?) — *as with* Imtû *stone,*
abnu uknû u *abnu* giš-šir-gal — *onyx and alabaster,*
šubat bîti u-ša-al-bi-iš — *the habitation of the house I overlaid.*
bab ḫi-li-bu (?) bab ku-uz-bu — *The gate Hilibu, the gate Kuzbu,*
u bab E-ZI-DA E-SAG-ILLA — *and the gate of Ezida* (*and*) *Esagilla,*
u-še-piš nam-ri-ri *ilu* Šam-ši — *I had them made brilliant as the sun.*
DÛ (?) AZAG KI-NAM-TAR-TAR-E-NE — *The August Abode, the place of them that determine destinies,*
ša UB-ŠU-UQQI-NA BARA ši-ma-a-ti — *which is the Quarter of Assembly, the shrine of the Fates,*
ša i-na ZAG-MU-KU ri-eš ša-at-ti — *which, at Zagmuku, "the opening of the year,"*
um VIII *kan* um XI *kan* — *on the 8th day* (*and*) *the 11th day,*
DIMMER LUGAL DIM-ME-IR ANA KIA MUL-ANA — *the divine king, the god of heaven* (*and*) *earth, the lord of heaven,*
i-ra-am-mu-u ki-ri-ib-šu — *entereth into the midst thereof;*
ilâni šu-par (?) šame ircitim — *the gods, the assembly of heaven* (*and*) *earth,*
pa-al-ḫi-iš u-ta-ak-ku-šu — *with awe obey him,*

ka-am-su iz-za-zu maḫ-ru-uš-šu	*submissive they take their stand before him ;*
ši-ma-at ûm da-er-u-ti^{m}	*a destiny of enduring days,*
ši-ma-at ba-la-ṭi-ia	*as the destiny of my life,*
i-ši-im-mu i-na ki-ir-bi	*they predestine in the midst (thereof) :—*

NOTES TO COLUMN II.

1. *ša balaṭi'a :* Or, "that which is *my life*," *i.e.*, "what is for my welfare, mayst thou do!" Perhaps rather, "(viz.) me whose life thou makest."

3. *ŠI-GAL or IGI-GAL :* if ŠI=maḫru, "in front," and GAL=bašû, as might be the case, then ŠIGAL might mean "he who is in front," "leader." But ŠI (IGI) also=inu, "eye," and pânu, "face," and GAL=našû ša kalama, "lifting of anything;" so that ŠIGAL may mean נָשָׂא פָּנִים, "favouring," "shewing favour to;" Gen. xxxii, 21. (See 2 R. 26, 43, 48, 60. The last line has ŠIGAL = našû ša in, "lifting of the eye" (Pinches). ILI and GURU are both explained 𒀭𒀀 𒀀𒈾 𒀀𒀀𒀀 : (*see* lines 43, 45). The term occurs as an epithet of Nebo, Sarg. Cyl. 59. Lyon renders, "klarsehend," "weitblickend," on the ground of 4 R. 28, 28a, where it is rendered *birît uzni*, and 4 R. 14, 3, 10, where it is rendered *pitû berâti*, as well as 2 R. *l. c.* Flemming's *asarid* can hardly be right, if only because that word occurs in the preceding line.

4. *unnênî :* from *anânu*, I, 51 :=תְּחַנּוּנִים. Written un-ni-ni, 4 R. 29, No. 5, 50 Obv.

5. *sûbû'a :* I, 52, sûpê. 4 R. 18, No. 2, Rev. 32 sq. ŠAGA-ŠUBU-BI =su-up-pi-šu. The word appears to be of Sumerian origin.

6. *uštîbáma :* III, 1, impf. of *ṭâbu*, טוב : with emphatic suffix —*ma*.

9. *šadâdu*, "to love;" Flood, 4, 16 (Haupt); Tigl. 4, 35, našaddu, "darling," =narâmu : 2 R. 25, 20, ab. šu-da-du | ra-i-mu ; *i.e.*, "loving." *Cf.* Heb. שְׁדָה; Eccl. ii, 8. *sirṭu* (not *širdu :* Fl.) : Arab. شَرْط "condition," "term," "stipulation," "obligation."

10. *ušatkanni :* impf. III, 1 of *takû* = *takáh*, Deut. xxxiii, 3 ; = *dakáh*.

12. Schrader and others render *tukultu* by Vertrauen, Verehrung, Dienst.

14. *nîsûti :* pl. of *nîsû*, "distant :" Tigl. 1, 39 ; etc.

17. Is *urhu*^{m} a plur. in —*u ?* If not, *aṣṭûti*^{m} must be an abstract noun : *cf.* ll. 14, 18.

18. *padani*^{m} *:* this term occurs 2 R. 38, 22—30 cd, in a list of synonyms for "road" or "way," viz. :—

𒁀𒀀	ḫar-ra-nu	ḫar-ra-an	da-ra-gu	gal-la	ki-ib-su
ḫar-ra-an	,,	ḫar-ra-an	me-te-qu	𒀭𒀀	pa-da-nu
ḫar-ra-an	ur-ḫu	𒀀𒀀𒀀	ka-na-gur-ru	. . . ma	da-rag-gu

It will be noticed that the terms for "road" in 17, 18, 19, 21 all occur here. *Cf.* also 2 R. 49, 21, cd. 𒀀𒇷𒇷 tal-lak.

pîḫûti: plur. of *pîḫû*, from R. pêḫû=פחא "to shut," *e.g.*, a door; Flood, 1, 39; 2, 32; 3 R. 4, 58 *ad fin. bâbi'a iphî*, "she closed my door." See *papaḫu:* 43; 3, 25.

19. *kibsu:* Targ. כִּבְיָא, כִּבְיָתָא, "way," "path." (See last note.)
šuprusu: verbal adj., Shaphel form, from *parâsu*, like *šuquru*, ll. 30, 31; *šugludu*, "terrible," Sarg. Cyl. 11; *šuḫrubtu*, "desert," *ibid.*, 36. *Parâsu* has many meanings, but the general sense is clear: *cf.* Abp. 59, 88, alaktašu aprus, "I checked his march," or "stopped his way;" *ib.*, 284, 95, šepišu iprus, "he checked, hindered his feet;" kabis kišudi ša niši mât Ḫilakki (Esarh.); and mukabbis kišâdi âbi-šu, "treading on the neck" of enemies (Assurn.); naçiru kibsi mušallimu tallakti šarri banišunu, "keeping the path, making whole the way of the king their maker;" said of the bulls at the palace gates (Esarh. iv, 41.)

21. *namraça:* Unwegsamkeit, Tigl. 1, 73; 2, 70, etc. Note *ḫârâna*^{m} (not *ḫarrâna*^{m}, as Fl.).

22. *uruḫ çumâmi:* Flemming, "einen Weg des Durstes;" but the R. is not צמא, but צמם; *cf.* צָמַם, "to cover" (Palpel), θομω: obturavit, operuit, صمّ, "to be deaf," ضمّ, "to draw together," "contract," "compress." The sense is thus "iter angustiarum." If, however, the ambiguous sign be read *zu* (its ordinary value), we may compare زمّ, "to tie," "fasten;" "a trammelled way;" and, lastly, perhaps *zûmâmu*^{m} is زمام, "tall herbs;" so that we might think of a forest or jungle track.

24. *anar:* denom. from *nîru*, "yoke;" subjugari (I, 1 pres. of *nâru*).

25. *zâ'irî:* I, 1 ptcp. of *zâru*, זור=Tigl. 8, 32, 41. *Akmî:* impf. I, 1 of *kamû*, "to bind;" Tigl. 5, 13, umschliessen, einschliessen, gefangen setzen. *Cf.* adv. *kamiš*, and abstr. subst. kamûtu; and also *kamâtu*, "ringwall."

26. *uštcšir:* impf. III, 2 of *ašâru:* ducere (Isa. iii, 12) = regere. Tigl. 1, 1, ptcp. With what is here told, comp. Berosus *apud* Joseph. Ant. x, 11, 1.

27. *nîšim:* Flemming renders, "die Leute nahm ich gefangen," which implies *utammiḫ* for *uštammiḫ*, or else *uštašmiḫ*. *Uštammiḫ* is II, 2 of *šamâḫu* (l. 37), "to grow," "increase," (gedeihen, sich kräftig entwickeln, Sanh. Kuy. 4, 37: Lyon): *cf.* شمخ, "to be lofty" (of a mountain); "to exalt or magnify oneself," "be proud," etc.

28. *See* Lotz, 86, *sqq.*; *çênu* is a syn. of *kênu*, "right;" 4 R. 28, 30a. kina tidi ragga tidi, "the righteous thou knowest, the bad thou knowest;" Sanh. 5, 82, sâpinat raggi u çêni, "overwhelming bad and good" (*i.e.*, all alike).

29. *ušissî:* Impf. II, 1 of *šasû* = שסע, pi. Judg. xiv, 6; Matt. xxv, 32. He 'separated' them as a judge. But *ušissî* may also be impf. III, 1 = ušassî, "I removed," "deported;" =* ušansî, of R. *nasû*, נסע (*cf.* nîsû, nîsûti, l. 14).

30. *nisqu: cf. nisiqtu*, 3, 40. The R. *nasâqu* in Assyro-Babylonian means "to be bright," "to glitter," or "gleam." *Cf.* Heb. נִשַּׁק in Hif. "to kindle" Sanherib (Neb. Yun. 72; 1. R. 44.) calls a certain precious stone ša-šu nu-su-qu

(1. R. 7, E 3 *sq.* ša-šu nu-us-su-qu); while in 2. R. 38, 43 *sq.* b. we read *abnu* el ša šum-šu na-as-qu a-na aš-rat *ilu* Marduk u *ilu* Zar-pa-ni-tum lu-u ad-di-nu-ma: "*El*-stone, whose name means *glittering*, to the temples of Merodach and Zarpanitu I gave." Tigl. 7, 95 has nu-su-qu, directly after kima kakkab šamê šûpû ("like a star of heaven it sparkled"), in describing the *bîta ellita* (90) or "shining abode" of Anu and Rimmon, which he built; and Sanh. Kuy. 4, 16 has nu-us-su-qa parallel to nummuru (Pf. II, 1 of namâru, "to shine"). See Lotz, p. 179. 2 R. 67, 28 has ḫuraçu ni-siq-ti abni bi-nu-ut tam-tim, "gold, glittering stones, product of the sea." I do not think this proves that *nisiqti abni* must always be *pearls* (Haupt). Else, what need was there to qualify the expression by adding *binût tamtim?* And why not *amber? šûqurûti:* the sing. of this adj. occurs l. 32. It is a verbal of III, 1 from R. *aqâru* יקר. See 1 R. 7, E. 5, where it is spelled correctly with *q*, and has a variant aq-ru = יָקָר.

31. *mismakanna:* "the tall tree of Makan" (S. Babylonia). Lyon on Sarg. Cyl. 63. *Erini:* Heb. *'óren*, Is. xliv, 14, rendered *πίτυς* by LXX; Vulg. pinus.

33. *ḫigallu*^{m}, an Accad. loan-word, and a well-known syn. of *nuḫšu*, *duḫdu*, and *šûqu; Russû*, *cf.* l. 47. See 4 R. 12, 28 *sq.* guškin ruš . . = ḫu-ra-ça ru-uš-sa-a. From this it appears that *russû* is a loan word (= "great," as in çir-ruš, "strong," "great serpent"). *Cf.* also 4 R. 26, No. 1, 10 *sq.* a kit-tu ruš-a-an = a-bu-bu iz-zu, "the strong flood."

34. *bišîti:* from *bašû*, as *šiqîtu*^{m} from *šaqû*, and *qibîtu* from *qibû*.

35. *ḫišhu:* "fullness," "overflow," "abundance." Sarg. Cyl. 68; St. 85. Lyon refers to 2 R. 51 No. 1, Obv. 32b and 4 R. 20 No. 1, Obv. 22, for the spelling (in both passages ḫi-zib-ša). But Phillipps Cyl. 3, 22, we read ḫi-sah tamâti^{m}. *Cf.* Arab. خصب, "abundance of herbage and the like," "increase," "plenty;" or خزب, tumuit, pinguis fuit.

36. *ibtu:* "gift," R. *âbu* = יהב, like *biltu* "tribute," from *abâlu* = יָבַל (Fl.).

37. *igisû:* the mg. "present" is evident from Shalm. Obel. 105 sq.: "At that time of 24 kings of Tabali," i-gi-si-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫar, "Their presents I received;" 1 R. 32, 37 sq., ma-ḫir bilta u i-gi-si-i. An Accad. term (Pinches).

39. *ušerîm:* Impf. III, 1 of râmu = רום; *cf.* the phrase murîm ḫegalli, "bringer of abundance" (lifter, bearer, and so bringer).

42. *Cf.* 8, 24 *sq.*

43. *papaḫu:* for this term see a list of synonyms for "dwelling," 2 R. 34 5b., pa-pa-ḫu ma-as-sa-ku ad-ma-nu (not *ab*) šub-tu^{m}. It is a reduplicated form from R. פחא, apparently meaning "close," "closet," penetrale.

44. Text: DINGIR EN-LIL DINGIR DINGIR DINGIR AMAR-UT.

45. *šaššaniš:* 1 R. 52, No. 3, 28 sq. Esagili aznun-ma šaššiš ušapâ šarurušu: "Esagili I restored, and like *šaššu* I made its splendour to shine forth." I think *šaššâni-š* is to *šaššiš*, as *šadâniš* is to *šadiš; i.e.*, it is an adverbial form of the plural.

šallaru: cf. šallariš, "its wall," Bors. 1, 18; Ph. 1, 30. *šallaru* = שַׁלָּוֹר from שׁוּר, *cf.* זלעף from זעף. Or comp. סֹהַר and Talm. סָהָר, "fence or wall of a sheepfold" (סַלָּהַר).

48. *imtû : imtû* occurs in the sense of אימה, "terror." Was this stone so called from its flashing, like Ezekiel's הקרח הנורא?

49. *uqnu :* Accad. ZAGIN, is variously rendered "onyx," "crystal," "lapis lazuli," "marble," and "alabaster." The Syr. ܐܣܦܢ *aqnâ* means lapis Lydius, "touchstone." 5 R. 29, 43 *sqq*-g.h, za-gi-in | uq-nu
çip-ru | do.

Onyx, therefore, seems right : *cf. çupru*, "finger-nail." 2 R. 51, 13, c. d. Dapara = the land of *zagin* stone.

50. UNU E = *šubat bîti.*

51. See 2 R. 48, 28 a. b, ḫi-li-bu = ilu; 5 R. 30, 66 g. h, na ḫi-li-bu = na za-gin. 𒀭𒋢 (NA and ZA) = ab-nu, "stone," 5 R. 29, 19/20, g. h.

53. *namrîri :* 2 R. 35, 4—9, *e.f.*, gives the synonyms : id-di-šu-u ša-ru-ru
nam-ri-ir-ru ,,
bir-bir-ru ,,
me-lam-mu ,,
ši-bu-bu ,,
ša-ru-ru ni-ip-ḫu

See Lotz, p. 83 ; R. *namâru*, "to shine."

54. An Accadian (Sumerian) line. DU = šubtu, S^{c} 25. KU or AZAG = ellu, S^{b} 109 sq. ḫi-en-azag-ga ḫi-en-el-la ḫi-en-laḫ-laḫ-ga = li-lil li-bi-ib li-im-mir, 4 R. 14, No. 2 obv. 17 sq. KI = ašru, S^{b} 182. NAMTAR = šîmtu.

In Assyrian : šubtu ellitu, ašar šîmâti.

55. *ub-šu-uqqi-na. See* 2 R. 35, 41. UB = tubqu S^{b} 309 ; UB-DA IV = kibrat irbitti, 2 R. 35, 40 and 39. UQQI | 𒀀𒆳𒆳 | bu-uḫ-ru, S^{b} 266. This is the character on the stone ; 1 R. has *er*, an error of transcription. The passage 2 R. 35, 38 sqq. runs thus :—

ub-ka-ga	tu-bu-qa-tu^{m}	"regions."
ub-da IV	,, ir-bit-ti	"the four regions."
ub-da IV	kib-rat ,,	"the four quarters."
ub-šu-uqqi-na	ub-šu-uqqina-qu	"place of meeting."
ub-saḫar-ra	ub-saḫarra-qu	"place of dust," S^{b} 123 saḫar = ipru.
ub-lil-lal	ip-ra-tu^{m}	*plur.* of ipru, "dust."

parakku : S^{a} 23 sq. explains BAR, ŠAR by this Assyr. term. פרכא occurs in the Megillath Antiochos, and is rendered in the Heb. version of that piece by במה, "high place" (ובנא פרכא בבית מקדשא). So the Peshito, Lev. xxvi, 30 ; Ezek. xx, 29; Hos. x, 8. "Little idol-houses at the bounds of villages." (Bar Bahlûl.)

56. *Zagmuku :* New Bab. text wrongly, *lil.* See 5 R. 29, 70, a. b. ZAG = ri-e-šu, *i.e.*, "head," "beginning." MU is the well-known equivalent of *šattu*, "year," and *ku* is simply an Assyrian ending. Thus *Zagmuku* means *rêš šatti.* Esarh. 6, 46, has : ina zag-muk-ki (arḫi) rêš-ti-i kul-lat mur-ni-is-qi *imêru* parrati imêri *imêru* gammali šat-ti-šam-ma la na-par-ka-a lu-up-qi-da ki-rib-ša : "On *Zagmûku* in the first month, all the horses, etc., yearly without fail I reviewed within it" (1 R. 47, 6).

rêš šatti : this exactly corresponds to the Jewish ראש השנה or Festival of New Year, from which a Tract of the Talmud gets its name.

59. *irammû:* pres. I, 1 of *ramû*=רמא; Sarg. Gold-inscr. 21 *irmû parakki;* Cyl. 20, ušarmû kirib Bît-Ḫumria; Bull-inscr. 54 rimeti-šina, "their abode." A syn. of rabâçu, "to lie down." (*Cf.* Dan. iii, 6, 21; vii, 9.) 4 R. 26, 3, 38: ša šalummat ramû, litbušu melamme, "who abideth in health, is clothed with brightness."

60. *ilâni šu-par* (?) *ana ki:* Abp. 1, 86. šu-par or šu-ut is hardly Semitic: *cf.* the official title šu-ut-saḳ, Esarh. 1, 34 (1 R. 45): *mulu* šu-ut-saḳ-ia *mulu* piḫatu eli-šu-nu aš-kun. In 2 R. 35, No 1, 10, we have ši-pa-ri=bu-uḫ-ru. *Cf.* 1, 43.

61. *utaqqû:* II, 2, pres. of *aqû:* וקי, "to fear" (religiously), Arab. وقى, تقى.

62. *kamsu:* pf. I, 1 of *kamâsu*=Heb. כמוּשׁ in כְּמוֹשׁ, "to bow down." *izzazu:* pres. I, 1 of *nazâzu*, "sich stellen," "sich aufstellen:" Flood 4, 26; Tigl. 3, 50. Eth. ፃሐፌ: "to comfort," *i.e.*, "to *set* a man *up*," as we say: erigere animum demissum. *išimmû:* pres. I, 1 of *šâmu* שׂים, "to set," "fix," "appoint," whence *šîmtu*, "lot," "fate," Tigl. 1, 24. 4 R. 14, No. 2 Rev., 15 nin ša šuma nabû šimta tašama, "Of everything that is named, thou allottest the destiny." *dârûti*^{m}: pl. of dâru; *cf.* dâriš, Tigl. 1, 27, 38. *ûm* is collective, or a shortened plur., or else *dârûtu* is an abstract noun. R. דור.

Column III.

parakka šu-u parak šar-ru-ti	*that shrine, a shrine of royalty,*
parak bel-u-ti	*the shrine of the lordship*
ša ŠI-GAL ilâni rubî *ilu* Marduk	*of the gracious one of the gods, the prince Merodach,*
ša šarru ma-aḫ-ri	*whose fabric a former king*
i-na kaspi ip-ti-ku bi-ti-ik-šu	*in silver had fabricated,*
ḫuraçu nam-ri ti-ik-ni^{m} melam-mi	*with shining gold, a splendid decoration,*
u-ša-al-bi-iš-su	*I overlaid it.*
u-nu-ti bît E-SAG-ILLA	*The vessels of the house Esagilla*
ḫuraçu ru-uš-ša-a	*with massy gold,—*
içu MA-KUA za-ri-ri u abni	*the Bark of Merodach with mouldings and gems,—*
u-ça-'-in	*I made bright,*
ka-ak-ka-bi-iš ša-ma-mi	*as the stars of the heavens.*
e-eš-ri-e-ti Bâbilî	*The temples of Babylon*
u-še-piš az-nu-un	*I made, I maintained.*
ša E-TEMEN-ANA-KI	*Of Etemen-ana-ki*
i-na a-gur-ri *abnu* uknî el-li-ti	*in burnt brick (and) fine onyx-marble (?)*

u-ul-la-a ri-e-ša-a-ša — *I reared its head.*
a-na e-bi-šu E-SAG-ILLA — *To make Esagilla*
na-ša-an-ni li-ib-bi — *my heart stirred me up;*
ga-ga-da-a bi-tu-ga-ak — *in chief have I regarded it, (or, zealously I laboured).*

ri-e-ša-a-ti *içu* erini-ia — *The choicest of my cedars (or pines).*
ša iš-tu *mât* la-ab-na-ni^{m} — *which from the land of Lebanon,*
içu kišti el-li-ti^{m} ub-lam — *the noble forest, I brought,*
a-na zu-lu-lu E-KUA — *for the roofing of Ekua*
pa-pa-ḫa bel-u-ti-šu — *the abode of his lordship*
aš-te-'-e-ma i-ta-a^{m} libbi — *I sought out; and the inner side*
erini dannû-ti^{m} — *of the huge cedar-beams*
a-na zu-lu-lu E-KUA — *for the roofing of Ekua*
ḫuraçu nam-ri u-ša-al-biš — *with shining gold I overlaid.*
ši-i-bi šap-la-nu *içu* erini zu-lu-lu — *The lower ends of the cedar-beams of the roofing*

ḫuraçu u ni-si-ik abni — *with gold and precious (?) stones*
u-ça-'-in — *I made bright.*
a-na e-pi-šu E-SAG-ILLA — *For the making of Esagilla*
ud-da-kam u-sa-al-la-a — *daily I besought*
šar ilâni bel beli — *the King of the gods, the Lord of lords.*

Bar-zi-pa âla na-ar-mi-šu — *Borsippa the city of his abode*
u-us-si-im-ma — *I beautified, and*
E-ZI-DA bît ki-i-ni^{m} — *Ezida, "the Eternal House,"*
i-na ki-ir-bi-šu u-še-piš — *in the midst thereof I made.*
i-na kaspi ḫuraçi ni-si-iq-ti ab-ni — *With silver, gold, precious stones,*
er-a-a *içu* mis-ma-qan-na *içu* erini — *bronze, palm-wood, cedar-wood,*
u-ša-ak-li-il ši-bi-ir-šu — *I finished the work of it.*
içu erini zu-lu-lu — *the cedar of the roofing*
pa-pa-ḫa-a-ti *ilu* Nabiu^{m} — *of the abodes of Nebo*
ḫuraçu u-ša-al-bi-iš — *with gold I overlaid.*
içu erini zu-lu-lu bâb Nanâ-a — *The cedar of the roofing of the gate of Nanâ'a,*

u-ša-al-biš kaspi nam-ri — *I overlaid with shining silver.*
ri-i-mu dalati bab pa-pa-ḫa — *The bulls, the doors, the gate of the abode,*
si-ip-pi ši-ga-ri GIŠ-RI-GAN-UL — *the lintels, the bars, the posts (?),*

50	*içu* ka-na-ku za-ri-ri-um-ma	*the lock* (*?*), *the mouldings, and*
	içu erini zu-lu-lu	*the cedar of the roofing,*
	da-la-ba-na-a-ti-šu	(*to wit*) *the pointed ends thereof,*
	kaspi u-ça-'-in	*with silver I made bright.*
	ta-al-la-ak-ti pa-pa-ḫa	*The path of the shrine,*
55	u ma-la-ak bîti	*and the way to the house,*
	a-gu-ur (*v.* a-gur-ri) eš-ma-ri-e	(*was of*) *yellow brickwork.*
	du-u parakki ki-ir-bi-šu	*The seat of the shrines in the midst thereof,*
	pi-ti-iq ka-as-pa	(*was*) *silver work.*
	rîmû dalâti bâbi	*The bulls, the leaves of the gates,*
60	i-na za-ḫa-li-e	*with plates of bronze* (*?*),
	nam-ri-iš u-ba-an-nim	*brightly I made to glisten.*
	bîta as-miš u-dam-mi-iq-ma	*The house I made gloriously bright and,*
	a-na ta-ab-ra-a-ti	*for gazings* (*of wonder*),
	lu-li-e uš-ma-al-lam	*with abundance I had* (*it*) *filled.*
65	eš-ri-e-ti Bar-zi-pa	*The temples of Borsippa*
	u-še-bi-iš az-nu-un	*I made, I maintained.*
	ša E-UR-ME-VII-ANA-KI	*Of the House of the Seven Spheres of Heaven and Earth,*
	i-na a-gur-ri *abnu* uknî el-li-ti	*in burnt bricks,* (*and*) *gleaming onyx-marble,*
70	u-ul-la-a ri-e-ša-a-ša	*I reared the head thereof.*
	GIŠ-MĀ ID-ǴÊ-UL	*The bark Idǧeül,*
	ru-ku-bu ru-bu-ti-šu	*the car of his princeliness,*

Notes to Column III.

2. Written : BARA DIMMER-EN-LIL *u-ti.* NUN = *rubû,* 5 R 13, 43 a. b.

5. *iptiqu :* Impf. I, 1 of patâqu. That the root is פתק appears from Sarg. St. 54, i-pat-ti-qa, *ib.* 71, ip-pat-qu. It is syn. with *banû* and *epišu.*

tiqnu: "ornament:" Targ. תַּקֵּן ornare. Ez. xvi, 13, וַתִּתַּקְּנִי בְּזָהָב, "adorned with gold;" Jer. iv, 30, תיקונין דדהב, "ornaments of gold." *melammu :* from Sum. melam : K. 4142. See also 2, 53 note.

ušalbiš : impf. III, 1 of *labâšu* = לבשׁ ; like the Hif. of the Heb. verb, joined with two accusatives (Gen. xli, 42). This is a good instance of an exception to the rule that Assyr. שׁ = Heb. ס. But such exceptions are not rare.

8. *ûnûti :* an abstr. sing. = "property," "substance," "stuff;" and so "furniture," "weapons," "vessels," σκεύη. Sanh. Bellino Cyl. 1, 9 : ana ekalšu . . . erumma aptêma bît niçirtišu ; ḫuraçu kaspu unût ḫuraçi kaspi abnu aqartu nin

šumšu . . . niçirtu kabittu ušeçamma šallatiš amnu : "into his palace . . . I entered, and I opened his treasure-house ; gold, silver, *vessels of gold* (*and*) *silver*, every kind of precious stone . . . a rich treasure, I carried off, and reckoned as booty." Shalm. Ob. has the phrase, unût taḫazišunu, "their weapons of war." The word is thus equivalent to Heb. כֵּלִים. The R. may be הון ; *cf.* Prov. i, 13, כָּל־הוֹן יָקָר.

10. MA-KUA : (êlip) *ilu* Marduk, 2 R. 62, 41 e. f. (comp. 42 h). MA = elippu "ship," ܐܶܠܦ̈ Matt. xiv, 24; KUA = "rest ;" *cf.* note 2, 43. The ships or arks of the gods were doubtless carried in procession, as was the case in Egypt. *zarîri : cf.* Heb. זֵר the golden *rim* or *moulding* round the Ark and Holy Table, Ex. xxv, 11, 24 sq. ; Syr. ܙܪ̈ܝܪ̈ "necklace." 2 R. 58, 67, No. 6, za-ri-ru.

11. *uçâ'in :* impf. II, 1 of çênu = צאן, "to shine," "be bright," "pure." Or leg. *uzâ'in*, and *cf. zinuâti*, 1, 12, and the Arab. زان ornavit.

13. *ešrêti :* pl. of *ešritu*, which, as the context shows, must mean "holy place," "temple." Was a temple so called, because marked by an אֲשֵׁרָה ? Or is the term a specialized form of *ašru*, "place ?"

15. "House of the corner-stone of Heaven and Earth."

19. See Exod. xxxv, 21, 26 for this phrase.

20. *gâgâdâ* = *qaqqâda*, קדקד. *Cf.* Phillips Cyl. 3, 3 sq. a-na Ešagili u Ezida ka-ak-da-a ka-a-a-na-ak, "to Esagili and Ezida I was faithful *in preference*," *i.e.*, before other temples. *Qaqdā*, "as the head," "in chief," an adv. accus. This contracted form also occurs, 4 R. 20, 6. But perhaps the R. is rather *kadû* = كدح studuit, operam posuit in aliquo opere ; *cf.* كدّ laboravit. "I was *sedulously* faithful ;" "I sedulously toiled." *Bituqak* may be pf. I, 2 (*pittuqak*, like *pitluḫak*) of *pataqu*, "to build," "make," "construct ;" or pf. I, 2 of *bâqu*, "to see," "look at," as Fl. takes it, comparing ana nûrika upaqqû ilâni rabûti, 4 R. 19, 42, 43 a. But this verb may be *paqû* (= פקח, *cf.* פְּקַח), or *baqû*, ܒܩܥ, scrutatus est, exploravit ; Ethpa. consideravit, Matt. vi, 28.

21. *rêšâti :* pl. of *rêštu*, used like Heb. רֵאשִׁית to denote the *best* and *choicest* of any kind.

23. *ubla*^{m} = ubila, ubil, impf. I, 1 of *abâlu*, ובל, "to bring;" Tigl. 5, 25 ; 63. הוֹבִיל, ܐܶܣܦ̈, ܓܒܝܠ. TIR = *kištu.*

24. *çulûlu*, written *zululu*. The term occurs, Sarg. St. 54 ; R. *çalâlu*, "to overshadow," "cover," צלל ; *cf.* Gen. xix, 8. See also Sarg. Silb. 30. gušurî êrini šurmêni elišina uçallil, "beams of cedar and cypress upon them I laid," as roofing.

26. ita^{m} libbi : *wall* or *side of the interior :* so Rodwell. *Itû*, "side," masc. of *ittu*, in the same sense. Gen. *itê* (a-na i-te-e na-ḫal *matu* Mu-çur, "to the bank of the Wâdy el-Arish;" Abp. in 3 R. 35, Obv. l. 12). The fem. *ittu* has plur. *itâti*, Tigl. 1, 39; Sarg. Cyl. 42, i-ta-ti-e-šu; St. 42, i-ta-tuš." *Itti*, "with," Heb. אֵת, is a form of *ittu*. Synonyms: *idu*, "hand," "side," pl. idâti, Tigl. 1, 81, (Sum. ZAG and DA), and *padu*.

30. *šîbi, i.e., šîpi,* apparently connected with סוף "end;" whence also *šêpâ,* "feet," lit. "extremities" (?). *šaplânu,* "bottom, like *çalmânu,* "image."

34. *uddakam*: *Cf.* 1 R. 52, No. 3, 1, 22 ud-da-ak-ku la na-pa-ar-ka-a, "daily without fail," like *sāttišam lâ naparkâ*, Esarh. *usallâ:* impf. II, 1 of *salû* = Aram., Arab., Ethiop. צלא صَلَّى oravit. (I am aware that this is exceptional. *Cf.* in Heb. עלם and עלין; in Arab. صلس and صلص.) The noun is *taslîtu:* 4 R. 2, col. 5, 46, iq-ri-ba tas-li-ta ul i-šim-mu, "prayer, supplication, hear they not!"

36. *narmîšu:* I suppose = rimetišu, Sarg. St. 54. The var. *narâmšu* = "his delight." 2 R. 35, No. 3, 43, ni-ir-mu=iš-du, *i.e.*, "foundation."

37. *ussim:* impf. I, 1 of asâmu = וישם, Arab. وسم stigma inussit (2) superavit alium pulcritudine; وسم pulcer fuit facie. *Cf.* Sarg. Silb. 24, ussima, "I adorned;" Tigl. 7, 100, ûsim. Hence the noun *sîmtu*, pl. *simâtu*, "badges," "insignia," "tokens," Tigl. 7, 88, and adv. asmiš, "beautifully."

42. *ušaklil:* impf. III, 1 of *kalâlu:* Heb. and Aram. כלל, Tigl. 6, 90, 99; *ušiklil*, with vowel assim. *šibiršu: šipru*, "sending," "mission," "task," "work;" like מלאכה. R. *šapâru*, "to send," Tigl. 7, 94. Sarg. St. 71, 97 "Arbeit," "Kunst."

46. For the broken sign , see note on 1, 50.

48. *rîmû:* "bulls," *i.e.*, bull-colossi. *Pl.* in —*u;* = rimâni.

49. *šigâru:* Heb. סְנוֹר, Hos. 13, 8, "bolt" or "barrier of the heart;" *i.e.*, the breast; Arab. شجار "bolt." The Sum. si-gar, 4 R. 20, No. 2, 3/4 a (Giš si-gar azag an-na-kid) is probably a loan word from the Babylonian.

52. *dalabanâti:* var. *dalbanâti*. *Cf.* דֶּרֶבֶן, "a goad;" ذرب "to be sharp," "pointed," of a sword or spear. Or R. may be דלף; *cf.* Eccl. x, 18; Prov. xix, 13, דֶּלֶף "a dropping (of rain) from the roof;" the word may then = "eaves." (The plane or poplar is called דֻּלְבָּא, دلب; but that hardly suits here.)

56. *ešmarê: cf.* Arab. أسمر "tawny," "brownish," *e.g.*, wheat. Or does the term mean "glazed," and is it to be connected with حشم "to become fat," and so "shining?" *Cf.* also חַשְׁמַל, Ez. i, 4, 27.

57. *dû:* syn. of *šubtu*, "seat," "dwelling." Syll. S^{c} 25—27. Is it related to דִּי, as *ašru* to אשר?

59. AMA-MEŠ: var. ri-i-mu, *ut supr.* 48.

60. *zaḫalê:* I first thought of the זחלי ארץ, Mic. vii, 17, and rendered "serpents;" but Ethiop. ዘሕለ: aeruginavit, ዝሕል: aerugo, seems a better comparison. The city gates had brazen lintels and side-posts (Hdt. i, 179).

ubanni^{m}: Impf. II, 1 of *banû*, "to build," in special sense, as in Tigl. 7, 98, kiribšu kima libbi šamê ubinni: "its interior like mid heaven *I made shine*;" str. made fat: *cf.* تَبَنَّى (5 of بَنَى), "to become fat;" and Jer. v, 28: שמנו עשתו, "they are waxen fat, they shine."

62. Not "den Tempel weihte ich festlich ein" (Fl.); asmiš (var. as-mi-iš) does not mean "festlich;" see note on 37, and *damâqu* means "to be bright," clarere. 4 R. 14, No. 2 (a hymn to the fire-god): ša kaspi ḫuraçi mudammiq sunu atta, "of silver and gold, their brightener (purifier) art thou." The line is parallel to the preceding.

63. *tabrâti*: "gazings;" pl. of *tabrîtu*. R. *barû*, "to look," "see," whence *bîru*, "a vision." *Tabrît mûši*, syn. of *šuttu*, "a dream."

64. *lulê*, "fullness," "abundance," syn. of *duḫdu* · *see* 2 R. 30, 37a ḫe (ǧe) = lulû; 2 R. 25, 42 sq. ef. nam-ḫe=duḫdu. *Cf.* also the term ḫegallu^{m}. Sanh. Const. 2, 86, has *bîta lalâ ušmallîš*, "the house, with abundance I had it filled." Both *lulû* and *lalû* are from LAL=malû, S^{b} 141.

71. See 2 R. 62, 42, e.f. GIŠ-MA-ID-ǴÊ-UL | elip *ilu* Nabi'um. The Ship or Ark of Nebo was, therefore, called "the Ship of the River of Overflowing Delight." *Cf.* 10 *supr.* S^{b} 98 *sq.*

72. *rukûbu* is obviously רְכוּב. The common word for "chariot" is *narkabtu*.

Column IV.

	içu elip ma-aš-[ṭa]-ḫa ZAG-MU-KU	*the Bark of the Way of Zag-muku,*
	i-si-in-ni^{m} ŠU-AN-NA-KI	*the festival of Babylon,*
	içu ka-ri-e-šu	*its sides*
	za-ra-ti ki-ir-bi-šu	(*and*) *the pavilion in the midst thereof*
5	u-ša-al-bi-šu	*I overlaid*
	ti-i-ri ša-aš-ši u abni	*with rows of white marble* (*?*) *and* (*coloured ?*) *stones.*
	E-SIGIŠŠE SIGIŠŠE a-ki-ti çi-ir-ti	*The House of Victims, the exalted resting-place*
	ša bel ilâni *ilu* Marduk	*of the lord of the gods, Merodach,*
	ŠI-LIG ḫi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti	*the master of the revels and rejoicings*
10	ša I-GI-GI u *ilu* A-NUN-NA-KI	*of the Igigi and the Anunnaki,*
	i-na ka-ma-a-ti Bâbilî	*on the ramparts of Babylon,*

	i-na ku-up-ri u a-gu-ur-ri	*with gypsum and burnt brick*
	ša-da-ni-iš e-ir-te	*mountain-high I erected.*
	E-MAḠ-E-DIMMER-NIN-ḪAR-ŠAG-GA.	*the great house, Edimmerninḫarsagga,*
15	lib-ba Bâbilî	*in the heart of Babylon,*
	a-na DIMMER-MAḠ um-mu ba-ni-ti-ia	*for the Great Goddess, the Mother that made me,*
	i-na Bâbilî e-pu-uš	*in Babylon I built.*
	a-na *ilu* Nabiu^{m} sukkalli çi-i-ri	*For Nebo, the exalted Messenger,*
	ša i-din-na^{m} ḫaṭṭa i-šar-ti	*who bestowed a sceptre of righteousness*
20	a-na pa-ga-da^{m} ka-al da-ad-mi	*for governing all habitable places,*
	E-ŠA-PA-KALA-MA-SI (M)-MA bît-su	*Ešapakalamasimma, his house,*
	i-na Bâbilî	*in Babylon*
	i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri	*with gypsum and brick*
	e-ip-ti-iq pi-ti-iq-šu	*I constructed the structure thereof.*
25	a-na *ilu* Sin mu-da-am-mi-iq	*For Sin, that brighteneth*
	i-da-ti-ia	*my boundary walls,*
	E-GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL bît-su	*Egišširgal, his house,*
	i-na Ba-bi-li e-pu-uš	*in Babylon I made.*
	a-na *ilu* Šamši da-a-a-ni^{m} çi-i-ri	*For Shamash, the Judge Supreme,*
30	ša UR-LIL (?) DUG (?) i-na te-ir-ti-ia	*who by my law,*
	E-SA-KUD-KALA-MA bît-su	*Esakudkalama, his house,*
	i-na Bâbilî	*in Babylon*
	i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri	*with gypsum and brick*
	ša-ki-iš e-pu-uš	*loftily I made.*
35	a-na *ilu* Rammanu mu-ša-aš-ki-in ḫegalli	*For Rimmon, who causeth abundance*
	i-na MADA-ia E-NAM-ḠE bît-su	*in my land, Ênamḫê, his house,*
	i-na Bâbilî ab-nî^{m}	*in Babylon I built.*
	a-na *ilu* Gu-la e-ṭi-ra-at	*For Gula that spareth,*
	ga-mi-la-at na-bi-iš-ti-ia	*that fostereth my life,*
40	E-SA-BAD E-ḪAR-SAG-IL-LA	*Esabad, Eḫarsagilla,*

	bitâti-ša i-na Bâbilî	*her houses in Babylon,*
	i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri	*with gypsum and brick*
	as-mi-iš ab-nî^{m}	*in fair wise I built.*
	a-na DIMMER-NIN-E-AN-NA	*For the Dame of the House of Heaven,*
45	be-il-ti ra-'-im-ti-ia	*the lady that loveth me,*
	E-KI-KU-GARZA bît-sa	*Ekikugarza, her house,*
	i-na tu-ub-ga dûr Bâbilî	*in the purlieus of the wall of Babylon*
	ša-ki-iš e-bu-uš	*loftily I made.*
	a-na *ilu* DŪ-E mu-šab-bi-ir	*For the Son of the House, that shattereth*
50	ka-ak-ku na-ki-ri-ia	*the sword of my foes,*
	bît-su in Bar-zi-pa e-pu-uš	*his house in Borsippa I made.*
	a-na *ilu* Gu-la be-il-ti	*For Gula, the Lady*
	mu-ṭi-ba-at ši-ri-ia	*that maketh whole my flesh,*
	E-GU-LA E-TIL-LA E-ZI-BA-TIL-LA	*Egula, Etilla, Ezibatilla,*
55	III e-eš-ri-e-ti-ša	*her three temples,*
	i-na Bar-zi-pa e-pu-uš	*in Borsippa I made.*
	a-na *ilu* Rammânu mu-ša-az-ni-in	*For Rimmon, that raineth*
	zu-un-ni^{m} nu-uḫ-šu i-na mâti-ia	*the rain of plenty in my land,*
	bît-su î-na Bar-zi-pa	*his house in Borsippa*
60	as-mi-iš ab-ni^{m}	*in fair wise I built.*
	a-na *ilu* Sin na-aš za-ad-du	*For Sin, that bringeth the increase*
	da-mi-iq-ti-ia	*of my welfare,*
	E-DIM-AN-NA bît-su	*Edimanna, his house,*
	i-na i-gar li-mi-ti E-ZI-DA	*at the side of the precinct of Ezida*
65	na-am-ri-iš e-bu-uš	*splendidly I made.*
	Im-gur *ilu* Bel	*Imgurbel*
	u Ni-mi-it-ti *ilu* Bel	*and Nimittibel,*
	dûrâni rabûti ša Bâbilî	*the great ramparts of Babylon*
	ša Nabiu^{m}-pal-u-çu-ur	*which Nabopolassar,*
70	šar TIN-TIR-KI a-bi ba-nu-u-a	*king of Babylon, the father that begot me,*
	i-pu-šu-ma la u-ša-ak-li-lu	*had made and not finished*
	ši-bi-ir-šu-un	*the work of them ;*

Notes to Column IV.

1. *mašṭaḫu* (Only the end of *ṭa* is left on the stone. *Cf.* 5, 19, 40.) is apparently a syn. of *sûqu*, "street:" 2 R. 33, 41, c.d.

tar	su-u-qu
tar si-la	,, rap-šu
ĕ . . . sir	maš-ṭa-ḫu

Cf. also S^b 304 si-la | 𒀭𒌷 | su-u-qu.

The term is like מַשְׂאֵהָא, Targ. 2 K. xviii, 17; Syr. ܡܣܥܬܐ; which means expansio, extensio; the *Heth* of that term, however, is soft, as appears from the Arabic.

2. *isînu:* theplur. *isînâti* occurs, Phillipps 3, 7. I identify this term with the Targumic אישׁון, tempus; בְּאִשׁוֹנָהּ, "at its (proper) time," Tg. Jer. Gen. xxviii, 10; אשׁוני, Deut. xxxi, 10 (of a yearly festival). The term is thus = מוֹעֵד.

3. *qârê:* קירוֹת, Lev. i, 15; v, 9 of the *walls* or *sides* of the altar; Jer. iv, 19, the *walls* of the heart. Sarg. Cyl. 37 has also plur. *qârâtu.* 2 R. 62, 75 g. h.

4. *zarâtu* means "tent;" 1 R. 7 J. (inscr. over tent of Sanherib: zaratu ša Sinaḫîrib šar mâti Aššur.) The R. is *zarî* = זרה, "to spread out."

6. *tîrî* = תוֹרִים, Cant. i, 10 sq. Or perhaps, "figures;" R. תאר.

8. *e sigišše* = bît niqî; S^b 158. *Cf.* Flood 3, 50; and Syr. ܢܨܒܐ agnus, ovis; Acts viii, 32; Joh. xxi, 17.

akîtu: Phillipps 3, 8, akîsunu rabîti. R. perhaps *akû* = Eth. ሀከየ: whence ሀኬት: "cessation;" *cf.* ܟܟܝ quievit, substitit vir. or ܟܐ in 5 and 8, "to recline."

9. ŠILIG = šagaburu, S^b 268. The latter word is spelt šagapiru, and equated with *ebilu*^{m}, 2 R. 31, 62 e. *Šagaburat*, the fem., occurs 2 R. 57, 14 c (parallel with *belit*).

11. *kamâti:* Flood 3, 7. The R. seems to be *kamû* = כמה, ܟܡܐ "to cover," "shield."

13. *êrtê:* for *artê* (vowel assimilation); impf. I, 1 of *ritû*, רתע, "to set up," "erect;" *cf.* ܪܛ, constrinxit nodum, II, 1, *urattî, urattâ.* Sarg. Sil. 34, St. 66.

14. E MAĞ = bitu çîrtu; NIN IJARŠAGGA = bêlit šadî, "lady of the mountain" (= Beltis). DIMMER MAĞ (l. 16) is the same goddess: 2 R. 54, 2, 2 sq. EŠAPAKALAMASIMMA = *bît nâdin ḫaṭṭi mâti*, "house of the giver of the sceptre of the country."

18. LUG = sukkallu, "servant," "messenger," S^b 77; Pi. 117; Bors. 2, 16, *ilu* Na-bi-u^m DU (var. ab-la^m) ki-i-ni^m su-uk-ka-al-la^m çi-i-ri; 4 R. 14, 3, 1 sq.

19. *idinnam* = iddina^m. GIŠ-ŠA-PA, ideogr. of *ḫaṭṭu*, "sceptre."

20. *dadmu:* reduplicated form of *admu: cf. admânu.* Sarg. Cyl. 22. Esarhaddon threw down at Zidon gi-mir da-ad-me-šu, "all its dwellings;" 1 R. 45, 1, 9 sq. The term also means "dwelling places," in the sense of "neighbourhoods," "districts;" and so here.

25. Fl. "der die Weihe verleiht meiner Macht;" (?) We might perhaps render, "that maketh fortunate;" but I prefer the above; see note on 3, 62. *idâti* (= יָדוֹת) is pl. of *idû*, "hand," "side," and is a syn. of *itu*, *ittu*, in the sense of "wall:" Tigl. 1, 81; 2, 65; 4, 92: see Lotz.

26. E-GIŠŠIR-GAL = bît nûri rabî, "House of the Great Light:" 2, 49 *supr.* (So Ménant.)

30. *ur*, see 3, 67; *ur*=ḫamâmu, "sphere," "quarter of heaven;" and *eçidu*, "side," or "region;" also *kanagurru*, "road" (?) 2 R. 38, 27, c. d. For *lil*, *cf.* S^{b} 361; *têrtu* = תּוֹרָה, אוֹרַיְתָא..

31. E-SAKUD-KALAMA, "The House of Man's Doom;" bît dân niši, "house of the judge of mankind."

34. šaqiš, adv. of šaqû, "high;" Tigl. 2, 41; 3, 68, etc.

35. *Cf.* Sarg. St. 83: mu-kin ḫi-gal-li-ia; and the fragment *ap.* D.L. p. 80, l. 6 sq., il šâri ṭâbi bêl tašmê u magâri mušabši çimri u kubuttê mukin ḫigal, "the god of the good wind, the lord of hearing and obeying, that causeth union and pregnancy, that establisheth abundance."

36. E-NAM-ḪI = bît duḫdi, "house of Fullness;" note on 3, 64.

37. *êṭirat:* ptcp. f. I, 1 of *aṭâru* = אטר, "protect," "rescue," "spare;" Tigl. 2, 53; 5, 12; 6, 26; *cf.* עטר, 1 Sam. xxiii, 26; Ps. v, 13, from which it appears that "surround" is the original meaning. *Gamâlu*, verschonen, schenken. Tigl. 2, 51 sq. eṭiršu napištašu agmil; of a conquered king, "I spared him, his life I granted," or perhaps "cherished," "preserved;" Prov. xi, 17. גומל נפשו; Ps. xiii, 6. See 4 R. 2, col. 5, 44 e-ṭi-ra ga-ma-la ul i-du-u, "to spare, to cherish, they know not."

40. E-SABAD E-ḪAR-ŠAG-ILLA = bît šadî elli, "House of the Bright Mountain."

44. NIN-E-ANNA = belit bît šamê, a title of Beltis.

46. For 𒀀𒉿 𒂊𒍪 = ga-ar-za, par-çu, see S^{b} 215. For ki-ku, KAT. 350: ilâni ina ki-ku-šunu idki.

47. *tubqu: cf. tubuqatu*^{m}, 2, 55 note; and *tibqu*, "an ell," Tigl. 7. 81 (תְּבִיקִין).

49. DU-E; abil bîti.

53. *muṭîbat šêrê'a:* ptcp. II, 1 of *ṭâbu. cf.* Tigl. 7, 33, 114; Prov. xi., 17. *Ṭûb šêri*, "health of body."

54. E-TILLA, *bît balâṭi*, "House of life;" E-ZIBA-TILLA, "House of Good Life."

58. *zunnu* or *zûnu* (Tigl. 8, 27), "rain." For the verb (III, 1 impf. as here), Flood 2, 31. 34. Ethiop. ዘነመ: seems to be the only Semitic cognate.

61. *nâš:* ptcp. I, 1 cst. of *našû* = נָשֵׂא. *Çaddu* is a difficult word, which Fl. says he cannot explain; *çaddu* means "trap," "snare," (צָדִים Judg. ii, 3), as is clear from 4 R. 26 21 sq. (Lyon); and Sarg. Cyl. 57 calls Sin mušaklim çaddê, sehend lassend die Schlingen. Perhaps, therefore, we might translate here:

"To Sin that taketh away the snare of my welfare," *i.e.*, the snare set for it. But possibly here, and Cyl. 57, we ought to transcribe *zaddu*, and comp. زاد auxit, زادد الله خيرا "God increased to him good fortune."

63. E- DIM- ANNA: ? house of the Prince of Heaven: 2 R. 49, 34, No. 2, Rev.

64. *igâru:* יְגַר, אֲגָר "stone heap;" in Assyr. "wall," Tigl. 7, 99, igarâte-šu, of a temple; "side," *e.g.*, of a ship (= çilu, צלע), 4 R. 51, 46 c., ina igari elippi, "on board a ship." Lotz compares حجر "side," "adjacent tract or quarter." *Limitu* or *limetu*, "border," boundary," "territory," 1 R. 39, 14.

65. See 2 R. 50, 24 *sqq.* a. b. *Imgurbel* = *dûr Šuannaki*, etc.

68. BADA-GAL-GAL: S^{b} 351 ba-ad = du-u-ru, "wall," "stronghold." A blank line follows this one on the stone.

70. TIN- TIR- KI = "Place of the Seat of Life." TIN = balâṭu; TIR = šubtu, "seat." *Cf.* 2 R. 20, No. 3, 12/13. ašā-zu tintirkita aša numundadi = itti eqlika ba-bi-li^{m} eqlu ul iššannan, "with thy field Babylon, no field may vie."

Column V.

	ḫi-ri-it-su i-iḫ-ru-ma	*its moat had he dug, and*
	II ka-a-ri dannu-ti	*two strong embankments*
	in ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri	*with gypsum and burnt brick*
	ik-zu-ru ki-bi-ir-šu	*he constructed as its border;*
5	ka-a-ri a-ra-aḫ-ti	*the dikes of the Araḫtu*
	i-bu-šu-ma	*he had made, and*
	ma-ka-a-at a-gur-ri	*fences of brick*
	a-bar-ti Bu-ra-at-ti	(*on*) *the bank of Euphrates*
	u-ra-ak-ki-su-ma	*had constructed, and*
10	la u-ša-ak-li-lu	*had not finished*
	si-it-ta-a-ti	*the rest;*
	iš-tu DU-AZAG	*from Du-azag,*
	KI-NAM-TAR-TAR-RI-E-NE	*the place of them that determine destinies,*
	pa-ra-ak ši-ma-a-ti	*the shrine of the Fates,*
15	a-di a-a-i-bur-ša-bu-u^{m}	*unto A-ibur-šabu^{m},*
	su-li-e Bâbilî	*the causeway of Babylon,*
	mi-iḫ-ra-at bâb Belti	*before the Gate of Beltis,*
	in ŠIB-NA-KU-MI-NA TUR-DA	*with strong blue tiles,*

	ma-aš-ṭa-ḫa beli rabî *ilu* Marduk	*as a sacred way of the great lord Merodach*
20	u-ba-an-na-a ta-al-lak-ti	*he beautified the road.*
	ia-ti abil-šu ri-e-eš-ta-a	*As for me, his exalted son,*
	na-ra-am libbi-šu	*the darling of his heart,*
	Im-gu-ur *ilu* Bel	*Imgurbel*
	u Ni-mi-it-ti *ilu* Bel	*and Nimittibel,*
25	durâni rabûti ša Bâbilî	*the great ramparts of Babylon,*
	u-ša-ak-li-il	*I finished;*
	i-ta-at kar ḫi-ri-ti-šu	*the sides of the embankment of its moat,*
	II. ka-a-ri dannû-ti	*the two strong embankments,*
	in ku-bur u a-gur-ri ab-ni-ma	*with gypsum and burnt brick I built, and*
30	it-ti kar a-bi ik-zu-ru	*with the embankment, (which) my father had constructed,*
	e-is-ni-iq-ma	*I joined (them), and*
	âla a-na ki-da-ni^{m}	*the city, for cover,*
	u-ša-al-mi	*I carried (them) round.*
	kar a-gur-ri	*A wall of brick,*
35	bal-ri erib šam-ši	*at the ford of the setting sun,*
	dûr Bâbilî	*the fortress of Babylon*
	u-ša-as-ḫi-ir	*I threw around.*
	a-a-bu-ur-ša-bu-u^{m}	*Â-bur-šabû^{m},*
	su-li-e Bâbilî	*the causeway of Babylon,*
40	a-na ma-aš-ṭa-ḫa beli rabî *ilu* Marduk	*for the sacred way of the great lord Merodach,*
	ta-am-la-a za-aq-ru	*to a high elevation*
	u-ma-al-li-ma	*I raised, and*
	i-na ŠIB-NA KU-MI-NA TUR-DA	*with strong tiles, enamelled blue,*
	u [ŠIB] abni ši-ti-iq šad-i	*and stone, hewn from the mountains,*
45	a-a-i-bu-ur-ša-bu-u	*Â-ibur-šabû*
	iš-tu bâbi el-la	*from the Shining Gate*
	a-di *ilu* Ištar sa-ki-pa-at te-e-bi-ša	*to Ištar that hurleth down them that scorn her,*
	a-na ma-aš-ṭa-ḫa i-lu-ti-šu	*for the sacred way of his godhead*
50	u-da-am-mi-iq-ma	*I made fair, and*
	it-ti ša a-bi i-pu-šu	*with what my father had done*

	e-is-ni-iq-ma	*I connected* (*it*), *and*
	u-ba-an-na-a	*I beautified*
	ta-al-la-ak-ti	*the road*
55	*ilu* Ištar sa-ki-pa-at	*of Ištar, that hurleth down*
	te-e-bi-ša	*them that scorn her.*
	ša Im-gur *ilu* Bel	*Of Imgurbel*
	u Ni-mi-it-ti *ilu* Bel	*and Nimittibel*
	abulli ki-la-at-ta-an	*the portals round about—*
60	i-na ta-am-li-e	*through the raising*
	su-li-e Bâ-bi-lî	*of the causeway of Babylon*
	iš-ta-ap-pi-la	*low had become*
	ni-ri-ba-ši-in	*their entrances:*
	abulli ši-na-a-ti	*those portals*
65	at-ki-e-ma	*I raised, and*

Notes to Column V.

1. *ḫirîtsu iḫrû*; ḫirû, חרא; *cf.* خَرَعَ parallel "to slit," "split." Inf. I, 1 Sarg. Cyl. 46, 55, *ḫirê.*

2. DA- LUM, ideogr. = *dannu.* Dûru dannu, 9, 19 = dûru DA- LUM, 6, 28, 33. The ideogr. occurs in the inscr. of Hammuragaš.

4. *iqçuru:* Impf. I. 1 of *qaçâru*, "to join," "put together," "collect," Sarg. Sil. 39; Tigl. 7, 10. *Cf.* قَصْر arx, palatium; ቀጸር : ቀጸረ : sepsit; ቀጸረ : constrinxit.

kibru, "bank" "shore;" R. *kabâru*, "to be great," "long," כבר (Haupt).

7. *maqâtu: cf.* مَقْوَدٌ custodia, from مقا custodivit; or وَقَى servavit, custodivit (2) reparavit rem, bene instruxit. (So *malaku* from ולך.) The *αἰμασιη* of Hdt. 1, 180 is intended; *cf.* Diod. 2, 8, 20.

8. *rakâsu* = רָכַס "to bind," Ex. xxviii, 28; in Assyr. "to bind together" (with cement), "to build." Perhaps the idea is rather that of "heaping up," "raising;" *cf.* רכסים, "hills," Is. xl, 4. Sanherib says: ḫal-çû (meš) eli-šu u-rak-kis, "siege works against him I threw up."

9. *abartu* = אֶבְרָא "wing," in sense of "side;" or more prob. = *âpartu*, *i.e.*, *appartu*, "marsh," אֶפְרָא. *Cf.* the plur. in the expression *nâr* agammê u apparâte, "pools and marshes." But? *abâru*, "to be strong;" *cf. kibru*, l. 4.

11. *sittâti:* pl. of *sitêtu*, Tigl. 1, 85. *cf. sittu*, Sarg. Cyl. 20; abstr. *sittûte*, Sarg. Botta 145, I *ad fin.* Heb. שְׁתוֹת "ends," "extremities," Arab إست, ستّه, ستّه, ستّه, "rump," "behind."

12. DU——AZAG: *šubtu ellitu*, "The Bright Abode." Between these two signs on the stone a sign somewhat like *ku* has been chiselled out.

13. KI-NAM-TAR-TAR-RI-E-NE = ašar šâmî šimâti; 2 R. 7, 1–5. a.b.: –

tar	ša-a-mu
nam	šim-tu^{m}
nam-tar	šim-tu^{m} ša-a-mu.

15. *A-ibur-šabû*, "May plenty not pass away!" the name of a street (*ibur* = *ibir*, apparently; *cf.* 10, 4).

16. *sulû:* prob. loan-word from Sum. SILA = sûqu, "street," S^{b} 304. Else we might think of מְסִלָּה, and a R. סלה = סלל; *cf.* شال "he raised,' "took up" a thing.

17. KA-NIN = *bâb bêlti*, "Gate of Beltis." *miḫrat*, "before;" = *miḫrit*, in the phrase *miḫrit abulli âlîšu*, "before the gate of his city."

18. 1 R. has *turmina turda;* but the first sign on the stone is KU (𒆠). TURDA = *eqdu*, "hard," "firm;" see note on 6, 16; 4 R. 27, 19 sq. a. ŠIB = libitti, 4 R. 18, No. 2, Rev. 28. 5 R. 30, 61, g, h. NA KU-MI-NA = *aban šamê*, "stone of heaven." Tiles, enamelled blue, seem to be meant.

30. *iqzuru:* the Old Bab. text has *iqsuru*, which Fl. adopts; but the New Bab. text is right, for the stone has 𒍑 *zu* (*i.e.*, *çu*, in this inscription).

31. *Esniq* = *asniq* (by vowel assim.). A very common verb, "to squeeze together," "confine," einengen, bedrängen. Tigl. 3, 58, etc. See Lotz, *ad loc.* A syn. of *ukkubu*, and *kašâdu*, 2 R. 48 c, d, 6 *sqq.*, and of *daḫû* and *qiribu*, *ibid.*, 25 *sqq.* 2 R. 35, No. 3, 23: sa-(na)-qu = qa-ra-bu.

32. *Kidânu: cf.* Eth. ከደነ: texit, ተከደነ: protectus est, Ps. lx 4; ከደን: tunica; Arab. كدن veste cinctus est.

33. *ušalmî:* impf. III, 1 of *lamû*, belägern. Tigl. 6, 24.

35. *balri* recurs 6, 28; Phillipps 2, 6, ba-la-ar šamši âçî, "the *balru* of the sunrising." The word is a loan from the Sumerian: 2 R. 62, 3 Obv. c.d. *ki-a bal-ri* = *e-bir-tan; ibid.* 3 Rev. c.d. 74 *sqq. bal* = *e-bi-ru*^{m}; *bal-ri* = *e-bir-tî nâri*, "the crossing of a river."

37. For *saḫaru*, *cf.* 4 R. 29, No. 5, Rev. 56: riminitu^{m} ša nasḫarša ṭâbu, "The merciful (goddess) whose turning round is good." 4 R. 10, 6, Rev. ana ilî'a riminî attanasḫar, unnini agabbi, "To my merciful god I turn, supplications I utter."

41. *tamlû:* "a filling up," R. *malû*, מלא; of the form *tamšilu*, *taṗdû*, *tamḫaru*. Cognate accus. after *umallî*, impf. II, 1 of *malû*, "to fill;" 4 R. 26, No. 3, 39 | 40 = kurkurra galgalla = šadi zaqrûti, "high mountains."

44. *šitqu* or *šitku; cf.* Sarg. St. 71, maltakti eri namri, "a work (?) of shining bronze" (= maštaktum, 2 R. 45, 14 d.). The determinative ŠIB seems to be repeated by mistake from l. 43.

47, 55. The usual ideogram of Nanâ (Nanâ'a 4 R. 36, No 35, 3,) occurs here. See Phillipps 2, 23, 34, Na-na-a; Abp. 235, 249. This goddess was originally distinct from Ištar: 4 R. 53, 5c. Both were worshipped at Erech, of which town Ištar-Beltis was the chief goddess (Phillipps 2, 52; Ištar Uruki bêlit Uruki elliti^{m}). The temple of Nanâ'a at Erech was called Eanna (see Del. PD., 222). *Sakâpu=saḫâpu*, "to throw down; Tigl. 8, 77; 4 R. 10, 36 Rev. belu^{m} aradka la tasakip, "O lord, cast not thy servant down!" *Têbu:* ptcp. I, 1 of *têbu* = תעב. This seems better than connecting the term with *tibâ*, תבא, aggredi.

59. *kilattan: cf.* Creation Fragm. K. 3567, 9, iptêma abulli ina çili(e) kilallan; "He opened gates in the sides all round." The same expression recurs, Sarg. Cyl. 66. *Kilallu* means "the whole" (Schrad. KAT., p. 220); *cf.* Chald. *kĕlālā*. Is *kilattu* = *kilaltu* a fem. form of it? So *simittu*, "left," = *similtu*.

62. *ištappilâ:* Impf. II, 2 of šapâlu, שָׁפַל. 3 f. pl.

63. *nêribu:* "entry;" pl. ni-ri-bi-te, Tigl. 4, 53. From *êribu*, "to enter," like *nemiqu* from *êmiqu*. *Neribâ* is the dual.

65. *atqê:* Impf. I, 1 of *taqû*=תקא. *Cf.* תקע אהל, Gen. xxxi, 35. Col. 7, 58.

Column VI.

mi-iḫ-ra-at me-e i-šid-si-in	*over against the water their foundation*
i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri	*with gypsum and brick*
u-šar-ši-id-ma	*I firmly laid, and*
i-na a-gur-ri *abnu* uknî elli-ti^{m}	*with burnt brick, (and) gleaming onyx-marble,*
5 ša rîmû u çiri ezzûti	*of which bulls and huge serpents*
ba-nu-u kir-bu-uš-ša	*they make, the interior of them*
na-ak-li-iš u-še-piš	*cunningly I constructed.*
içu erini dannû-ti	*Strong cedar beams*
a-na zu-lu-li-ši-na	*for the roofing of them*
10 u-ša-at-ri-iç	*I laid on.*
dalâti *içu* erini	*Doors of cedar*
ta-aḫ-lu-ub-ti siparri	*(with) plating of copper;*
aš-ku-ub-bu u nu-ku-še-e	*lintels and hinges,*
bi-ti-iq êri e-ma bâbê-ša	*bronze-work, round its gates*
15 e-ir-te-it-ti	*I set up.*
rîmû êri e-iq-du-tu^{m}	*Strong bulls of bronze,*
u çiri ezzûti še-zu-zu-ti	*and serpents huge, erect,*
i-na si-ip-pi-ši-na uš-zi-iz	*by their threshholds I stationed:*
abulli ši-na-a-ti	*those portals,*

20	a-na tab-ra-a-ti kiššat ni-ši	*for the gazings of the multitude of the people,*
	lu-li-e uš-ma-al-lam	*with abundance (of objects of art) I filled.*
	gan taḫazi a-na Im-gur *ilu* Bel	*That shaft of battle to Imgurbel,*
	dur Bâbilî la da-ḫi-e	*the wall of Babylon, might not reach;*
	ša ma-na-ma šarru maḫ-ri la i-pu-šu	*(what no king before me had done;)*
25	IV M ammat ga-ga-ri	*for four thousand cubits of ground,*
	i-ta-a-ti Bâbilî	*on the flanks of Babylon*
	ni-si-iš la da-ḫi-e	*from afar unapproachable,*
	dûra danna bal-ri šamši âçî	*a mighty rampart, at the ford of the sunrising,*
	Bâbilî u-ša-as-ḫi-ir	*Babylon I threw around.*
30	ḫi-ri-is-su aḫ-ri-e-ma ki-bi-ir-šu	*Its moat I dug, and the bank of it*
	i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri	*with gypsum and brick*
	aq-su-ur-ma	*I bound together, and*
	dûra danna i-na { kišâdi- / aḫî- } šu	*a mighty rampart on the { neck / marge } of it*
	ša-da-ni-iš ab-nim	*mountain-high I built.*
35	abulli-šu ša-ad-la-a-ti	*Its portals broad*
	u-ra-ak-ki-is-ma	*I constructed, and*
	dalâti *içu* erini taḫ-lu-ub-ti siparri	*the doors in cedar, with plating of copper,*
	e-ir-te-it-ti-ši-na-a-ti	*I set them up.*
	aš-šum a-a-bi la-ba-ne pa-ni^{m}	*That foes might cast down the face,*
40	i-te-e TIN-TIR-KI la sa-na-ga	*the bounds of Babylon might not approach;*
	me-e ra-bi-u-ti^{m}	*great waters,*
	ki-ma gi-bi-iš ti-a-ma-ti	*like the volume of seas,*
	ma-da u-ša-al-mi-ma	*the land I carried round, and*
	e-bi-ir-šu-un	*the crossing of them*
45	ki-ma e-bir ti-a-ama-ti gal-la-ti	*(was) like the crossing of the great sea,*
	ia-ar-ri ma-ar-ti	*of the briny flood.*
	bu-tu-uq-ti ki-ir-ba-šu-un	*A burst in the midst of them*
	la šu-ub-ši-i	*not to suffer to befal,*
	ši-bi-ik e-pi-ri	*with a bank of earth*

50	aš-ta-ap-pa-ak-šu-nu-tim-ma	*I embanked them, and*
	ka-a-ri a-gu-ur-ri	*walls of kiln-brick*
	uš-ta-as-ḫi-ir-šu-nu-ti^{m}	*I threw around them.*
	ma-aç-çar-ti na-ak-li-iš	*The defences skilfully*
	u-da-an-ni-in-ma	*did I strengthen, and*
55	âl mâti Bâbilî	*the capital Babylon*
	a-na ni-çir-ti aš-ku-un	*for defence I fitted.*
	Ṭa-a-bi-su-bu-ur-šu	*Tâbisuburšu,*
	dûr Bar-zi-pa	*the wall of Borsippa,*
	e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš	*anew I made.*
60	ḫi-ri-it-su aḫ-ri-e-ma	*Its moat I dug, and*
	i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri	*with gypsum and brick*
	aq-zu-ur ki-bi-ir-ša	*I fenced its bank.*
	ilu Nabiu^{m}-ku-du-ur-ri-u-çu-ur	*Nebuchadrezzar,*

Notes to Column VI.

1. *išdu:* אֲשֻׁד, Num. xxi, 15, "bottom," "ground," "foundation."

3. *ušaršid:* Impf. III, 1 of *rašâdu;* "to make fast and firm," *e.g.*, ušaršidu kussu-šu, "they established his throne." Tigl. 8, 8, 38; Sarg. Cyl. 65; 4 R. 18, No. 2 Rev. 35: išdi kussi šarrutišu ṭabiš šuršidi, "the foundation of the throne of his kingdom well do thou secure!"

5. *çiri ezzûti:* ideogr. ÇIR RUŠ: see Pi. 210 for the second sign. Besides the bull-colossi, huge serpents were set up at the gates of Babylonian temples and palaces, and also at the city gates, as appears from Phillipps, 1, 44 sq. See also Nerigl. 1, 21 sqq.; 2 R. 19, 15 b (Del. PD. 14, 6); Neb. Bab. 2, 8 sq.

10. *ušatriç:* Chald. תרין, "to make or set straight or level." Sarg. Cyl. 6; St. 56, 64.

12. *taḫlubtu:* "covering," from ḫalâbu, "to cover." Sarg. Cyl. 7; whence *taḫlûbu*, "roof," Sil. 39.

13. *aškuppu:* the third sign on the stone, and in the O.B. text, is *te*, a scribe's error for *up: cf.* 8, 7. Tg. אִיסְקוּפָּא, pl. Pr. viii, 34. אַסְקוּפּוֹתַי, "threshold." *nukušu:* loan-word from Sum. NU=lâ, "not," KUŠA, "resting:" see note on 1, 11. Syn. of *nîr dalti*, "yoke of the door," and *murim dalti*, "upholder of the door:" 2 R. 23, 40 sq. c.d.

14. *ema:* this prep. recurs, 8. 8; 9, 16. R. עמה = עמם.

15. *ertitî:* impf II, 2 of *ritû:* see 4, 13.

16. *eqdu:* Tigl. 6, 77 ina libbi'a iq-di, "in my stout heart (courage)." *Cf.* عَقَدَ, "to *knot* a cord," "tie it firmly, fast, or strongly;" of liquids, "to thicken," "become hard." عَقَدٌ, "strong," of a camel. The idea of *twisting* and *knotting* denotes *strength*, *firmness*, in other terms, *e.g.*, חוּל and قُوَّة.

17. *ezzu:* Heb. עָז. *šezuzu:* shaf. verbal from *nazâzu*, like *šûquru*, "costly," *šurbû*, "great;" *šûturu*, "gigantic." *Ušziz* (18) = *ušâziz* = *ušanziz*, Shaf. impf. of *nazâzu;* Tigl. Quelleninschr. has *ušeziz*, "I set up." The intrans. use of Shaf. is like that of Hif. in certain Heb. verbs.

22. GI-AK (? ME; *cf.* Syll. S^{b} 294), *i.e.*, *qan taḫazi*, as the parallels 8, 42; 9, 40, show. GI=qanu, "reed;" ME=taḫâzu, "battle." AK is a scribe's error.

23. *daḫê:* imf. I. of דחא, "to approach;" str. "to close up to," "thrust at," *cf.* Germ. anstossen. *diḫ* and *diḫi* are used as preps. "before," "near," of place; as we say "*abutting on.*" 4 R. 10, 61 Obv. abki-ma ana itatê'a ul idḫû, "I wept, and to my side none came."

25. *gâgâru:* = *qaqqâru*, "ground," "floor," Tigl. 7, 76. *Cf.* Arab. قرقر "level ground." Heb. קַרְקַע.

27. *nišiš:* adv. of *nisû*, "remote." 28. *dûra: i.e.*, Nimittibel (?).

32. *aqsur:* the middle sign on the stone is *su*, not *zu* as at 5.30; the R, therefore, may be the same as that of Heb. קָשַׁר, "to bind;" *cf.* וַתִּקָּשֵׁר, of a wall; Neh. iii, 38. But perhaps the word is *aksur*, from כסר=Heb. כָּשַׁר; "I made straight;" and perhaps *su* is a scribe's error, the difference on the stone being slight.

35. *šadlâti:* adj. f. pl. of *šadlu*, "broad," "wide;" f. *šadiltu; e.g.*, çir irçiti šadilti, "over the broad earth" (=rapašti): masc. pl. *šadlûti. Cf.* سدل "to let loose, let down," a garment, the hair, a curtain; and Aram. שַׁדַּל, "to persuade," the root meaning of which, like פתה, may be "to lie open."

39. *aššu*^{m}=ana šu, "for this (object)," followed by the infin.; Sarg. Cyl. 41, 52. *Abi:* איבים; Tigl. 1, 8, 11.

labânu: 2 R. 27, No. 3, 37, ana ilišu ina unnini appašu ilabbin "to his god with supplication he casteth down his face." *Cf.* Arab. لبن percussit vehementer aliquem, cecidit fuste. The Assyr. phrase *labâne pani*^{m} is lit. percellere vultum, "to beat down the face," *i.e.*, "to daunt," "dispirit," "discourage," percellere animos; or (2), as here, "to be downcast," "to look discouraged," animo perculsum esse.

42. *gibšu:* "thickness," "bulk;" Sarg. Cyl. 37, kî gibiš êdê, gleich der Masse der Meeresfluth (Lyon.). The adj. gabšu seems to be a syn. of *gimru*, "total;" ummanât *ilu* Ašur gabšâti adkî: "The armies of Assur *en masse* I levied." Sarg.

46. *ya'arru*=ya'âru=יְאֹר; *cf. ia'uri*, in inscr. of Rimmon-nirâri, 4 R, 44, 21. *martu*, "bitterness;" *cf. nâru narrâtu*, the name of the Persian Gulf.

47. *butuqtu:* Fl. compares בידקא, and renders "Ueberschwemmung." But بثق means "to make an opening for water by breaking through a bank or dam," and is also used of the stream itself bursting its barriers: *see* Lane. *Cf.* בְּתַק, confodit, Ez. xvi, 40; and חתן: rupit. 4 R. 10, 38 Rev. ina mê šubtaqti nadi qassu çabat, "into the waters of a flood he is cast; take thou his hand!"

49. *šipku:* "an outpouring," "covering," from *šapâku*, ausgiessen, beschütten, belegen; Tigl.; Heb. שָׁפַךְ. *Epiri*, plur. of epru, "dust," עָפָר; elsewhere, eprâti, עפרות.

50. *aštappak:* Ifteal (I, 2) pres. of *šapâku.*

53. *maççartu:* R. *naçâru,* "to defend," "protect." Fl. "das Bollwerk." *Cf. niçirtu,* in l. 56, where it seems to mean "fortress." Flood, 1, 9, *amat niçirtî* = "tale of my protection." Elsewhere the term means "treasure" (= what is guarded).

57. *Ṭâbi-šuburšu* (="Fair is its beauty," supru, שׁוּפְרָא), was the name of the outer wall of Borsippa.

59. *ešši:* ešše, "new," ešše, "newness," also occur. R. *adâšu* = חדשׁ (Tigl. 8, 55, luddiš, "may he renew!").

Column VII.

	šar Bâbilî	*king of Babylon,*
	ša *ilu* Marduk bêlu rabû	*whom Merodach, the great Lord,*
	a-na dam-ga-a-ti âli-šu	*for the weal of his city*
	Bâbilî ib-bu-šu a-na-ku-ma	*Babylon called, am I.*
5	E-ŠAG-ILLA u (E)-ZI-DA	*Esagilla and Ezida*
	ki-ma ša-ru-ru *ilu* šam-(šu) u-še-bi	*like the brilliance of the sun I made shine.*
	eš-ri-e-ti ilâni rabûti	*The temples of the great gods*
	tam-mi-iš u-na-am-mi-ir	*like day I made bright.*
	pa-na-ma ul-tu u-um ul-lu-ti	*Formerly, from days of yore,*
10	a-di pa-li-e	*to the reign*
	ilu Nabiu^{m}-pal-u-çu-ur šar TIN-TIR-KI	*of Nabopalassar, king of Babylon,*
	a-bi a-li-[di]-ia	*the father that begot me,*
	šar rani ma-du-ti a-lik maḫ-ri-ia	*the many kings my predecessors,*
	ša i-lu a-na šar-ru —ti^{m}	*whom the god to sovereignty*
15	iz-ku-ru zi-ki-ir-šu-un	*summoned by their name,*
	i-na alâni ni-iš i-ni-šu-nu	*in their favourite cities,*
	a-ša-ar iš-ta-a-mu	*in a place they determined on,*
	ekallâte i-te-ib-bu-šu	*palaces they built themselves,*
	ir-mu-u šu-ba-at-su-un	*they set up their abode.*
20	bu-ša-šu-nu^{m} i-na ki-ir-bi	*Their wealth within*
	u-na-ak-ki-mu	*they heaped up;*
	u-ga-ri-nu ma-ak-ku-ur-šu-un	*they piled their substance.*
	i-na i-si-ni^{m} ZAG-MU-KU	*On the feast of Zagmuku,*
	ta-bi-e *ilu* bel ilâni *ilu* Marduk	*the merrymaking of the lord of the gods, Merodach,*

25	i-ru-bu a-na ki-ir-bi ŠU-AN-NA-KI	*they entered Babylon.*
	iš-tu ib-na-an-ni *ilu* Marduk	*From the time that Merodach created me,*
	a-na šar-ru-u-ti	*for sovereignty ;*
	ilu Nabiu^{m} a-bi-il-šu ki-i-nu^{m}	(*from the time that*) *Nebo his true son*
	ip-ki-du ba-u-la-a-tu-šu	*committed his subjects* (*to me*) ;
30	ki-ma na-ap-ša-ti a-gar-ti	*like dear life*
	a-ra-mu ba-na a-la-an-šu-un	*love I the building of their cities :*
	e-li TIN-TIR-KI u Bar-zi-pa	*besides Babylon and Borsippa,*
	ul u-ša-pa al mâti^{m}	*I did not beautify a city of the land.*
	i-na Bâbilî	*In Babylon,*
35	âl ni-iš ena-ia ša a-ra-am-ma	*my favourite city, which I love,*
	ekalla bît ta-ab-ra-a-ti ni-ši	*the palace, the house of the gazings of the people,*
	ma-ar-ka-sa ma-da	*the bond of the country,*
	ku-um-mu el-la^{m}	*the splendid mansion,*
	ad-ma-ni^{m} šar-ru-ti	*the abode of royalty,*
40	i-na ir-çi-ti Bâbilî	*in the land of Babylon,*
	ša ki-ri-ib Bâbilî	*that is in the midst of Babylonia,*
	iš-tu Im-gur-*ilu*-Bel	*from Imgurbel*
	a-di Li-bi-il-ḫe-gal-la	*to Libilḫegalla,*
	pa-al-ga *ilu* šamši âçî	*the canal of the sunrising,*
45	iš-tu { kišâd / aḫî } nâri Buratti	*from the bank of the Euphrates*
	a-di a-a-i-bur-ša-bu-u	*to Â-ibur-šabû ;*
	ša *ilu* Na-bi-u^{m}-pal-u-çu-ur	*which Nabopalassar*
	šar TIN-TIR-KI a-ba ba-nu-u-a	*king of Babylon, the father who begot me,*
	i-na libitti ib-ši-mu-ma	*with brick had erected, and*
50	i-ir-mu-u ki-ir-ib-ša	*dwelt therein ;*
	i-na me-e mi-lu^{m}	*by the waters of a flood*
	i-ši-id-sa i-ni-iš-ma	*its foundation was weakened, and*
	i-na ta-am-li-e	*through the raising*
	su-li-e Bâbilî	*of the causeway of Babylon,*
55	ša ekalli ša-a-ti^{m}	*of that palace*
	iš-ta-ap-pi-la bâbê-ša	*low had become the gates of it :*
	i-ga-ru-ša bi-ši-ti libitti	*its ring-wall with brick material*(*?*)

at-ki-e-ma	*I set up, and*
te-me-en-ša at-te-e-ma	*its substructure I demolished, and*
šu-pu-ul me-e ak-šu-ud	*the bottom of the water I reached;*
mi-ih-ra-at me-e i-ši-id-sa	*over against the water its foundation*
u-ša-ar-ši-id-ma	*I firmly laid, and*
i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri	*with gypsum and brick*

Notes to Column VII.

4. *ibbušu:* = inbû-šu, from *nabû*, "to call," "name," "speak;" נבא. The middle sign *bu* is defaced on the stone by a hole which has caused the disappearance of the E of Ezidda in line 5, and almost that of the final character of DINGIR UT [šu?] in l. 6. In l. 7 the rough space between DINGIR and GAL-GAL was left vacant by the scribe as elsewhere. Old Bab. has *lu*, an error for *ku*.

6. *šarûru: see* note on 2, 53. *ušebi=ušêpi*, impf. III, 1 of *apû*=יפע, הוֹפִיעַ.

9. *pana:* "aforetime," לְפָנִים. With emphasizing enclitic *ma*.

12. *âlidi:* A slight trace of *di* is left on the stone, although the published copy omits it altogether.

13. *mâdûti* = ma'dûti, pl. of ma'du, multus (מְאֹד). *maḫri:* the sign *maḫ* is partly defaced on the stone.

15. *izkuru:* so the stone, quite plainly. The *er* of 1 R. (*see* ER-ER in next line) is a "Schreibfehler," not of the Babylonian scribe, but of his modern copyists.

16. *âlâni*, pl. of *âlu*, city;" S^{b} 261. URU | a-lu^{m}. Written URU-URU. *Cf.* Ar. آل.

niš êni-šunu: lit. "the lifting up of their eye," *i.e.*, whom they regard, on whom their eye is set. The gods look *away from* those whom they dislike; and look *upon* the objects of their favour.

17. *ašar:* constr. before Relat. clause. *ištâmu*: pres. I 2, of *šâmu*, "to fix," "settle," שִׂים.

18. *êtebbušu:* pres. I 2, of *êpišu*, "to make" (Samarit. עפם, tetigit, tractavit, Gen. iv, 31).

19. *irmû:* Dan. vii, 9, כרסון רמיו, "thrones were *set up.*" *Ramû* is also "to inhabit."

20. *bušû:* Habe, Tigl. 1, 83; 93; Flood, 2, 39.

21. *unakkimu:* impf. II, 1 of *nakâmu;* Tigl. 8, 68.

22. *ugarinu:* = **uqarrinu*, impf. II, 1 of *qarânu*, syn. of the common term *nakâmu*, "to heap up;" Tigl. 2, 22; 3, 54; 4, 19; quruntu, qurunâte, "heap," "pile," of corpses. *Cf.* قرن, junxit unam rem alteri; قرن, *pl.* قرون, قِرَان, parvus mons; Isa. v. 1, קרן. *Makkuru:* R. מכר; *cf. namkurru*, Tigl. 3, 3, 10. Heb. מָכַר.

24. *tabû:* "Vermag ich nicht zu erklären." (Fl.) R. בוע ; Targ. Isa. xvi, 10, ביע והדוה "mirth and joy;" Isa. xxii, 13 ; Jer. vii, 34, Prov. x.

29. *ba'ûlâtu:* Untertanen, Tigl. 1, 33. R. בעל.

31. Fl. divides ba-na-a lânsun, "zu bauen *ihren Vorhof;*" *lânu*, "a forecourt," Accad. E-GAR.

33. *ušâpû:* impf. III, 1 of *apû* (=*ušawpi'a*); Heb. יפע. In l. 6 we had *ušêpî*, as an alternative form ; just as *ašâbu*, ישב, makes *ušâšib* and *ušêšib* (Tigl. 7, 35, 112). In the Creation Tablet 1, the Shaf. pf. and Isht. impf. occur, in the sense of "coming out," "coming into being:" 7. ênûma ilâni la *šûpû* manama, "when none of the gods had come into existence;" 10. *ilu* Laḫmu *ilu* Laḫamu *ušṭâpû*, "Laḫmu and Laḫamu emerged" . . . and in 4 R. 2, 5/6 a. *šûpû* is equated with *e*, the Sum. for açû, "to go out." See also 4 R. 26, 25/26 a ; e=uççû, and *ibid.* 17/18 e=uppû. On this account Fl. renders: "erschuf ich mir nicht eine Landeshauptstadt." But *šûpû* is intrans. in the Creation Tablet, as also in Tigl. 7, 93 ; and Phillipps 3, 42, does not necessitate this rendering. Possibly *ušâpâ* here, and in Phillipps *l.c.*, may be rather Shaf. of *apû* = יפה ; Arab. وفى "to be completed," "perfect." *Cf.* also 5 R. 21, 18 a. b. ud-du (ê)=šu-bu-u.

35. *alâni nîš ênâya:* see on l. 16. *Nîšu* is from *našû*, "to lift up," as Fl. takes it: Gegenstand der Augenerhebung, 4, 9, 60: niš gâti'a.

36. The last character is apparently 𒋗 *šu*, not *ši* as usual. A hole in the stone follows.

37. *markasa:* 2 R. 31, No. 2, 10 e. f. =KU and LUGAL.

38. *kummu:* perhaps = tectum, "dwelling;" *cf.* كمّ texit. The meaning is certain from 4 R. 2, Col. v, 34, 35, be ab-zu-ta E-NUN-ta e-a-meš = i-na na-qab ap-si-i i-na ku-um-me ir-bu-u-šu-nu, "in the well of the Ocean, in a great house grew they up."

45. GU = *aḫu*, "bank," "shore," and *kišâdu*, do. ID-ŠEMBIR = nâr UT-KIB-NUN-KI Sipar *ki*, "river of Sepharvaim," *i.e.*, the Euphrates.

51. *milu*^{m} = *mil'u, "fullness," "overflow," "flood;" Shalmaneser says (KAT. 193): *nâru* Burat ina meliša ebir: "I crossed the Euphrates at its flood-tide." *Cf.* Syr. ܡܠܐ Luke vi, 48; and the Heb. phrase מְלֵא מֵי Ps. lxiii, 10.

52. *iniš:* impf. I, 1 of *anâšu*, baufällig sein. Tigl. 6, 100, *enšûti.* Sarg. Cyl. 4, *enšûtu*, Schwäche; 50 *enšu*, schwach, 2 R. 48, 19-21 g.h.

59. *attê:* impf. I, 1 of *nitû* = נָתַן. But *cf.* 5 R. 21, c.d. 16: a-tu-u syn. with *bu'u* and *nubušu;* ? "to dig up," "disinter;" Ar. نبش. Flemming: seinen Unterbau untersuchte ich; Ift. von a'û = ΦΗΡ : I, 3, inspexit. Comp. وحى indicavit = חָוָה. Lotz and others render *temennu*, Denkstein (Tigl. 8, 43); Eckstein, Grundstein (Sarg. Cyl. 61, 71). Perhaps the meaning is "I raised the foundation stone;" *cf.* Arab. نشا elatus est, eminuit.

Column VIII.

u-za-ak-ki-ir-ša	*I reared it high*
ḫu-ur-sa-ni-iš	*as the wooded hills.*
içu erini dannûti a-na zu-lu-li-šu	*Stout cedars for the roofing of it*
u-ša-at-ri-iç	*I laid on.*
dalâti *içu* erini	*Doors of cedar*
ta-aḫ-lu-up-ti siparri	(*with*) *a plating of copper,*
aš-ku-up-pi u nu-ku-še-e	*lintels and hinges*
pi-ti-iq êri e-ma bâbê-šu	*of bronze-work, around its gates*
e-ir-te-it-ti	*I set up.*
kaspa ḫuraça ni-si-ik abni	*Silver, gold, precious stones,*
mi-im-ma šu-um-šu šu-ku-ru	*everything whose name is prized,*
šu-un-ṭu-lu	*is lifted up* (*or, regarded*)*;*
bu-ša-a ma-ak-ku-ru	*substance, wealth,*
si-ma-at ta-na-da-a-tu^{m}	*tokens of magnificence,*
u-ga-ri-in ki-ri-ib-šu	*I heaped up within it;*
gu-ur-du ta-aš-ri-iḫ-tu^{m}	*strength, might,*
ni-çir-ti šar-ru-ti	*royal treasure,*
u-na-ak-ki-im qir-bu-uš-šu	*I hoarded within it.*
aš-šum ni-me-du šar-ru-ti-ia	*For the throne of my royalty*
i-na âli ša-nim-ma	*in another city,*
la i-ra-am-mu libbu	*which* (*my*) *heart loveth not;*
i-na ka-al da-ad-mi	*in no dwellingplaces*
ul ab-na-a ad-ma-nu be-lu-ti	*built I an abode of lordship:*
ma-ak-ku-ru si-ma-at šar-ru-ti	*riches, insignia of royalty,*
ul aš-ta-ak-ka-an	*I place not*
ki-ir-bi ma-ti-ta-an	*up and down the country.*
i-na Bâbilî	*In Babylon,*
ku-um-mu mu-ša-bi-ia	*the mansion of my abode,*
a-na si-ma-at šar-ru-ti-ia	(*the insignia of my royalty*
la šu-um-ça	*not to let man find;*)
aš-šum bu-lu-uḫ-ti *ilu* Marduk beli-ia	*for that the fear of Merodach my lord*
ba-šu-u li-ib-bu-u-a	*was within me;—*
i-na Bâbilî	*in Babylon,*
âl ni-çi-ir-ti-šu	*his fenced city,*
a-na šu-un-ṭu-la^{m}	*to lift up*
šu-ba-at šar-ru-ti-ia	*the seat of my royalty;*
su-uk-šu la e-ni^{m}	*his street I lowered not,*

parak-šu la u-ni-iš — *his shrine I seized not,*
pa-la-ga-šu la e-iz-ki-ir — *his canal I filled not up (?);*
ku-um-mu ra-at-ši-iš — *a house (site) steadily (?)*
aš-te-'-e-ma — *I sought after. And*
aš-šum ga-an ta-ḫa-zi — *that shaft of battle*
a-na Im-gur-*ilu*-Bel — *to Imgurbel,*
dûr TIN - TIR - KI la da-ḫi-e — *the wall of Babylon, might not reach;*
IV.C.LX.XXX am-ma-at ga-ga-ri — *for* 490 *cubits of ground,*
i-ta-at ni-mi-it-ti-*ilu*-Bel — *on the flanks of Nimittibel,*
ša-al-ḫi-e Bâbilî — *the outer wall of Babylon,*
a-na ki-da-a-ni^{m} — *for cover*
II ka-a-ri dannû-ti^{m} — *of the two strong walls,*
i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri — *with gypsum and brick*
dûra ša-da-ni-iš e-pu-uš-ma — *a rampart mountain-like I made. And*
i-na bi-e-ri-šu-nu — *in the middle of them*
bi-ti-iq a-gur-ri e-ip-ti-iq-ma — *a structure of brick I constructed, and*
i-na ri-e-ši-šu ku-um-mu ra-ba-a — *on the top of it a great house,*
a-na šu-ba-at šar-ru-ti-ia — *for the seat of my royalty,*
i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri — *with gypsum and brick*
ša-ki-iš e-pu-uš-ma — *loftily I made, and*
it-ti ekal abi u-ra-ad-di-ma — *with my father's palace I joined (it), and*
in arḫi ša-al-mu i-na ûmi damqi — *in a salutary month, on a lucky day,*
i-šid-sa i-na i-ra-at ki-gal-lu — *the foundation of it in the bosom of broad Earth*
u-ša-ar-ši-id-ma — *I firmly laid, and*
ri-e-ši-ša u-za-ak-ki-ir — *the top of it I reared*
ḫu-ur-sa-ni-iš — *high as the wooded hills.*
i-na XV u-um ši-bi-ir-ša — *On the 15th day, the work of it*

Notes to Column VIII.

11. *mimma:* Tigl. 8, 70. Lit. in Heb. אֵת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר יָקָר שָׁמוֹ.

12. *šunṭulu:* = shaf. adj. from naṭâlu = נָטַל, Dan. iv, 31, Heb., Is. xl, 15; "to lift up;" Syr. ܢܛܠ "to be heavy." In Flood I, 2 *naṭâlu* means, "to look at;" and *šunṭulu* may thus = spectabilis. Fl. "Grossartiges."

14. UB = ta-na-ad-tu^{m}, 2 R. 35, No. 2 (syn. te-il-tu^{m}, nu'udu).

16. *qurdu:* Kraft, Tigl. 8, 39. *tašriḫtu*^{m}, not "Glanz" (Fl.); *šarâḫu* is "to be strong:" see *muštarḫu*, 9, 48, the ptcp. II, 2 (2 R. 48, 46/47 e f).

19. *nimedu:* a syn. of *parakku*, 2 R. 33, 67/70 ab., and apparently also of šubtu, "seat," and iprâtu, "ground," *ib.* 68, 69. Does it mean "pedestal" or "platform," "daïs?" or "exaltation?" *kussu nimedi* is a common phrase; Sanh. 3, 36; 2 R. 23, 4 a.b. (kussu = šubtu; *ibid.*, 71 c.d.).

20. *šânî-ma: šânû šânî*, "second;" *šina*, "two," 2 R. 18, 40 *b*, *ilu* Ninkigal al-ti, (= aššati) *ilu* Ninazu panišu ana ašri ša-nim-ma likun! "may N. consort of N. set his face toward another place!"

25. *aštakkan:* pres. I, 2 of *šakânu*.

26. Fl. "da und dort in den Ländern." For the form *mâtîtân*, see Abp. 138, 83. A distributive adv. = mâtâti mâtâti. *Cf. tân* added to numerals = "in bulk," "in number."

30. This and the preceding line express a purpose, parallel to 35, 36.

31, 32 are a parenthesis, necessitating the repetition of 27 (33 sq.) *šumçâ:* infin. III, 1 of *maçû*, מצא; Tigl. 1, 12, *mušimçû mal libbi* "(Nineb), that causeth to find whatever the heart desires." The King required a castle, "not to let (the robber's hand) find his royal treasures." "To find" is to obtain, get possession of . . . 2 Sam. xx, 6. Is. x, 14: ותמצא כקן ידי לחיל העמים (Fl., "das seines Gleichen nicht finden lässt (?)"). We might also comp. مَضَى abiit, præteriit.

37. *sûku:* "street," שׁוּק. *Énû:* impf. I, 1 of *ênû* = עָנָה عَنَا. See 4 R. 2, 5, 53: su-ruq da-la-ḫi ina su-ki it-ta-na-za-zu šu-nu, "an outpouring of terror" (*cf.* סְרַק and דְּלוֹחָא; *e.g.*, ד'דמזיקי "dread of demons"), "in the street they take their stand!" (Not, "um die Wege zu verwüsten"). Sum. e-sir-ra lu-lu-a sil-a du-ba-meš.

38. *uniš:* Impf. II, 1 of *nâšu* = ناش, or نأش vi cepit. Qr. perhaps = נוּם, "I disturbed not;" or *uniš* = *unniš*, impf. II, 1 of *anâšu*, "to be weak," of buildings, "dilapidated:" "I pulled not down" (Fl. "riss nicht nieder").

39. *ezkir: i.e., azqir*, "I raised;" or perhaps azkir = زَكَرَ implevit. Fl. "verschloss."

40, 41. Fl. "vermag ich nicht zu erklären." The term *ratšiš, radšiš*, or *raṭšiš* is difficult. The above translation supposes the R. رسا; *radšiš* might mean "in a proper way," being formed by transposition from رشد רשׁד, "to take the right way, course or direction;" while *raṭšiš* might perhaps signify "like one forsaken," רָטַשׁ. The general sense is that N. did not unlawfully appropriate a site for his palace; but was at the pains to find a lawful one.

45. Flemming thinks that the 490 cubits are the width of the space between the two great walls, Imgurbel and Nimittibel; and that the two *kâri* of v. 49 are those of the moat of Imgurbel (5, 28).

52. *ina bêri-šunu : ina bîrit* is also used; R. ברא, ברי, "to cut," "pierce," "sever."

59. UD-ŠEG-A = ûmu damqu or ṭâbu. *Cf.* the Heb. phrase יום טוב "a festival."

60. *irat :* cst. of *irtu*, Tigl. 1, 67. *Kigallu :* Sum. KI, "place," "earth," and GAL, "great;" a loan-word like *ḫigallu* and *ekallu*. *Cf.* Phillips 3, 32 sq. in kigalla^{m} rêšti^{m}, in irat irçiti^{m} rapašti^{m}, where the second line is epexegetical of the first. Nerigl. 1, 32.

64. This confirms the statement of Berosus that N. built his palace beside his father's in fifteen days.

COLUMN IX.

	u-ša-ak-li-il-ma	*I finished, and*
	u-ša-pa-a šu-bat be-lu-ti	*perfected the seat of lordship.*
	içu erini dannû-ti	*Strong male cedars,*
	çi-i-ti ša-di-i e-lu-ti	*the growth of high mountains,*
5	*içu* a-šu-ḫu pa-ak-lu-ti	*huge female cedars,*
	u *içu* šu-ur-mi-ni	*and cypresses,*
	ni-is-ki bi-e-ru-ti^{m}	*costly stones glittering,*
	a-na zu-lu-li-ša u-ša-at-ri-iç	*for the roofing of it I laid on.*
	dalâti *içu* mis-ma-kan-na	*Doors of palm,*
10	*içu* e-ri-ni^{m} *içu* šu-ur-mi-ni	*cedar, cypress,*
	u-ša-a u šin pîri	*ušû and ivory,*
	i-hi-iz ka-as-pa ḫu-ra-çu	*the frame of silver (and) gold,*
	u ta-aḫ-lu-ub-ti siparri	*and the plating copper ;*
	as-ku-ub-bu u nu-ku-še-e	*the lintel and hinges*
15	bi-ti-iq e-ri-i	*bronze-work*
	e-ma bâbê-ša ir-te-it-te-ma	*round the gates of it I set up, and*
	ki-li-li *abnu* uknî ri-ša-a-ša	*with a cornice of onyx its top*
	u-ša-al-mi	*I surrounded.*
	dûra da-an-ni^{m}	*A strong wall*
20	i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri	*in gypsum and brick*
	ša-da-ni-iš u-ša-aš-ḫi-ir-šu	*mountain-like I threw around it.*
	i-ta-at dûr a-gur-ri	*On the flanks of the wall of brick,*
	dûra ra-ba-a	*a great wall*
	i-na abni dannû-ti^{m}	*with huge stones,*
25	ši-ti-iq šadî rabûti	*the yield of great mountains,*
	e-pu-uš-ma	*I made, and*

	ki-ma ša-di-i^{m}	*like a mountain*
	u-ul-la-a ri-e-ša-a-ša	*I raised its head.*
	bîta ša-a-ti a-na tab-ra-a-ti	*That house for gazings*
30	u-še-pi-iš-ma	*I caused to be made, and,*
	a-na da-ga-lu kiššat ni-ši	*for the beholding of the multitude of the people,*
	lu-li-e uš-ma-al-la^{m}	*with an abundance (of objects) I had (it) filled.*
	bal-ti uz-zu bu-luḫ-ti	*The awe of power, the dread*
	me-lam-me šar-ru-ti	*of the splendour of sovereignty,*
35	i-ta-ti-šu sa-aḫ-ra-a-ma	*its sides begird, and*
	ra-ag-gu la i-ša-ra	*the bad unrighteous man*
	ul i-ba-' ki-ri-ib-šu	*cometh not within it.*
	ša li-im-nu la-ba-ne pa-ni^{m}	*To daunt the enemy,*
	i-ta-a-ti dûr Bâbilî	*I caused the sides of the wall of Babylon*
40	ga-an ta-ḫa-zi-šu	*to keep far off*
	u-ša-as-si-ma	*his battle-shaft, and*
	âl irçiti Bâbilî	*the capital of the country, Babylon,*
	u-da-an-ni-in	*I made strong*
	ḫu-ur-sa-ni-iš	*as the wooded hills.*
45	a-na *ilu* Marduk be-ili-ia	*To Merodach, my lord,*
	ut-ni-en-ma ga-ti aš-ši	*I made supplication, and lifted up my hand:*
	ilu Marduk bêlu ŠI-GAL ilâni	*"Merodach, lord, gracious one of the gods,*
	ru-bu-u mu-uš-ta-ar-ḫa	*mighty prince!*
	at-ta ta-ab-na-an-ni-ma	*Thou it was that createdst me, and*
50	šar-ru-ti kiššat ni-ši	*with the sovereignty of the multitude of the people*
	ta-ki-pa-an-ni	*didst invest me.*
	ki-ma na-ap-ša-ti a-ga-ar-ti	*Like dear life*
	a-ra-mu e-la a-la-an-ka	*I love the exaltation of thy cities.*
	e-li âli-ka Bâbilî	*Besides thy city of Babylon*
55	i-na ka-la da-ad-mi	*among all the dwelling-places*
	ul u-ša-pa âl irçiti	*I created not a capital.*
	ki-ma ša a-ra-am-ma	*Like as I love*
	bu-lu-uḫ-ti i-lu-ti-ka	*the fear of thy godhead,*
	aš-te-ni-'-u be-lu-ut-ka	*(and) seek unto thy lordship;*

60 mu-gu-ur ni-iš ga-ti-ia	*favourably regard the lifting up of my hand,*
ši-ma-a su-bu-u-a	*hear my prayer!*
a-na-ku lu šarru za-ni-nu^{m}	*I verily am the maintaining king,*
mu-ṭi-ib li-ib-bi-ka	*that maketh glad thine heart;*
lu ša-ak-ka-na-ak-ku it-bi-šu	*the wary city-warden,*
65 za-ni-na ka-la ma-ḫa-zi-ka	*that maintaineth all thy towns.*

Notes to Column IX.

4. *ṣîti:* "offspring," soboles; *cf. ṣît libbîya*, 1 R. 68, col. 2, 26.

5. *ašûḫu:* Chald. אֵשׁוֹחִין: see Shabb. 157 a, בארזי ואשוחי, "with male and female cedars." *paklu:* = ešqu(u), and syn. of dannu; 2 R. 31, 67 d, e.

6. *šûrmîni:* or *pine.* שׁוּרבִינא, Gitt. 68 b. שׁוּרבָּנָא, Tg.

7. *bêrûti*^{m}, pl. of *bêru*, "clear," "bright;" R. בהר; *cf.* Heb. בָּהִיר, Chald. בְּהִירָא. Esarh. 3, 22, abni bêrûti; Neb. Bab. 2, 19, ina šupul mê bêrûti, "at the bottom of the clear water." The "glistening stones" need not have been gems. Marbles, crystal, and alabaster were costly in Chaldea.

11. *ušâ:* Sargon also used this wood, Cyl. 63. The ideogr. GIŠ-DAN means "hard wood." Hence Schrader thinks of the oak or terebinth. So far as the form goes, the word *ûšû* exactly corresponds to אָסָא, myrtus, Sanh. 44a, the Syr. ܐܣܐ, and Arab. آس. The myrtle is rather a shrub than a tree, but the transfer of the names of trees is common in language (fagus and φηγός). *Cf.* also the Egyptian *ās*, of which temple doors were made. *šin pîri:* Sum. SU-AMA-SI.

12. *iḫzu:* "holder," from aḫâzu: אחז. Fl. Einfassung, Rand.

15. *eri-i* = eri-e [𒌷𒌷 = 𒂊𒄿].

17. *kilîli:* כְּלִילָא, 𒆳𒂵𒇻, corona.

22. *itât:* is not sing. (Fl.), but plur. of *ittu*, "side."

35. *sahrâ:* perf. I, 1 fem. 3 plur. סחר.

37. *ibâ':* pres. I, 1 of *bâ'u* = בוא. Flood 2, 49, *ibâ'u.*

38. For the order, *cf.* 4 R. 2, 5, 49: ša *ilu* E-a lim-nu-ti šu-nu, "Of Ea foes are they!" (DINGIR-ENKIGAL ŠISSI-MEŠ.)

46. *gâtî* = qâtî'a? comp. Tg. and Talm. קָתָא, "handle." *aššî:* impf. I, 1 of *našû* = נָשָׂא.

48. *muštarḫa* = muštarrîḫa, ptcp. II, 2 (2 R. 48/47 e f). Tigl. 5, 66 = multarḫi.

60. The stone, as well as the two copies, has za-ni-*te*, by an obvious confusion of very similar characters. *Cf.* Bors. 2, 39: *šarru zaninan.*

64. *lû:* Betheuerungspartikel, *wahrlich*, *ja* (Schrader).

šakkanakku: 1, 11. *Cf.* S^{b} 2, 14 ni-e | 𒌷𒌷 | e-mu-qu.

itbišu = *êtpêšu:* Sanh. 1, 3, rê'u^{m} etp.; Sarg. Cyl. 34, šarru it-pi-e-šu. Lyon suggests a verb *êpêšu* = חפשׂ, meaning "sinnen, forschen," and renders *êtpêšu*, "verständig." He refers to 5 R. 13, 39 b, where *ippêšu* is syn. with *emqu*, *mûdû*, *ḫassu*, *mâr ummâni* (Kunstfertig) and *bêl têrti* (Gesetzgeber, Schriftgelehrter).

65. *maḫâzu:* Taan. 32b. בבא דמחוזא, "the gate of the town:" pl. מָחוֹזִין The Chaldee term also means "street," "market," "province."

Column X.

itti bi-tu-uk-ka	*With thine house,*
ri-mi-nu-u *ilu* Marduk	*O merciful one, Merodach,*
bît e-bu-šu	*may the house I have made*
ga-du ul-lu li-bu-ur-ma	*to eternity endure! and*
5 la-la-a-ša lu-uš-bi-im	*with the fulness thereof may I be satisfied, and*
i-na ki-ir-bi-ša	*in the midst thereof*
ši-bu-ti lu-uk-šu-ud	*hoar age may I reach!*
lu-uš-ba-a li-it-tu-ti	*May I be satisfied with children!*
ša šarrani kib-ra-a-ti	*Of the kings of the countries*
10 ša ka-la te-ni-še-e-ti	*of all mankind*
bi-la-at-su-nu ka-bi-it-ti	*their heavy tribute*
lu-um-ḫu-ur ki-ir-bu-uš-ša	*may I receive within it!*
iš-tu išid šamê a-di elat šamê	*From the foundation of heaven to the zenith,*
e-ma *ilu* šamši a-zu-u	(*and*) *by the rising sun,*
15 a-a i-ši na-ki-ri	*may I have no enemies,*
mu-gal-li-ti a-a ar-ši	*foeman may I have none!*
li-bu-u-a i-na ki-ir-bi-ša	*My posterity within it*
a-na da-er-a-ti	*for evermore*
ça-al-ma-at ga-ga-da li-bi-e-lu	*over men may they rule!"*

Notes to Column X.

1. Or ki-bi-tu-uk-ka, "(according to) thy command." *Qibîtu* from R. *qibû*, קבא, "to say," "tell," "bd." Sarg. Cyl. 63, 75.

2. *rîmînû:* "loving," "merciful;" R. *râmu*=רחם: Comp. رحمان.

4. *gadu:=adî;* "unto," "with," "together with:" Abp. 3, 131; 4, 97, etc. *lîbur = lu + ibur:* precative of *êbêru*, עבר, like *lipuš*. We should have expected *libir;* but the special sense, "may it pass on, or forward!" may have determined the variation in form. (The Heb. עבר means not only to pass *over*, but to pass *through*, *by*, *away*, *on*, *forward;* and the Bab. term may well have been used as freely.) 2 R. 4, 726, gives a verb *abâru* as syn. of *našû*, "to lift," and *šâqû*, "lofty" (l. 722 and 727). This would give the sense, "may it be exalted," "may it tower on high!" Or is *abâru*, "to be strong"? 5, 9, *supr.*

5. *lušbi*ᵐ: precative I, 1 of *šêbû* = שָׂבַע (2 R. 24, 54 ab. Sum. EŠŠÂ, syn. of *barû*, "to be fat," בָּרִיא, and *lêmu*. (Is this last the R. of *lîmu*, qs. pinguis, gravis, magnas?)

7. *šîbûtu:* obviously שֵׂיבָה "hoar hair," "age." *Cf.* šîbu, "grandfather," šîbtu, "grandmother; Syr. ܫܳܒ̈ܳܐ senex; Eth. ሰየበ: canuit; ሲበት: canities, Arab. شَاب, شَيْب, مَشِيب, *id.*, *id.*

kašâdu: "to arrive," "come to;" then "to get," "win," "take," a city, booty, etc. (A very common term of unknown origin, Eth. ጎሐጺ: "neck," being the only apparent cognate = *kišâdu*, do.).

8. *littûti:* not *îtu*, Macht, Tigl. 1, 56, pl. *litâti*, 6,50; Fl. "möge ich mich weiden an (meinen) Grosstaten!" but from *littu*, "offspring;" either as plur., or an abstr. pro. concr. See 2 R. 29, e.f. 67 *sqq.*

li-i-tu	i-li-it-tu ["offspring."]
li-it-tu	,, ,,
li-da-a-tu	,, ,,
na-ab-ni-tu	,, ,,

ki-i-mu	ki-im-tu ["family."]
ki-ma-tu	,, ,,
li-i-mu	,, [Heb. לְאֹם.]

R. *alâdu*, ולד. *Cf.* Ps. xvii, 14: יִשְׂבְּעוּ בָנִים "They are satisfied with children."

11. *bilat-sunu:* Tigl. 2, 91. *Biltu*, "present," "offering," "tribute," R. ובל, like *lidtu*, from ולד, *ibtu*, from והב.

13. ištu ANA-UR adî ANA-PA. See 2 R. 48, 45–48 cd.:

AD	šu-muq šamê ["redness of heaven:" סומקא, Ch. and Syr.]
AD-GE-A	šu-muq bu-ru-me ["do. of coloured robes," בְּרֻמִּים, Ezek. xxvii, 24.]
ANA-PA	e-lat šamê ["height of heaven," "zenith."]
ANA-ŠA-GA	ki-rib šamê ["mid heaven."]

4 R. 28, 23, *sq.* b. ANA-UR-RA = ina i-šid šamê. 2 R. 62, 59 g.h. UR-MA.

14. As if he expected trouble from the East (Media?).

16. *mugallitu:* ptcp. II, 1 of *qalâtu* = قَلَتَ periit, 4, perdidit, or of *galâtu* = Ar. galada, as *kabâtu* = Heb. *kabéd.*

17. *lîbû'a:* for *lîpu*, "descendant," *lip lipi* (like *bin bini*^{m}), see Lotz, p. 174. The term is here a plur. in —ū, or at least collect., as the verb (l. 19) is plur.

18. *dâ'erâti* seems to point to a R. דאר as Haupt has suggested; but *cf.* the participle of the Hollow Verb in Syriac and Arabic. Adv. *dâriš*, "for ever," da-riš, Tigl. 1, 27, 38. *Dâ'erâti* is a fem plur. of *dâ'iru; cf.* ça-i-du, "hunting," 4 R. 27, No. 5, 23.

19. *çalmu:* "black," f. çalimtu^{m}, constr. çalmat, here used collectively in the common phrase "the black-headed (race)," *i.e.*, mankind. *Cf.* Flood 2, 41: urpatu^{m} çalimtu^{m}, "a dark cloud;" Sarg. St. 53; Myth. Tabl. ina pî çalmat qaqqâdi ša ibnâ qâtâšu, "in the mouth of Man, whom his hands created;" 4 R. 29, 36 a.: amelutu^{m} niši çalmat qaqqâdi, "mankind, people dark-headed." (Eth. ጸለሞ: "black;" Arab. ظلمة "darkness.")

ברוך המברך:

An Inscribed Fragment of Wood from Thebes.

29, Weymouth Street,
12th November, 1887.

Dear Mr. Rylands,

During last winter Mr. Greville Chester obtained whilst he was in the neighbourhood of Thebes a flat piece of hard wood, ten-and-a-half inches in length by one inch in width, bearing upon its sides an inscription. It has now come into my possession, so I send you this note of it, as it is worth placing upon record.

What it originally belonged to is somewhat perplexing: it may have served for a pedestal for a figure, there being a small plughole at one extremity, but as it is so narrow one can hardly assert it positively; or it may have been a part of some piece of furniture. At any rate it bears upon each of its sides a line of hieroglyphics very carefully cut in the best style of workmanship of the XVIII Dynasty, recording the names of Thothmes IV and Tut-ānch-Amen, the son-in-law of Chut-en-Aten.

I am, yours sincerely,
F. G. Hilton Price.



nutâr nefer neb taiu neb âri χet neb
God beautiful lord of two worlds lord making things lord of



χāu Rā-χeperu neb se Rā en χat-f meri-f
crowns. *Son of the Sun of belly his loving him*



neb en set neb Āmen-tut-Ānch ḥeq Ānnu suten
lord of country every Tut-Anch-Amen ruler of Heliopolis Royal

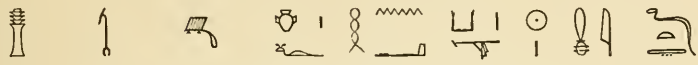


semaiu mennu en âtef-f neb taiu
restorer of monuments of fathers his lord of two earths



Rā-men-χeperu neb χāu Teḥuti-mes tā ānχ

lord of diadems *Thothmes* *giver of life*



ṭaṭ usr amaχ ȧb-f ḥnā ka Rā má t'etta

stability and power dilates heart his and ka Sun like for ever.



nutȧr nefer ȧri em āāiu-f en tef Ȧmen

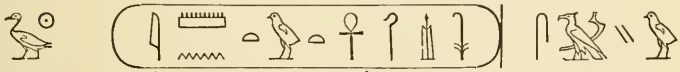
God beautiful making with hands his of father Amen



(*sic*)

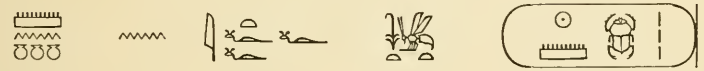
ta su ḥer nest-f suten net Rā-χeperu-neb

places (he) *him upon throne his* { *king of the two countries* } *Rā-χeperu-neb*



se-Rā Ȧmen-tut-ānch ḥeq Ȧnnu Suten smȧuiu

son of the Sun *Tut Anch Amen ruler of Heliopolis Royal* *restorer*



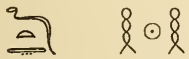
mennu en atef-f suten net Rā-men χeperu

of monuments of fathers his { *king of the two countries* } *Rā-men-χeperu*



se Rā χā Tehutimes χāu ṭa ānch Rā mȧ

Son of the Sun *Thothmes diademed with diadems* *giver of life* *Rā like*



t'etta ḥeḥ

for ever and ever.

Note on "Inscription at Kūm-el-aḥmar," p. 73.

Proceedings, 1*st November*, 1887.

I ought to have stated in the text that the worship of Horus at Nechen, under the form of a Hawk crouching, , is of immemorial antiquity. It is alluded to repeatedly in the Ritual of the Pyramids. *See* Unas, line 433.

P. le Page Renouf.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 10th January, 1888, at 8 p.m., when the Council and Officers of the Society will be elected, and the usual business of the Anniversary Meeting transacted.

The following paper will be read :—

MM. E. and V. Révillout : "Une Prophétie Messianique Assyrienne."

ERRATA.

Proceedings, 1*st November*, 1887.

Page 56, line 18, *for* Kšnenfi, *read* Kanenfi.

Page 76, line 20, *for* , *read* .

Pag 77, line 20, *after* the word "extended," *read* "for me" (*literally*, &c.).

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
——————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
Lepsius, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
De Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
Wright, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
Rawlinson, Canon, 6th Ancient Monarchies.
Pierret, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.
Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862–1873.
———— Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
———— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
Maspero, De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ 8vo. Paris, 1872.

NOTICES.

Subscriptions to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1*s.* at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. Bosanquet, Esq., 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

Papers proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having New Members to propose are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

Vol. IX, Part 2, of the "Transactions" of the Society is in the press. Only a few complete sets of the "Transactions" of the Society now remain; they may be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The Library of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, for the general business of the Society.

As a new list of Members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VIII, Part 3.

Members are recommended to carefully preserve their copies of the "Proceedings," as they will not be reprinted at the end of the Volume of "Transactions," and if lost can only be supplied at a charge for each Part, or for the Volumes.

The Library and Offices of the Society will be closed during Vacation, from December 24th to January 2nd, 1888, inclusive.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY PUBLICATIONS.

The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates from Balawat.

[SHALMANESER II, B.C. 859–825.]

Parts I, II, III, and IV have now been issued to Subscribers.

In accordance with the terms of the original prospectus, the price for each part is now raised to £1 10*s.*; to Members of the Society (the original price) £1 1*s.*

Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-writing.

Being a series of carefully autographed plates, copied from tablets written in the Babylonian character only; compiled by THEO. G. PINCHES, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum.

The design of the Author is to furnish students with the means of making themselves acquainted with the Babylonian style of writing, and to this end the texts, which will be of high value and interest, will be accompanied by as complete a syllabary of the Babylonian characters as can now be made, arranged in a convenient form for reference.

It is proposed to issue the work in two parts:—Part I has been issued price 4*s.* 6*d.*

Society of Biblical Archæology.

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P. le Page Renouf.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. X. EIGHTEENTH SESSION.

Third Meeting, 10*th January*, 1888.

ANNIVERSARY.

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11, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.
1888.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PRICE LIST OF TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

		To Members.		To Non-Members.	
		s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Vol.	I, Part 1	10	6	12	6
,,	I, ,, 2	10	6	12	6
,,	II, ,, 1	8	0	10	6
,,	II, ,, 2	8	0	10	6
,,	III, ,, 1	8	0	10	6
,,	III, ,, 2	8	0	10	6
,,	IV, ,, 1	10	6	12	6
,,	IV, ,, 2	10	6	12	6
,,	V, ,, 1	12	6	15	0
,,	V, ,, 2	10	6	12	6
,,	VI, ,, 1	10	6	12	6
,,	VI, ,, 2	10	6	12	6
,,	VII, ,, 1	7	6	10	6
,,	VII, ,, 2	10	6	12	6
,,	VII, ,, 3	10	6	12	6
,,	VIII, ,, 1	10	6	12	6
,,	VIII, ,, 2	10	6	12	6
,,	VIII, ,, 3	10	6	12	6
,,	IX, ,, 1	10	6	12	6

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Vol.	I, Session 1878–79	2	0	2	6
,,	II, ,, 1879–80	2	0	2	6
,,	III, ,, 1880–81	4	0	5	0
,,	IV, ,, 1881–82	4	0	5	0
,,	V, ,, 1882–83	4	0	5	0
,,	VI, ,, 1883–84	5	0	6	0
,,	VII, ,, 1884–85	5	0	6	0
,,	VIII, ,, 1885–86	5	0	6	0

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

EIGHTEENTH SESSION, 1887-88.

Third Meeting, 10*th January*, 1888.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author :—Vocabolario Geroglifico Copto Ebraico dell dott. Simione Levi. Volume Quinto. Torino. 1887.

From the Author :—Why that "Assyrisches Wörterbuch" ought never have been published. By Samuel Alden Smith. Leipzig. 1888.

From the Editors :—Dietsche Warande Tijdschrift voor kunst en Ledegeschiedenis. Vol. I ; No. 1. Ghent. November, 1887. 8vo.

From Lady Tite :—Hobson Jobson : a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases. By Col. Henry Yule, R.E., &c., and Arthur Coke Burnell, Esq., &c. London. 1886.

From Lady Tite :—Vanjel Jesu Christacho. S. Matheus Pustokim XIII. 1–35. Mangalore. 1872.

From Lady Tite :—Specimens of South Indian Dialects. By A. C. Burnell, Esq. No. 3, Kodagu (Coorg). Mangalore. 1873. 40 Copies printed.

By A. C. Burnell. Only 30 copies printed. No. 1 of the Specimens of South Indian Dialects.

———— An Account of a Manuscript Hebrew Roll of the Pentateuch. London. 1863. 50 Copies printed.

———— Notes on the Discoveries at Budrum in 1856. By Sir William Tite, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A. Privately printed. London. 1858.

———— On some Pahlavī Inscriptions in South India. By A. C. Burnell, &c. Mangalore. 1873. 4to.

From the Author : — Handbücher der Alten Geschichte I. Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte. Von C. P. Tiele. II Teil. Gotha. 1886. 8vo.

The following were submitted for election, having been nominated on December 6th, 1887, and elected :—

Dr. M. Gaster, 19, Brondesbury Villas, Kilburn, N.W.
Edward C. Malan, The School House, Sherburne.
Arthur Cayley Headlam, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on 7th February, 1888 :—

Miss E. M. Harris, 9, Queen's Square, W.C.
Rev. John West, M.A., The Manse, Antrim, Ireland.

The following were elected Honorary Members of the Society :—

Dr. James Darmesteter, Paris.
M. E. Guimet, Lyon.
M. Louis de Clercq, Paris.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1887.

The number of Members on the Roll was announced in the Report for the year 1886, read at the Anniversary Meeting held 8th January, 1887, as being 696.

The Roll now comprises :—

Ordinary Members	605	
Public Libraries	52	
		657
Foreign Honorary Members	35	
Total	692	

Before commencing the enumeration of the various papers read before the Society, and printed in the publications, a few words seem necessary about the new form adopted for the *Proceedings* during the past year. When in the year 1878 I commenced the separate leaflets, in place of the abstracts of papers read, up to that time printed at the end of the *Transactions*, it was with the thought and hope that besides the ordinary papers submitted to the Society, there might be collected from time to time a sufficient number of shorter communications, of permanent value to make the *Proceedings* of the Society a medium of communication between those interested in the subjects within its scope. This I was happy to see fully realised during the tenth year of my connection with the Society, and when the Council decided to issue the leaflets no longer in an unbound form. Inconveniences having arisen through the unavoidable delay caused by the difficulty of collecting material sufficient to form the Parts of Transactions, to ensure a regular publication, it was considered that to best meet the interests of Authors and Members alike, the Papers read before the Society ought to be printed in full in the *Proceedings*. During the past year, when possible, this system has been followed, and the valuable communications read before the Society have thus been made available to Members, each month, instead of the older plan of waiting for the completion of a part of the Transactions.

I must point out that the present size of the *monthly* parts of the *Proceedings* exceeds by some pages that of the *annual* volume as first issued in 1878.

Notwithstanding the increased size of this portion of the Society's Publications, which has been kept up during the four or five last sessions, the Council have been able to issue during the past year the first part of Vol. IX of the *Transactions*. It is to be hoped that the amount of material printed will still further increase year by year—very much is still at hand waiting publication. I would therefore urge upon the present Members the desirability of increasing the funds in the hands of the Council, and thereby not only adding much to the usefulness of the Society, but adding much also to the quantity of new matter published, which would necessarily be issued to them as individual Members.

The various papers read having been as above mentioned distributed between the *Transactions* and *Proceedings*, it may be well in the enumeration of them to class together these two publications, stating as in former Reports the place of their publication.

Two parts of the Memoir of our late President have appeared in Vol. IX, Pt. 1, of the *Trans.* The first, by E. A. Wallis Budge, not only includes a biographical notice, but contains the most complete bibliography of the many and varied writings of Dr. Birch that has yet been printed. A portrait is added from a negative taken by H. T. Thorne, of Bath, who kindly placed it at the disposal of the Council. Professor Douglas has added a few remarks on Dr. Birch's Chinese labours, forming Part III of the Memoir, and I am happy to be able to state that Part II, which has been kindly undertaken by our present President, P. le Page Renouf, and which will include a detailed account of the Hieroglyphic labours of Dr. Birch, is in a forward state, and will ere long be issued to the Members.

To F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A., the Society was indebted for a very carefully executed account of the Antiquities from Bubastis, in his own valuable collection (*Trans.* IX, 1), as well as the description of an inscribed fragment of wood from Thebes, of the XVIIIth Dynasty, which is printed in the December *Proceedings*.

To follow the Egyptian subjects in their order of publication, Professeur E. Lefèbure (*Trans.* IX, 1) discusses the names of Adam and Cham, in a paper read in March, 1886.

E. A. Wallis Budge in the February *Proceedings* gave a short account of the Tombs of Mechu, Ben, and Se-Renpu, discovered by Major-General Sir F. Grenfell; of which the full and most interesting description, by the same writer, with a series of Plates was issued, as well as an account of other excavations made in 1885 and 1886, in the *Proceedings* for November.

To the President the Society has been indebted for a number of very valuable communications, which have appeared in various numbers of the *Proceedings*. They are as follows:—The name of the Egyptian god Seb, with a Plate illustrative of the Hieratic form of the Goose,

(February, 1887). Note on the inscription of Amenophis III, copied by Professor Sayce (May). A discussion on "conscience" in Egyptian Texts, in the same number. Notes on the Silurus fish *ãba*, and the Hieroglyphic sign for Battle (June), forming a supplement to his former communication on the same subjects printed in the *Proceedings*, March, 1885. In November a translation and description of an Inscription at Kûm-el-aḥmar, illustrated by a Plate of the copy taken by Professor Sayce, a note on Dr. Max Müller's letter discussing the so called name of Judah in the list of Shoshenq, as well as a further note on the Inscription at Kûm-el-Aḥmar, both printed in the December *Proceedings*.

The Society has been indebted to Dr. Macalister for two translations of Egyptian documents. The first (February) an Inscription of Aahmes, in the Fitz-William Museum, and the second (March) an Egyptian Inscription of the XIIIth Dynasty, in the Dublin National Museum.

In the May *Proceedings* Dr. Wiedemann in three communications of considerable interest describes and discusses a Monument of the First Dynasties, in the Museum at Aix-en-Provence; The Age of Memphis; A Relative of Queen Nub-χãs.

Professor Amélineau (March), in an interesting communication on the Sahidic Translation of the Book of Job, gave the whole of the Coptic Text of this valuable document, which is now in type and will be issued as early as convenient. To the same author the Society was indebted for the very interesting paper opening up the subject, and submitting, for the first time, the Text and Translation of a Coptic Story, entitled, "The Two Daughters of the Emperor Zeno," which will be printed in an early number of the *Proceedings*. A note on the Sahidic Version of Job, by the Rev. Prof. T. K. Cheyne, appeared in June.

Professor Sayce, besides the copies of the dated inscription of Amenophis III (May), and the inscription at Kûm-el-Aḥmar (December) already referred to, and of which he kindly placed his copies at the disposal of the Society, published in the May *Proceedings* an account of some Greek Ostraka from Egypt, and the copy of a Greek Inscription from Aswân.

The Rev. H. G. Tomkins, continuing his researches (June 2nd, 1885) on the Karnak Tribute Lists of Thothmes III, read a paper (May), which will be issued, fully illustrated, in the next Part of the *Transactions*.

Major Plunkett (June) gave an interesting description of the newly-discovered Nilometer at Philœ, which he illustrated with a carefully-executed drawing of those of Philœ and Elephantine, placed side by side for comparison.

Beside the Coptic Texts already mentioned, the work of publication commenced during the last Session has been continued, and in Vol. IX, Part 1, of the *Transactions* appeared the Text and Translation of a Version of the Martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphre; carefully made from a

MS. in the possession of Lord Zouche by E. A. Wallis Budge. The same writer (June) communicated an account of an interesting text from a sepulchral stele in the British Museum—as well as another text of a Fragment of the Coptic Version of Saint Ephraim's Discourse on the Transfiguration of our Lord (June).

The letter from Dr. Max Müller which appears to decide the question as to the supposed mention of the name of Judah in the list of Shoshenq (December), has already been referred to.

Dr. W. Pleyte (November), in an interesting paper, describes and translates a manuscript recording an Oracle of Amon, which was followed by a communication from Professor E. Revillout, citing similar instances of Nubian Oracles.

As dealing with subjects connected with the laws and manners of both Egypt and Assyria, the numerous valuable communications for which the Society has been indebted to Professor Eugène Revillout and his brother Dr. Revillout, I have reserved for this place, as being most fitting. In May. these two scholars favoured us with two papers: Contrats de Mariage et d'adoption dans l'Égypte et dans la Chaldée, and L'Antichrèse non imobilière dans l'Égypte et dans la Chaldée. The same subject was continued (June) in a paper entitled, Antichrèse in Solutum; Les dépôts et les Confiements en Droit Égyptien et en Droit Babylonien, with other papers mentioned elsewhere, as well as others in course of being printed.

The somewhat neglected and very difficult subject of Assyrian Letters has been taken up by S. Alden Smith, two parts of which have appeared (June and November), with translations, and the full texts in fifteen plates. I am happy to be able to report that this Assyriologist has kindly consented to continue the series from time to time.

In the December *Proceedings* the Rev. C. J. Ball has, in a long and valuable paper, given the transcription and a new translation of the whole of the Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar preserved at the India House. The transliteration here given has been carefully compared several times by him with the original stones; and on examining the numerous philological notes with the text, it will be found that many new facts have been brought to light. It must be a subject of congratulation that Mr. Ball has undertaken this laborious task for the Society.

In a short communication (March) Robert Brown, Jr., F.S.A., discusses the Euphratean Name of the Constellation *Ursa Major;* Dr. Bezold, on the god Addu or Daddu (June); and in a series of six plates E. A. Wallis Budge gives in the December *Proceedings* the whole of the remaining text of the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series, upon which he read a Paper in November, 1883.

A Paper by Professor E. and Dr. V. Revillout, recording a new royal Persian name, will be found in the June *Proceedings*, and to the same

number Professor De Harlez contributes a study in Religious History of considerable interest—Satan et Ahriman ; Le Démon Biblique et celui de l'Avesta.

Two very valuable Papers by Professor W. Wright find a place also in the June Number—Some Apocryphal Psalms in Syriac, and Kufic Tombstones in the British Museum—both of which include the original text, as well as translations. The thanks of the Society are due to Professor Wright, who so kindly came forward to assist the Council in widening the scope of materials issued in their publications.

The Billingual inscriptions discovered in Cyprus by Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, and described by Professor W. Wright and the President in the December *Proceedings* (with two plates), were further discussed by Philippe Berger in February, and again in March.

Of Jewish subjects, several of more than usual interest have been submitted to the Society. The Rev. C. J. Ball (March), continuing his first Paper on Hebrew poetry published in the *Proceedings*, June, 1886, discusses the metrical structure of Qînôth, and gives the Book of Lamentations in the original measures.

To Dr. S. Louis we have been indebted for two Papers ; that read in April, 1886 (*Trans.* IX, 1), in which he has collected many of the interesting and curious traditions of supernatural voices (Bath-Kol) ; and another Paper equally interesting (June), entitled Palestinian Demonology.

Dr. Gaster, as well as the Paper read at the December meeting on an Apocalypse of Moses, has contributed the text, and translation of an Apocalypse of Abraham, from the Roumanian text, here first published, having been discovered by himself (*Trans.* IX, 1).

Professor Sayce, in a Paper entitled The Karian Language and Inscriptions, whilst discussing the language, has collected together in four plates all the inscriptions known, and I may mention that a supplementary Paper is in my hands for early publication (*Trans.* IX. 1).

The Rev. Dr. Placzec, through the Rev. A. Löwy, who kindly undertook the work of translation, has in the same volume furnished a consideration of the use and name of the Weazel and Cat in ancient times.

Edward Falkener, in the June *Proceedings*, advances his reasons for fixing the site of Gethsemane, and Miss Gonino (March) has described the Caaba and Mosque of Mecca.

Of Papers dealing with the Monuments of the character called Hittite, several have been submitted to the Society. The Rev. C. J. Ball (February) published an attempt to decipher these inscriptions, illustrated by two Plates of the rock carvings in the Safa ; as well as a note on the same subject (March). A note was printed from G. A. Simcox, M.A., on the name Bit-hilani, to which Mr. Ball replied in the same number (May).

In the June *Proceedings* I had the pleasure of placing the Members in possession of two Plates of my sketches of the whole of the inscribed characters on the inscribed Lion from Merash, now in the Museum at Constantinople, for a cast of which, as well as those from the Hamath Stones, the Society was indebted to the kindness of F. D. Mocatta.

The Library still continues to increase in value and usefulness, and it has been a subject for sincere gratification to be able to announce each month the many valuable donations from the authors and friends. A number of books have, as funds would allow, been purchased by the Council. It must be remembered, however, that the amount available for this purpose, as has been already pointed out, is necessarily small, and many works required by students are still absent, and many subjects very far from complete in their series. It is therefore to be hoped that Members will still continue to assist in placing such works as may be required within the reach of those who may have few other opportunities of using them.

The Society exchanges publications with a large number of kindred Societies, which will in future be announced at the end of the session.

The Audited Balance Sheet annexed shows that the funds available for the year 1887 have been £776 18*s.* 5*d.*, and the expenditure in the like period £703 2*s.* 11*d.* The balance carried forward to the current year 1888 is £73 15*s.* 6*d.*

A vote of thanks to the President for his valuable services to the Society was proposed by Canon Beechey, and seconded by the Rev. A. Löwy, to which the President replied.

The Rev. A. Löwy proposed, and Mr. J. Pollard seconded, a vote of thanks to the Secretary for his efforts to advance the interests of the Society. Mr. Rylands in thanking the Meeting for their kind expression of their satisfaction, asked for the cordial assistance of individual members in carrying on the work and increasing the usefulness of the Society.

The Report and Balance Sheet were then received, and unanimously adopted.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1887.

1887.	Dr.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance	129	9	8
	,, Subscriptions £ s. d.			
	For the Year 376 16 4			
	,, Arrears from former years 93 10 6			
	,, Payments in advance 16 15 0			
		487	1	10
	,, Sales of Transactions	106	12	9
	,, Dividends, 1 year, on £123 14s. 3d. New Three per Cents.	3	14	2
	,, Donation for Plates, W. Morrison, Esq.	50	0	0
		£776	18	5
1888.				
Jan 1.	,, Balance	73	15	6

1887.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Expenditure to Date, viz. :—			
	,, Rent	116	0	0
	,, Printing Proceedings, &c.	284	4	3
	,, Secretary	175	0	0
	,, Official Auditor	2	2	0
	,, Postage, Proceedings, &c.	14	10	11
	,, Housekeeper and Sundries	22	7	4
	,, Books and Bookbinding	5	8	0
	,, Engraving Drawings, &c.	76	1	0
	,, Fire Insurance	3	7	6
	,, Furniture	4	1	11
	,, Balance carried forward to 1888	73	15	6
		£776	18	5

ASSETS.

Subscriptions still outstanding for 1887, about ... £100 0 0
Library Furniture and Effects at 11, Hart Street.
The Transactions in stock.
Reserve Fund in New Three per Cent. Annuities, £123 14s. 3d.

11, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., *January 7th*, 1888.

LIABILITIES.

Printing, Rent, and Current Expenses, accruing for 1888.
Printing Vol. IX, Part 1, £130 0 0

Audited and found correct, 7th January, 1888,
W. J. HAYWOOD.
E. C. HULME.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, *Secretary*.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected:—

COUNCIL, 1888.

President.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

Vice-Presidents.

REV. FREDERICK CHARLES COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter.
LORD HALSBURY, The Lord High Chancellor.
THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., D.C.L., &c.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR A. H. LAYARD, G.C.B., &c.
THE RIGHT REV. J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., &c., BISHOP OF DURHAM.
WALTER MORRISON, M.P.
SIR CHARLES T. NEWTON, K.C.B., D.C.L.
SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART., D.C.L., M.D.
J. MANSHIP NORMAN, M.A.
REV. GEORGE RAWLINSON, D.D., Canon of Canterbury.
SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c.
VERY REV. ROBERT PAYNE SMITH, Dean of Canterbury.

Council.

W. A. TYSSEN AMHERST, M.P., &c.
REV. C. J. BALL.
REV. CANON BEECHEY.
E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.
ARTHUR CATES.
REV. PROF. T. K. CHEYNE, D.D.
THOMAS CHRISTY, F.L.S.
CHARLES HARRISON, F.S.A.
REV. ALBERT LÖWY.
REV. JAMES MARSHALL.
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ALEXANDER PECKOVER, F.S.A
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Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

Honorary Librarian.

WILLIAM SIMPSON, F.R.G.S.

The Secretary read a Paper, by MM. Eugène and Victor Revillout, entitled "Une Prophétie Messianique Assyrienne," which will we printed in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

INSCRIPTION GRECQUE TROUVÉE EN ÉGYPTE.

Je viens d'acheter une plaque oblongue en calcaire qui porte en quatre lignes une épitaphe grecque en forme de distique. Voici l'inscription en question :—

ЄΥΨΥΧЄΙΚΥΡΙΛΛΑΘЄ
ΟΙCЄΝΑΛΙΓΚΙЄΜΟΡΦΗΝ
ΝΥΝΓΑΡΧΩΡΟΝЄΧЄΙC
ΗCΥΧΟΝΑΘΑΝΑΤΩΝ
L K B

ce qui l'écrit en lettres ordinaires de la manière suivante:

εὐψυχεῖ Κυρίλλα θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιε μορφήν·
νῦν γὰρ χῶρον ἔχεις ἥσυχον ἀθανάτων.
ἔτος κβ.

Je n'ai sans doute pas besoin de relever que la césure des deux vers se trouve à la fin de la première et de la troisième ligne du texte original.

N'étant pas philologue classique de profession, je suis dans l'impossibilité de déterminer sous quel empereur tombe la date de l'an 22 qui termine notre inscription. Toutefois, je suppose qu'elle appartient à l'époque de Tibère, dont le nom se rencontre plus souvent en Égypte que ceux de la plupart des autres empereurs romains.

Le Caire, 10 decembre, 1887.

Karl Piehl.

THE PISTIC NARD OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S.

The meaning of the Greek adjective πιστικός in the account given by St. Mark (xiv, 3) and St. John (xii, 3) of the woman who poured ointment over the head or feet of Jesus, as He sat at meat in the house of Simon the leper in Bethany, has long been a subject of discussion. St. Mark speaks of ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς; "an alabaster cruse of pistic nard very costly;" St. John of a pound (λίτρα) of the same ointment. "It seems impossible," says Alford (Greek Test., i, p. 410), "to assign any certain or even probable meaning to πιστικῆς (a word found here and in St. John's narrative only) . . . The ancient commentators give us nothing but conjecture. Euthymius and Theophylact interpret it *genuine;* Jerome, 'veram et absque dolo.' Augustine supposes it to refer to some *place* from which the nard came. . . The expression nowhere occurs in the Classics." The Revised Version renders "ointment of spikenard very costly," and in a marginal note has, "Gr. *pistic nard*, pistic being perhaps a local name. Others take it to mean *genuine;* others, *liquid*." In the translation by *genuine*, πιστικός is supposed to be another form of πιστός, "true" or "faithful;" hence "unadulterated;" in that by *liquid*, to be a form of πιστός (root πίω) "drinkable." Æschylus (*Prom.* V. 480) uses the form πιστόν of ἀλέξημα, *i.e.*, "a remedy to be drunk;" but this form is rare, and πιστικός cannot he shown to mean "drinkable." Moreover, πιστικός, usually πειστικός, is in classical authors used transitively, meaning "persuasive," as πιστικὸς λόγος, "a convincing argument," π. ῥήτωρ, "a persuasive pleader." In the sense of "faithful," "sure," πιστικός in later. Greek is used of persons, and its application to signify *genuine* as predicated of a material object, is, if possible, at any rate very unusual, and without authority. I think that I am able to supply the true etymology of this word. The nard in question is undoubtedly spikenard; a preparation in which the root of an Indian plant formed the principal and most costly part. The plant is the *Nardostachys jatamansi* of modern botanists, as has been abundantly proved some years ago by the late Dr. Royle, in his large work on the "Botany of the Himalayan Mountains" (Vol. I, pp. 242—244).

The spikenard of the ancients was called in Arabic *Sunbul* (*Sumbul*) *uṭ-ṭîb*, "the good," or "fragrant nard;" by the Hindoos *balchur* or *jaṭâmâṉsî*, which latter word is the Sanskrit equivalent of the *Sunbul hindî*, *i.e.*, the Indian spikenard. The Hebrew נֵרְד *nêrd*, the Arabic ناردين (*nârdin*), the Greek νάρδος, Persian *nard*, Latin *nardus*, are all forms of the Sanskrit नलद *nalada*, one of the names of spikenard, *l* and *r* being interchanged. In the Latin translation of Avicenna, *Nardus* is equated with *Spica*, by both of which names spikenard was known to the Romans. Now here we have the reading of the Vulgate, "alabastrum unguenti nardi *spicati*" (Mark xiv, 3) explained; *spicati* being the rendering of the Greek word πιστικῆς.* On refering to Sanskrit dictionaries, it will be found that there are several names of the plant known as the *Nardostachys jatamansi*, though some of them are used for other plants as well; amongst these names occurs the word *piśitâ* (पिशिता) or *piśî* (पिशी), which are both equated with the *jaṭâ-mâṉsî* (जटामांसी). The latter name denotes "fleshy plant with close or entangled hair," in allusion to the hairs with which the fleshy root is clothed, and the shaggy scaly stems; while *piśitâ* seems to refer to the *fleshiness* of the root. Other Sanskrit words used for the *Nardostachys* generally refer to the hair with which the root and stems are clothed, as *lomaśâ*, *keśinî*, *śiphâ*; but the *nalada*, already referred to, relates to the odour of the plant, from rt. *nal* (नल्), "to smell." Spikenard (Heb. נֵרְד *nêrd*) is mentioned in Cant. i, 12; iv, 13, 14; it was imported into Judea and Persia from India, and it is still an export from that country all over the East and the Levant. The *Nardostachys jatamansi* is a native of Nepal and Bootan; it is a kind of Valerian, with an aromatic odour, used as an ingredient in ointment, and as a stimulant medicine. Although the odour is considered disagreeable by some people, it is certain that it is much appreciated throughout the East, and of odours we may say *non est disputandum*. Dioscorides (i, 6) describes three kinds of Nard; the Indian he calls *Gangites*, from the river Ganges, near which it is produced. The localities assigned by Dioscorides and Ptolemy to the Indian nard agree with those where the plant is found. Dr. Royle found

* The Vulgate in John xii. 3 has "libram unguenti nardi pistici."

it on the lofty mountains of the Himalayas, as at Kedar Kanta, where for six months it is covered with snow, and furnished, like other plants of a similar locality, with the permanent hair-like fibres already mentioned. I think we may fairly conclude that the Greek πιστικός is an adjective formed from the Sanskrit name of the plant (*piśitâ*), the root of which was the costly ingredient of the ointment, and that the name with the article itself is a foreign import. If I am correct in this explanation, one may translate πιστικὸς ναρδος by "Indian ointment," with a marginal note, *i.e.*, "Spikenard, made from the roots of the *Nardostachys jatamansi*." The translation of the Revised Version is correct and exact, though the meaning of πιστικός was unknown.

CYLINDER OF NERIGLISSAR.

December 7th, 1887.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

I send you a copy of the text inscribed upon a cylinder of Neriglissar, king of Babylon about B.C. 558 (559–555), now in the possession of Miss Emily Ripley. Among other things it mentions the restoration of E-sagili, and the dedication of a threshold in the same temple by Neriglissar, the son of Bel-šum-iškun. As Miss Ripley's cylinder of Neriglissar is, as far as I know, only the second complete one known, and the text is interesting to scholars, I think it well to publish a transcript in the common Babylonian writing at once, leaving the transliteration and translation for a future number of the *Proceedings*. Miss Ripley possesses also an important tablet dated in the eighteenth year of Šamas-šum-ukin, recording the sale of a garden in the district of Ḳu-ta-a-a-nu, belonging to Bunanitum, a lady who is known to us from other tablets. I append a copy of this also.

Yours, etc.,

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

PLATE I.

CYLINDER OF NERIGLISSAR.

COLUMN I.

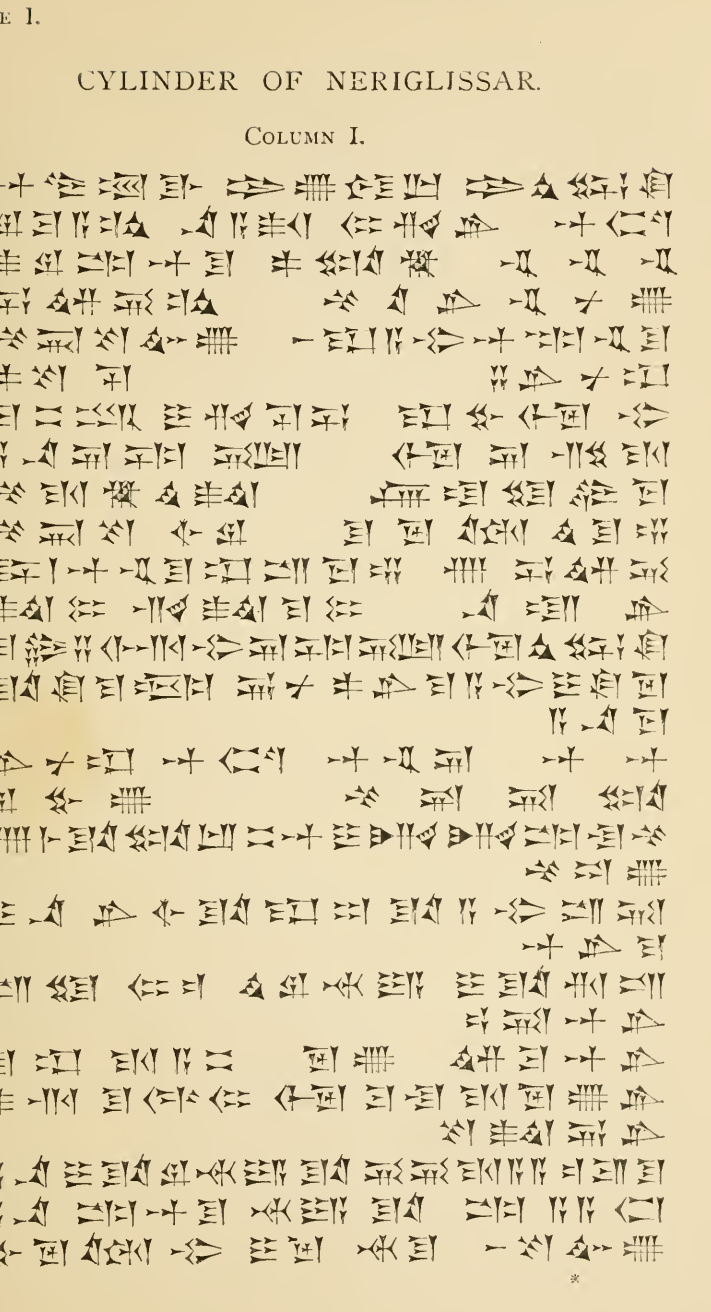
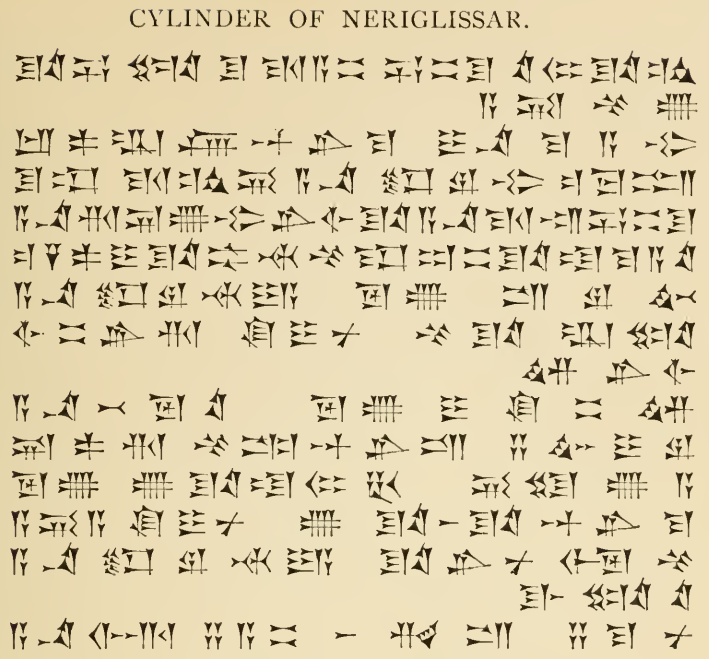


PLATE II.

CYLINDER OF NERIGLISSAR.



COLUMN II.

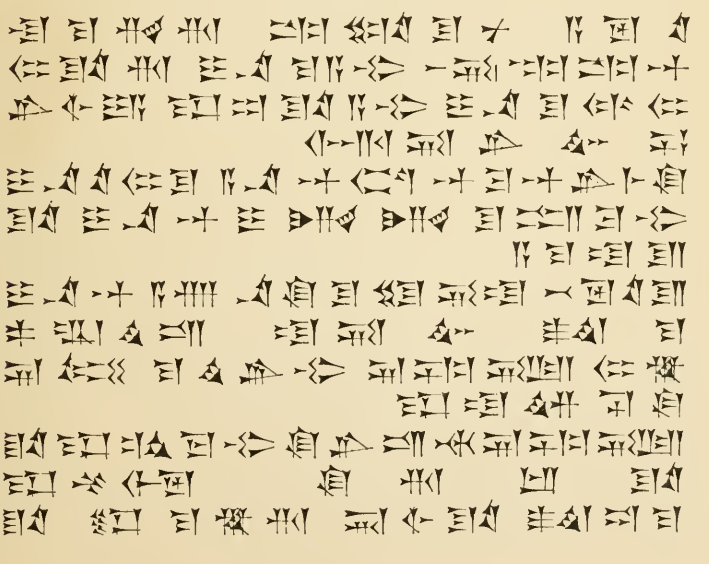


PLATE III.

CYLINDER OF NERIGLISSAR.

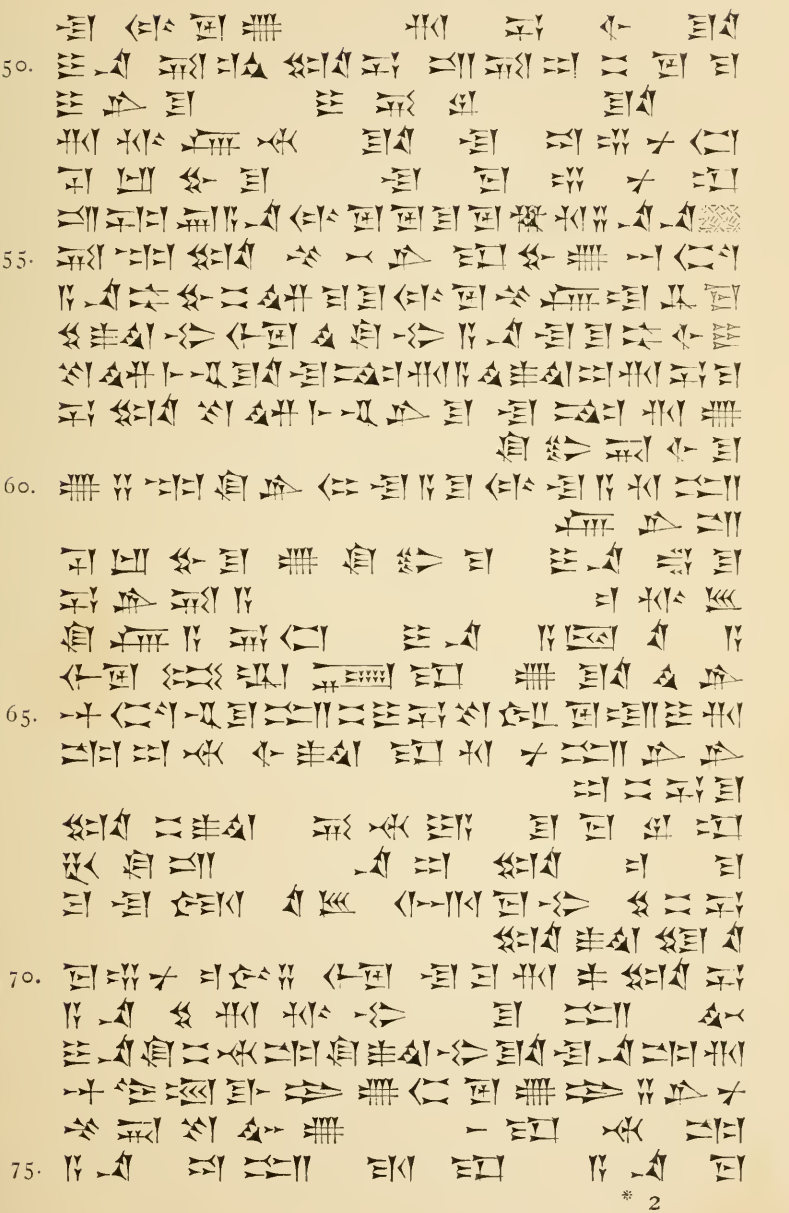


PLATE IV.

SALE OF A GARDEN.

(FROM THE 18TH YEAR OF ŠAMAŠ-ŠUM-UKÎN.)

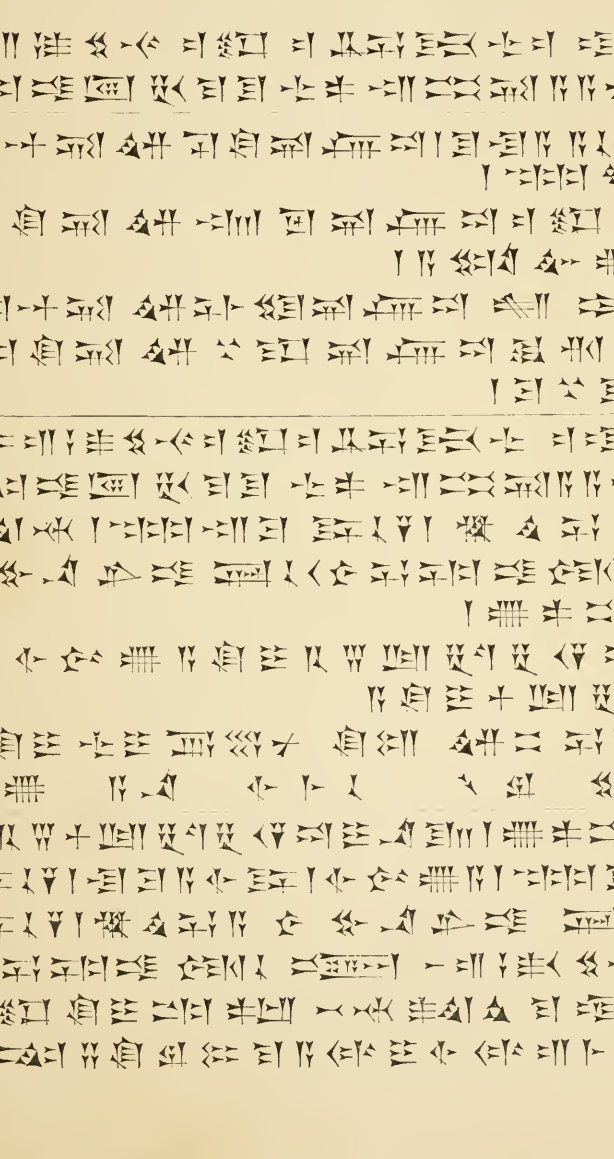
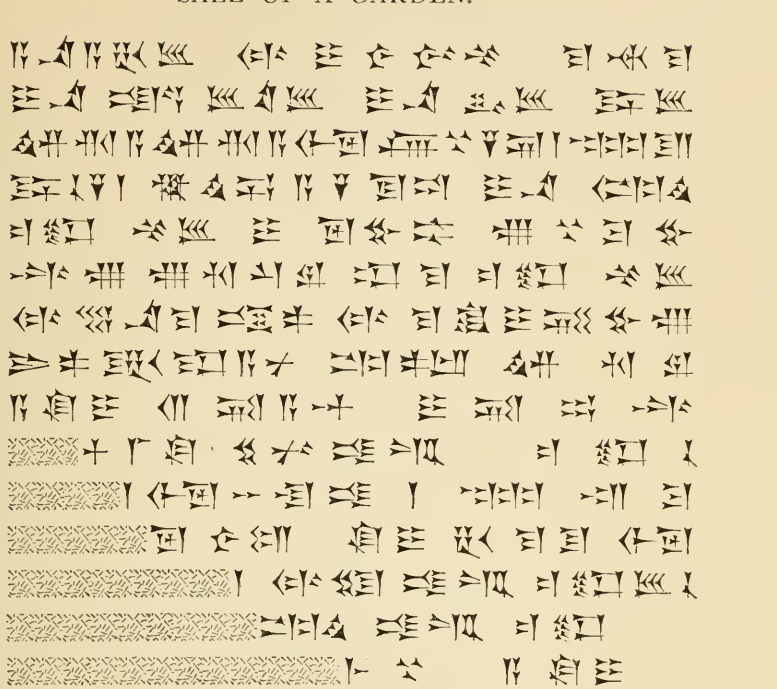


PLATE V.

SALE OF A GARDEN.



REVERSE.

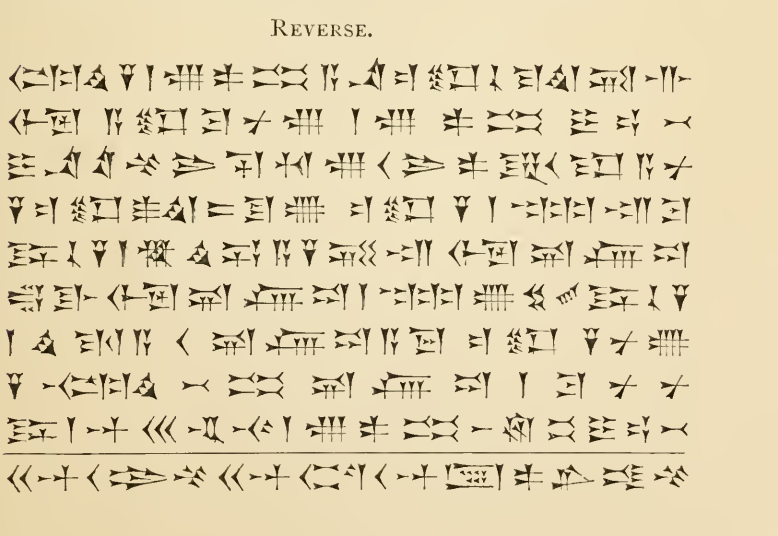
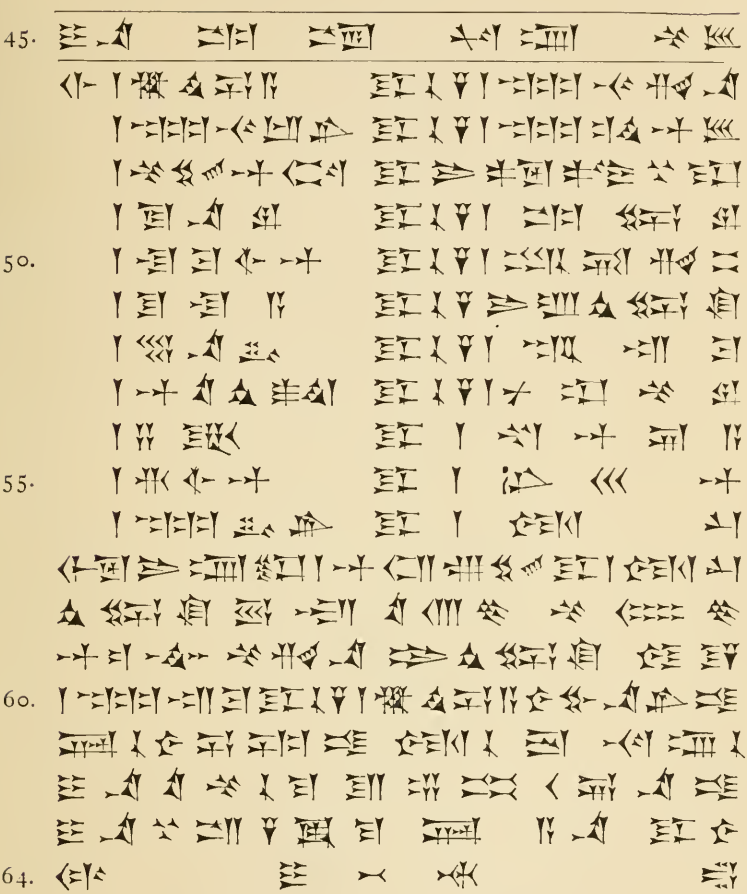


PLATE VI.

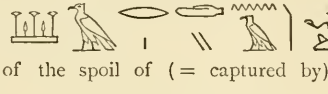
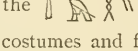
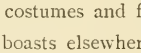
SALE OF A GARDEN.



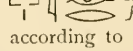
NOTES ON THE "PEOPLES OF THE SEA" OF MERENPTAḤ.

BY MAX MÜLLER.

IN Egyptian history there is hardly any incident of so great an interest as the invasion of Egypt by the Mediterranean peoples, the facts of which are connected with the most important questions of ethnography and the primitive history of classic nations. The facts are sufficiently known, therefore it is unnecessary for me to give here a full account of all the different incidents. Nevertheless it must be remarked that I entirely deny an invasion by the same peoples under Seti I, which, since de Rougé's first essay upon this subject (*Revue Archéologique*, 1867) is mentioned in most historical works.* I hope to be able

* In the song of the battle of Qadesh (f. ex. Mariette, Abydos II, 4, line 10) the Egyptian corps of Shardina is called  "Shardin(a) of the spoil of (= captured by) his majesty." From these words De Rougé (p. 37) deduces that "the expedition of Seti I against the Libyans was probably the occasion of capturing a corps of warriors of Shardanas. This expedition was led by Ra'mses himself. It is certain that on the occasion of his victory over the Taḥennu the inscriptions of the beginning of his reign attribute to him the triumph over the peoples of the sea." I have not so extravagant an imagination as the famous Egyptologist, who makes Ra'mses as crown prince (at the age of about ten years) conduct this war. Besides, why do we in the inscriptions and representations of Seti's war against the Libyans (Rosellini, mon. stor. 54) find only the  and  mentioned, and only the well known costumes and faces of the Libyan tribes represented? Ra'mses himself never boasts elsewhere so remarkable a victory as one over the Libyans and maritime peoples would be, and we must wonder at such an unusual modesty. I think we must erase this war from the various histories, several of which seem also to be in a state of confusion with regard to the wars of Merneptaḥ and Ra'mses III. The above mentioned denomination of the Shardin may be explained in a less literal manner. We know that this warlike maritime people was at that time constantly making predatory raids on the coasts of Egypt, like the Karians of Psametic's period; and like them some were used as soldiers in the same land which was spoiled by the others. Therefore the Egyptians of a period which still remembered a little the heroic times of the great conquerors of the XVIIIth Dynasty, especially the native warriors, may have seen these strangers with no great favour, and the kings themselves felt keenly the dishonour of employing them, so that they

to treat the great invasion under Mernptaḥ and that under Ra'mses III, which was limited to the neighbourhood of the frontiers, in detail, and will therefore not discuss here the origin of the sea-peoples. About this I find, excepting de Rougé's not too detailed essay, only cursory remarks in the different works on Egyptian history, but here, as L. Stern* has lately said, only archæology can give a final decision, and it is not possible for me now to examine all the respective publications. I think it better to refrain entirely from the dangerous practice of comparing the names in the barbarous orthography of the Ramessids' period with the names from classical authors, a method only too often exclusively employed. But it must be confessed that de Rougé by this method has determined at least one or two names which archæological studies will confirm. The most evident comparison is now that of the "Shardana," or better "Shardina" (read "Shardin"), with the Sardinians, since Perrot and Chipiez have published the fourth volume of their "Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité." We find by numerous drawings in this book that the principal part of the armour of the aboriginal Sardinians was a great helmet with two horns over the forehead, a form which is found also in Italy. The author contests the evident identity of this form and that of the characteristic helmets of the Shardin with arguments easy to be refuted. Chiefs (and generally the Shardin in Egyptian service) add other ornaments; but the common people have only the two horns. How can an author who has treated Egyptian art forget that these, in the Egyptian manner of drawing (*cf.* only hieroglyphs as ), must be turned "*en face?*" Besides, the whole armour and the type of face confirm the identification, and from this it is almost certain that the *Shardin* were inhabitants of the islands in the Tuscan Sea, perhaps also Italians of

would have regarded these soldiers as captives. Originally the first of them may have been such slaves, but for a corps which formed not only the life guards of the king, but the veritable *élite* of the whole army, the few pirates occasionally captured in their raids would not have sufficed. Mernptaḥ himself, in the great battle of  P-ár-šps (Prosopis?), captured a small number (perhaps 305 according to the 16th line of the abbreviated text recently discovered by Maspero, hardly 9,146 as Brugsch would suggest). Meanwhile I consider the title "prisoners" only as an euphemism until a real record of a greater conflict with the piratical peoples of that time is found.

* *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 20.

the continent being included. Whether the *Tursha* or *Tursh* do denote the latter as Τυρσηνοί I do not venture to decide now, still less whether the "Aqaiuash(a)" are Ἀχαιοί. The last hypothesis is not the most probable, but even admitting it to be so, the almost general denomination, "invasion of the Greeks," is quite inappropriate for that war. The rest of the pirates are inhabitants of the south-west of Asia Minor, where the *Ruk(a)* or *Luk(a)* (hardly "Lycians") are found already as auxiliaries of the Xeta. That the *Shakarush(a)* have the same home, and are in no case "Siculi," I will prove in a more detailed essay.

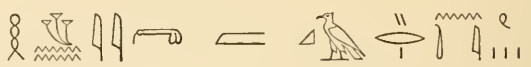
In the war of Ramses III against the northern peoples in Syria we find only tribes of Asia Minor, as is natural, because the greater part of them came from the border of the river Euphrates. Only some of the Shardin joined the other part upon the fleet. Some comparisons of their names with more modern ones may be probable; their origin is certainly quite different from the Indo-German or half Indo-German inhabitants of Asia Minor in the times recorded by Greek authors.

After these summary remarks I will consider the important arguments of Brugsch. This author has (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1874, and in several pages of his "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs") developed quite a new opinion about all the northern peoples, and given remarkable reasons for it. Unfortunately he soon abandoned this opinion himself without giving any new reason. Therefore I think it the more necessary here to examine his arguments.

According to Brugsch, all the above mentioned nations were "Colchi-Caucasian tribes." What is (for example p. 577, of the German edition) said about their emigration in Libya, and other hypotheses, also the comparisons of names (pp. 578, 592), I will not here discuss, but only his positive archæological arguments.* Such an argument is circumcision, which, according to Brugsch, is common to these foreigners. He relies upon the fact that in the great battle of Prosopis (?) the Libyans gave their *phalli*, the pirates

* The "Kaikash(a)" are Libyans, not "Caucasians," and always distinguished from the northern peoples. We must in general be very careful not to confound the two great wars.

their *hands* as trophies for computing the dead foes. In the inscription the first trophies are called :



"phalli as *qairan(a)tà.*"

The denomination of the pirates is :



or



"who had no *qairanatà.*".

The second expression has been explained grammatically by Brugsch. The decision depends upon the sense of the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον *q.i-ira-na-tà* = *qarnat*, *qalnat*, or קרנת , קלנת (without vowels). If this sense is "præputium," as was already believed before Brugsch's remarks, we have an important argument which forbids us to find any European peoples.

Brugsch quoted the interesting passage of Herodotus, II, 104, about circumcision, "which was only used among the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians of all people since old times." How the different analogies of Egyptian and Colchian customs (cap. 105) are to be explained nobody can at present say, for we know too little about the Colchians. But we must consider :—

1. Were the Colchians ever a nation of sailors? I think *never*, for Herodotus, VII, 79, enumerates their contingents only as land troops in the Persian army.

2. Is it more probable that fleets from the further shores of the Black Sea after passing the Dardanelles came to Egypt than that they came from Italy? I think even the last fact is curious enough.

3. Brugsch does not mention that according to Herodotus the Colchians were in all respects extremely like the Egyptians, both in being "of a black colour and curly-headed." But especially the *Shardin* (the remarkable denomination Σαρδονικόν for the Colchian linen is not sufficient reason for identifying them with Colchians) are in dress and arms, in colour and habits, as unlike the Egyptians as possible.

But let us now come to the circumcision and the Karnak inscription.

The second expression is used in the following passages: line 25, "the Shardina, Shakarusha, Âqaiuasha from the lands of the sea



ntë bn nu qa - ira - na - tá

who had no qrnt."

Line 53 is destroyed.

Line 54. "Shardina (Shakarusha), Âqaiuasha



ntë ma'n mdau qu - ira - na - tá

who had no qrnt" (who were killed and whose hands* were brought)



ma'n mdau (qa-ira-na-tá)

(as) *they had no* qrnt."

Formerly these passages were translated: "who had no præputium," as above mentioned.

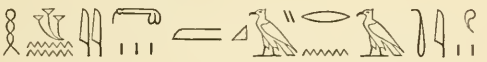
But how to explain the passages about the Libyan trophies?

Line 46. "Asses laden with—



ḫnni qa-ra-na-tá n χst ra - bu

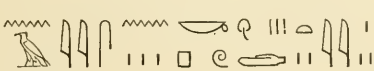
phalli-qrnt *of the Libyan people.*"

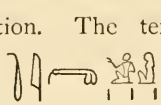
Line 50 (and 55). 

ḫnni m qa-ir-na-tá

phalli as qrnt,"

as introduction of the list of slain Libyans.

* The expression , "their palms of hand (?)," is quite uncommon.

Here the sense "præputium" for *qrnt* cannot be applied. Brugsch translates, "members of the *uncircumcised* people of Libu," and "members of *uncircumcised* men." This cannot possibly be a literal translation. The text must be  or similar in this case, but here *qarnat* stands first as adjective or apposition, and in the second passage the *m* expresses a similar relation with *ḥnni* in the more old-Egyptian sense of "as." *Qarnat* may in the second case be a causal explanation, as: "phalli (which were cut off) as (being) *-qarnat.*" I think this is also the sense of the adjectival apposition.*

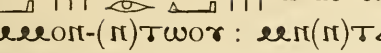
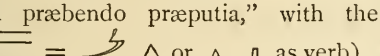
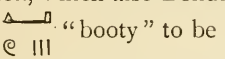
But how to translate? We could attempt to translate *ḥnni qrnt*, "phalli *and* præputia," but the variation with *m* forbids this. Considering the determinative  we can understand *qrnt*, *qarnat* only as a certain *kind of phallus*, either the circumcised or the uncircumcised.†

The most likely translations were given by Chabas ("Études sur l'antiquité historique," p. 234) and lately by Bondi ("Dem Hebraïsch-Phonizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter," p. 72—74). As Chabas says, *qrnt* is the plural קרנת = קרנות of קרן, and denotes "les membres virils en cornes, c'est-à-dire séparés du scrotum." This comparison of קרן is very tempting, certainly more probable than that of ערלה, etc., although it gives no explanation. But both authors seem not to understand the denomination of the pirates.‡ Bondi would read: "Shardin, etc., who did not supply phalli as booty." But the words "supply as booty" are either interpolated or a mistake for the , which, according to Erman ("Neuäg. Grammatik," § 351), seems to have become a mere determinative. The sense of

* A mistake of *m* for *n* would not be impossible, for both prepositions are over and over again confounded in new Egyptian (the more frequent mistake of *n* for *m* in Erman, "Neuäg. Gramm.," § 99 *d* and *e*). But that would give no better explanation. *M* in the sense of "from" would rather form an expression *ḥnni m na-qairnata.*

† N.B.—The abbreviated account of the victory omits the addition *qrnt*, and gives always only "phalli."

‡ The translation of Chabas, l.l. p. 199, "qui n'avaient pas eu des phallus coupés," and "dont on n'a pas coupés les phallus," takes *qrnt* as a verb. First this verb would require a determinative . Then, the second sentence would be formed with .

 is no other than that of the Coptic ⲗⲗⲗⲟⲛ-(ⲛ)ⲧⲱⲟⲩ : ⲗⲗⲛ(ⲛ)ⲧⲁⲩ. Robiou ("Recueil de travaux," 2, 58) translates in a similar way : "qui non possunt (esse) in præbendo præputia," with the most curious explanations  as verb). ⲗⲗⲗⲟⲛ cannot be used in a verbal construction, which also Bondi seems to have forgotten. And where is a word  "booty" to be found?

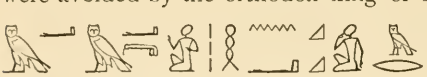
After all, these more or less arbitrary or forced explanations are all insufficient for either the one or the other expression, and therefore I come back to the above-mentioned translation of *qarnat*. But which of the two possible senses is the more probable?

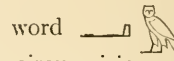
1. I think the Egyptians cut off the members of the Libyans because they believed them pure, and abhorred to touch those of the other strangers. The honouring of the latter by sparing the symbols of their purity, as Brugsch seems to think, is not in harmony with the ancient Oriental way of thinking.

2. On all occasions the trophies taken from the slain foes are the hands. Negroes, Nubians, Semites of all countries, lose the hands, only Lybian tribes at different times the phalli. They were therefore in opposition to all other peoples. Of course we cannot suppose that only the Libyans were uncircumcised, a contradiction to all that is known of ancient ethnography. The Phenicians, etc., were at all times uncircumcised, also all the peoples of Asia Minor (Mesech and Tubal, Ezekiel xxxii, 26), with the exception of the too remote Colchians; wherefore also the Xeta have the hands cut off.

3. Circumcision is an African custom. Among the neighbouring tribes of the Upper Nile it was not so common as to-day, for we always find the hands mentioned, but in the interior and in the west it was perhaps already practised, which we may suppose with greater probability to have been the case with the immediate neighbours on the western Egyptian frontier.

Against this supposition two arguments can perhaps be advanced : the first would be Herodotus' silence. But Herodotus is somewhat concise in his accounts of the various Libyan customs, and in the important passage about circumcision mentioned above he may have passed over the neighbouring Libyans as practising it, not ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, but as belonging to those "who learned it from the Egyptians"

(II, 36). That they "have mostly Egyptian customs" is expressly said, IV, 168. Then in the famous inscription of the Ethiopian conqueror Pianχi it is said, that the Libyan chiefs in Lower Egypt were avoided by the orthodox king of Napata,  "as they were unclean and fish-eaters."

According to the determinative the word  *a'ma'* has probably some connection with circumcision, although not necessarily, for  is determinative of impurity in general. Also the contrary of *a'ma'* is the vague expression  *ua'b* "clean." Either the hyperorthodox Ethiopian may have meant some difference in the execution of the rite, or the impurity of the Libyan chiefs may depend upon quite another reason.

4. But to come to a positive decision we need only cast a single glance on the original representations of battles with the Libyans, for example in Medinet-Habu, to which I wish to direct the attention of those who can examine it. As far as I can see from the imperfect drawings in the great publications, all the trophies show circumcision in a very undoubted manner.

Now I would translate the above-quoted words "phalli; clean phalli, of the Libyan people," "phalli as clean phalli," and "Shardin, who had no clean phalli." Grammatically hardly an objection will be made.

I think these proofs are strong enough to establish the contrary of Brugsch's translations, which have caused so much difficulty to historians, who were not enough acquainted with Egyptology to examine them for themselves. Therefore nothing compels us to discuss the probability of circumcision in so early a time among the Italian peoples, or to seek the home of these pirates in still more remote and still less known countries. These results, the importance of which with regard to the earliest history will be disputed by no one, will explain why I have ventured to devote so long and detailed a discussion to this delicate and curious question.

ASSYRIAN LETTERS, III.

BY S. ALDEN SMITH.

At no time, since I began the attempt to translate and explain Assyrian documents, have I been compelled to use interrogation marks so frequently as in the letters which follow. When I began the study of this class of tablets, I started with the principle that the clearest and best preserved should be translated first, so that the knowledge derived from the study might be used in copying and explaining those texts that are either badly damaged or are especially difficult. I expected to become familiar with words on the clearer texts that would recur on those that are so damaged, that it would be impossible to make them out without having met the words before in similar connections. I expected, furthermore, to be able to collect together the passages for several new words, and from the connection to determine very nearly their meanings. My expectations have, to a large extent, been realized. What is lacking is expressed constantly by question marks, and this partly accounts for the increase in numbers.

But question marks are not things of which a student, working upon an untrodden field, has any reason to be ashamed; they indicate a most healthy condition of research. Nothing has so exposed the weakness of Assyriological research, or laid the whole subject so open to ridicule from sober-minded Semitic scholars, as a lack of the proper use of interrogation marks on the part of some so-called Assyriologists. I have felt myself called upon to refer to this in other places, especially in my study of Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Woerterbuch*, which has recently appeared.* There are hundreds of words in the Assyrian lexicon that are very doubtful; they ought all to be queried in any publication, and especially in a dictionary. Many more words and derivations are doubtful than the *Wörterbuch* indicates. Letters and contract tablets abound particularly in such unknown words, for reasons which are elsewhere given. Some of these words we do not understand at all; we have no clue to a proper translation or explanation. Where this is true, I have endeavoured simply to state the fact. All that can be expected of

* Why that "Assyrisches Wörterbuch" ought Never to Have Been Published. By S. Alden Smith, Leipzig. Edward Pfeiffer, 1888.

anybody under these circumstances is to give a faithful copy of the original, and to transcribe and translate as correctly as possible, clearly indicating it wherever there is doubt. Now it is no easy thing to give the original correctly where the words are unknown, the tablets damaged, and the connection broken. Proper care is too often not taken in the publication of texts. Compare my "Prefatory Remarks" to my *Miscellaneous Texts*. There is no excuse for the mistakes that I have pointed out in *Delitzsch's Wörterbuch*, for he only deals with a few texts, and those amongst the clearest and best preserved of their kind. I have had occasion in my notes below to point out where my text differs from that of Pater Strassmaier in his *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*. I ought here to say that I am much indebted to this book, and in connection with my corrections, it is but fair to state that the mistakes are few compared with the immense mass of absolutely new material that it contains; and these are, at least, partly to be excused, because some of the texts had not been thoroughly cleaned, and since it is usually in very doubtful passages that Strassmaier is at fault. Furthermore, it would be more than human if there should not be found in this large collection of texts, mistakes that could have been avoided if the author had only had to do with two or three dozen documents. In addition to all this, I feel myself compelled, in justification of my method of dealing with the two books, to call attention to the large pretensions to accuracy of the author of the *Wörterbuch*, in contrast to the unassuming Jesuit.

In order to avoid possible errors of copy in my absence from London, Mr. Pinches has kindly read the first proof of what follows, paying special attention to the original text. My thanks are due to him for valuable suggestions.

There are very many new words in the following letters, and in the attempt to find some reasonable translation and explanation of them, I have compared many Hebrew words. Sometimes, also, I have ventured to suggest an Arabic or Syriac root. I am aware how dangerous this is, and how often Assyriologists have been led to sad mistakes, and provoked Arabists to "ridiculous smiling." But there seems to be no other course, and the simple suggestion of a root without founding any discussion upon it will do no harm. There is, however, no certainty in many cases that the Hebrew corresponds to the Assyrian words with which they are compared. Here again we meet with the very objectionable certainty method

of the "Assyriological Schools of the Continent." Many of their comparisons with other Semitic languages have been cast aside. How unwise, then, to have attached such certainty to them at first!

Explanations of these new words that occur in the letters are not usually found in any lists of words that we possess. Then, it is a question, whether we get in the lists the meaning that must be attached to the word in the documents where it occurs. Often the whole seems to make no sense when the meaning given in the vocabulary is forced into a passage.

The so-called Akkadian and Sumerian side of the "lists," as they are read by Assyriologists, certainly do not give meanings that make probable sense in the class of inscriptions which I am now studying. The occurrence of a word in one place in our vocabularies with characters indicating a certain meaning according to our sign-lists, do not, I am certain, define the word sufficiently clearly for our use in difficult documents, whatever value may be attached to the "lists" in general. I am, therefore, very doubtful of many words that might seem, at first glance, to be explained by a passage.

Some of the following letters are so full of words unknown to me, that the sense of them is by no means certain. Indeed, in some of them, only the address and the greeting are certain. I give them, however, hoping that other Assyriologists may be led to study them, and be able to explain some passages, at least, where I have failed.

K. 113.

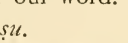
Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na am. ikkaru (?) bêli-ia	*To the chief of irrigation, my lord,*
ardu-ka Rammânu-naṣir	*thy servant, Rammânu-naṣir.*
Nabû Marduk	*May Nebo, Merodach,*
a-na am. ikkaru (?) be-li-ia	*to the chief of irrigation, my lord,*
lik-ru-bu	*be gracious.*
ki-ma a-na ki-ir-si	*As to the cold* (?)
it-tal-ku	*they went,*
ina libbi ki-ik-ki-si	*into the rain* (??)
e-tar-bu	*they entered,*
ultu am-ma-ka	*from the place* (?)
i-sa-ḫu-ru-ni	*they turned,*
am. Šu-u-i	*the Sû'i*
e-ra-ab	*entered.*

REMARKS.

This text has never been mentioned anywhere that I have seen; it is wanting in Bezold's list, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 243. It contains several new words, and the purpose of it still remains a puzzle to me. It does not seem possible that what I have given is correct, but I am unable to better it at present.

Line 1, *ikkaru*. The character  is thus explained S^{b} 290. *Cf.* W.A.I. II, 48, 10 e. f. and V, 16, 39 e. f., where the same characters are explained by *am. pin* and *ik-ka-rum*. The Hebrew אִכָּר is to be compared. But what the real function of this official was, is by no means clear. He seems, however, to have been some high official having the agricultural bureau, or some division of it, under his charge. I have rendered it by "chief of irrigation," since this must have been a subject requiring special attention in Babylonian agriculture; but there is no proof that the translation is correct.

Line 6, *ki-ir-si*. *Cf.* my note to K. 89, line 9, in the *Proceedings* for November, 1887. The writing *kir-si* occurs below, K. 511, line 10.

Line 8, *ki-ik-ki-si*. This word must mean something like *kirsi* above, since it stands in parallelism with it. I cannot, however, explain the word, for I have only met it once before, K. 568, line 8, and know no word with which it can be compared. The translation here, as has already been intimated, is very doubtful. See, however, the passages which Delitzsch gives, *Wörterbuch*, p. 113, under *igaru*. The word there written *ki-ik-ki-šu* is perhaps identical with our word. Notice the comparison  = *ki-ik-ki-šu* = *ḫu-uṣ-ṣu*.

Line 10, *ultu am-ma-ka*. This is probably the proper transcription as, Mr. Pinches suggests. I am, however, unable to explain *am-ma-ka*, and the translation is only supported by the connection.

Line 12, *am. Šu-u-i*. I do not know what official this was; I have not met the title elsewhere in inscriptions, but it occurs in the list W.A.I. II, 31, 87 b.

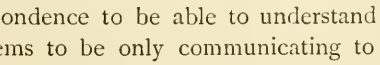
K. 146.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri bêli-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Na'id-ilu	*thy servant, Na'id-ilu.*

	lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord.*
	ûmu XXVII	*On the 27th day*
5	I C XX sisû pa-ni-ia-te	120 *horses of an earlier time*
	ša Nabû-a-ni	*which Nebo-ani*
	ina Ur-zu-ḫi-na	*into Urzuḫina*
	iḳ-ṭa-ra-bu-u-ni	*brought.*
	ûmu XXVIII^{kan} ina lib-bi-ma šu-nu	*On the 28th day they were there;*
10	ûmu XXIX^{kan} u-na mu-šu	*on the 29th towards (?) night,*
	al-lak ina Sa-ri-e	*I went to Sarê,*
	u-še-bir-šu-nu	*I brought them over;*
	ûmu XX^{kan}	*the 20th day*
	ina Sa-ri-e-ma	*in Sarê*
15	ak-la-šu-nu	*I shut them up,*
	a-di biti	*together with the house*
	arkûte	*of the later (ones).*
	i-ḳar-bu-u-ni-ni	*They came to me*
	i-si XX sisê	*with 20 horses*
20	ga-mu-zu	*bound;*
	lup-šu-ḫu	*they shall rest quietly*
	pur-ba-a-ni	*in the summer stables (??).*

Remarks.

This text has been quoted by Pater Strassmaier, A V in several places. *Cf.* Begold *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 246. It is one of quite a large number of tablets referring to horses. I have published several in Heft II of my *Asurbanipaltexte.* There are several difficult words in this letter, and we need the connection in which it stood in the correspondence to be able to understand it. The writer of the letter seems to be only communicating to the king what disposition he had made of certain horses about which there had undoubtedly been previous correspondence.

Line 5, *pa-ni-ia-te.* This word seems to be from the root פנה. *Cf.* the form *pa-ni-tum*, Strassmaier, A V No. 6939. See also W.A.I. III, 51, No. 9, l. 15 (K. 480)  *Ša ina pa-ni-ti a-na šarri bêli-ia aš-pur-an-ni*, "about which I aforetime to the king, my lord sent." I suppose our word to have the same meaning.

Line 6. I am not certain how this name is to be read.

Line 7. Instead of 𒁹𒌨 Strassmaier, A V No. 7344, has given 𒀀𒌨𒁹𒀀 doubtfully.

Line 8. Instead of 𒄑𒀀 Strassmaier has doubtfully 𒄑𒄿, which seems to me to be incorrect. In a private communication Mr. Pinches confirms my reading.

Line 10, *u-na mu-šu*. I am not at all certain as to the reading or translation here. *U-na* is, perhaps, a preposition, and *mu-šu* may then be the usual word for "night," from the root מוש.

Line 15, *ak-la-šu-nu*. I derive this word from כלא. *Cf.* the Hebrew כָּלָא "to shut up, confine."

Line 17, 𒅆𒄑𒀀 𒌨. This seems to be the reading of this line; it is the character which is explained by *arkû* "later," as Strassmaier also transcribes (*Cf.* A V No. 1423), but a wedge is wanting in his copy.

Line 19. The last character is certainly 𒌨 and not 𒌨𒈾 as Strassmaier copies. The character *me* often occurs instead of the sign for the plural in these documents. Mr. Pinches confirms my reading.

Line 20. The last character according to my copy and Mr. Pinches' kind communication is 𒁹𒌨; Strassmaier, however, seems to have been in doubt. See A V Nos. 1423 and 1520. *Ga-mu-zu* I have regarded as the same word as גמס, which occurs very often.

Line 21, *lup-šu-ḫu*. This word I derive from פשח, "to quiet oneself."

Line 22. *pur-ba-a-ni*. I prefer to transcribe with *p* instead of *b*, as Strassmaier, A V No. 1423, does. Perhaps the Hebrew פִּרְבָּר Persian فروار "a sunny place, pleasant summer-house," is to be compared. This is the only passage that I have found where this word occurs, and there is no certainty as to its meaning or derivation.

K. 174.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri bêli-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Nabû-na-din-šum	*thy servant Nabû-nâdin-šum.*
lu-a šul-mu a-na šarri be-li-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord,*
Nabû u Marduk a-na šarri be-li-ia	*May Nebo and Merodach to the king, my lord,*

a-dan-niš lik-ru-bu	*constantly be gracious.*
ina êlî ša šarru be-li ik-ban-ni	*As to what the king, my lord, has commanded*
ma-a ištu Ba-si-i du-ub-ba	*thus: From Basi word*
ad-du-bu-ub iḳ-ṭi-bi	*I speak. He has commanded.*
ma-a ûmu XV^{kan} lu-ši-ib	*thus: The 15th day, he shall remain;*
ma-a ûmu XXII^{kan} li-it-bi	*thus: The 22nd day he shall march forward*
ma-a ûmu XXIV ^{kan} šarru ina êlî nâri	*thus: The 24th (?) may the king over the river*
. . . . til-lu-šu li-pu-uš	 *his work accomplish;*
u iḳ-ṭi-bi ma-a	*and he has commanded thus:*
ina pa-an šarri ni-id-bu-ub	*Before the king we have spoken;*
šarru ša pi-i-ni liš-me	*may the king from our mouth hear*
a-na-ku šu-u	*I, he*
ina pa-an šarri ni-ru-ba	*before the king we will enter*
til-lu ki-i ša in-ni-pa-šu-u-ni	*the work according as it has been done (?)*
. ni-i-ni	 *me (?)*
nu aḫ(?) ki-im	
. kun(?)-du šu-u	
. a-ki-i šarru	 *as the king*
ša pi-i-ni i-ša-mu-u-ni	*from our mouth has heard*
ina muḫ-ḫi ša iṣ-bi ša šarru	*As to what he wishes, about which the king*
iš-pur-an-ni ma-a sa-me	*has sent to me thus: Hear (?)*
a-ki-i ša ina li-'	*As on the tablet*
ša-ṭir-u-ni a-na sarri	*is written, to the king,*
be-li-ia as-sap-ra	*my lord, I send.*

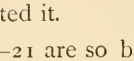
REMARKS.

This text has been quoted by Strassmaier in several passages. *Cf.* Bezold, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 248. My copy differs in several places from that of Pater Strassmaier. Many of the lines are wanting so far that the sense is destroyed. It seems to be a report on some work that the king had committed to the writer.

Line 6, *iḳ-ban-ni*. Strassmaier, A V Nos. 1766 and 4116, has copied instead of , which does not seem to me to be possible. Mr. Pinches writes me that *ban* is correct. The root is, of course, קבא.

Line 10, *li-it-bi* is the precative from תבא, "to march forward."

Line 11. The number here is broken away; it may be 23 as I have completed it.

Lines 19–21 are so badly broken that I can only recognize a few characters, but can give nothing in the translation. In line 20 I am indebted to Mr. Pinches for *nu;* he thinks there is only one sign lost. In line 21 the sign  is the most probable, although it is not certain.

Line 24, *iṣ-bi.* I prefer to transcribe these characters thus. The root I regard as צבה, "to wish;" it may however be a noun. "wish, will." *Cf.* the Aramaic צבא, .

Line 25. Strassmaier A V No. 319, has the first two characters of this line altogether wrong. Mr. Pinches' reading agrees with mine.—*sa-me.* Strassmaier transcribes *sa-me* (?). If this be the true transcription, the word may come from שמא, "to hear."

Line 26, *li-'*, "tablet." *Cf.* my note on this word in the Borsippa Inscription, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, July, 1887.

K. 479.

	Transcription.	*Translation.*
	A-na šarri kiššati (?) be-li-ia	*To the king of multitudes, my lord*
	ardu-ka Ugar-Bêl-lu-mur	*thy servant Ugar-Bêl-lumur*
	Nabû u Marduk a-na šarri kiš-šati	*May Nebo and Merodach to the king of multitudes*
	be-li-ia lik-ru-bu	*my lord be gracious;*
5	Šamaš u Marduk ṭu-ub lib-bi	*may Samas and Merodoch joy of heart*
	u ṭu-ub ši-i-ri	*and health of body*
	ša šarri be-li-ia li-iḳ-bu-u	*of the king, my lord command.*
	apil Da-ku-ru nakisê-ia	*The son of Dakuru, as to my property* (?)
	iḫ-te-iṭ-ṭu ummi-a	*has sinned; my mother*
10	u aḫe-e-a	*and my brothers*
	ina bu-bu-ti id-du-uk	*with hunger he killed.*
	ši-pi-ir-ti	*Letters*
	a-na muḫ-ḫi-šu	*about him*
	a-na šarri be-li-ia	*to the king, my lord,*
15	ki-i aš-pu-ru	*although I sent*
	ga-ma-ru-u	*the accomplishment*

	ul a-mur	*I did not see.*
	ap-ta-la-aḫ	*Ī did homage,*
	šarru i-di a-kan-na	*the king knows. Likewise,*
20	ul šu-ṣu-bu-ta-ka	*thou didst not cause to take*
	bîti-a u am. ḳa-al-la-a	*my house and my chief servant* (?);
	ia-'-nu-u ina Bâbîli	*there was not in Babylon*
	im-mu-u-a ša ina pa-an	*my father-in-law whom before*
	ummi-ia u aḫê-ia	*my mother and my brothers*
25	ak-lu-u apil Da-ku-ru	*I imprisoned. The son of Dakuru*
	iḫ-te-iṭ-ṭu	*has sinned;*
	a-di II -šu da-al-ḫa-ak	*twice I disturbed* (*him*).
	ina pi-i-ka el-lu	*At thy glorious command*
	ša Šamaš u Marduk	*to whom Samas and Merodach*
30	i-kar-ra-bu-uš	*have been merciful*
	in-da-aḳ-tu	*they were overthrown.*
	abu-a bîta-ka	*My father thy house*
	i-ra-ap-pi-iš	*increased;*
	en-na ina ṣilli šarri	*under the protection of the king*
35	be-li-ia li-ir-pi-iš	*my lord may it increase.*

REMARKS.

Portions of this text have likewise been given by Pater Strassmaier in A V. *Cf.* Bezold, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 261, for the passages. The name of the writer is incorrectiy given by Strassmaier and Bezold. The last character of line 2 is  = *mur* instead of . See A V No. 631. Other differences of text will be pointed out in the notes below. The writer of the letter is in trouble; one of his officials has committed a great offence; he has killed the relatives of Ugar-Bel-lumur. The letter complains that he has previously sent letters about this man, but nothing had resulted from it. The writer claims to be a faithful servant of the king. The son of Dakuru has at last been overthrown.

Line 1. The character  is not quite certain; Mr. Pinches thinks he sees traces of it.

Line 3. After  there is evidently another character, which Strassmaier No. 631 has scratched; but it seems to be .

Line 8. The first character here and in the same expression line 25 below, Strassmaier has copied A V Nos. 1826 and 3100 as . The text is not very clear, but I prefer the reading *apil*.

—*Nakisê-ia*. The explanation of this ideogram is to be found W.A.I. V, 11, 4 ef. (*cf.* ALS[3] p. 127, line 52). Strassmaier, A V No. 3100, transcribes *ša ṣabani-ia*, but it seems to me that the passage requires the two characters to be taken as one ideogram, and I cannot find  explained by *ṣâbu*. In explanation of this word Mr. Pinches compares the Hebrew נָכַס, and states that the Akkadian pronounciation of  was probably *ig-lag* = *mimmu kurbannu*, "what may be given as a gift" or "earned," "property."

Line 9. The sign preceding the last Strassmaier, A V Nos. 1347, 1826 and 3100, has given as  doubtfully. My text seems to me to be correct, and to give at the same time a better sense.

Line 15, *ki-i*. There can hardly be any doubt about the text, although it is not very clear on the original. Strassmaier is undecided. *See* A V No. 6910.

Line 16, *ga-ma-ru-u*. In spite of the long vowel at the end I have derived this word from גמר. This is the only stem known to me from which this word can come. *Cf. Asurb., Heft* II, p. 43, 18.

Line 19, *a-kan-na*. Probably Strassmaier is right in comparing the Syriac ܗܳܟܰܢ "so, also, ebenso."

Line 20. I am not certain what the second character of this line is. Strassmaier, A V No. 313, has , which is perhaps correct, though the front wedges are not very clear. Mr. Pinches writes me that there are no traces of the front-wedges *ul šu-ṣu-bu-ta-ka*.—This is undoubtedly the correct reading, and not *ul-tu*, &c., as Strassmaier has copied. Mr. Pinches confirms my reading. *Ṣu-bu-ta-ka*. The root is צבת.

Line 21, *am. ḳa-al-la-a*. This word I regard as the same as that found in other places written in different ways. Beh. 44, 53 we have *gal-la-a*. W.A.I. V, 58, l. 51, *kal-li-e šarri* "servants (?) of the king." *Cf.* Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 28, note 2, and p. 61. Probably the  K. 492, l. 11 (see below), is to be transcribed in this way, but I cannot now quote a passage to prove it. The meaning is probably "servant."

Line 22, *ia-'nu-u*. For this word *cf.* my *Asurbanipaltexte. Heft* II, p. 51, 22; 67, 25, and the *Glossar*.

Line 23, *im-mu-u-a*. I derive this word from אמה[3] "father-in-law." *Cf.* Arabic حَمٌ.

Line 24. Mr. Pinches thinks 𒁹𒀀𒀀 𒌋𒌋 better than 𒁹𒀀𒀀 𒌋𒌋𒌋 according to the traces.

Line 27, *da-al-ḫa-ak*, is 1st pers. sing. Permansive from דלח "to disturb."

Line 31, *in-da-aḳ-tu*. This word seems to come from מקת "to overthrow, fall."

Line 34, *en-na*. According to W.A.I. II, 15, 9, this is to be read *a-di*.

K. 492.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri be-li-ia	*To the king, my lord*
ardu-ka Rammânu-nâdin aḫi	*thy servant Rammânu-nâdin-aḫi.*
lu šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord.*
Nabû Marduk ana šarri bêli-ia	*May Nebo, Merodach to the king, my lord*
lik-ru-bu ina muḫ-ḫi	*be gracious. As to*
u-mu ša šarri be-li	*the day when the king, my lord*
iš-pur-an-ni	*sent to me;*
dami-iḳ a-dan-niš	*mercy constantly*
bi-it šarri be-li	*the house of the king, my lord*
iḳ-bu-u-ni	*has commanded.*
am. kalê am-mu-te	*Those servants*
ni-ḫar-ru-ub	*we have destroyed,*
ni-ša-aḳ-ḳi	*we have made high*
a-ra-me-ma	*the citadels;*
apil šarri	*may the king's son*
li-is-si	*come forth (?).*
a-na-ku-ma mi-i-nu	*I the number*
a-ḳab-bi am. par-šu-mu	*commanded, the greyhaired man*
ša ṭe-en-šu	*whose report*
la aš-šu-u-ni	*has not been brought*
ša šarru bêli iḳ-bu-u-ni	*whom the king, my lord commanded,*
ki-i ša ilu gam-rat	*as the god arranged.*

REMARKS.

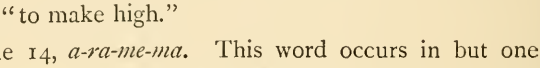
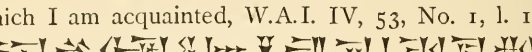
This letter has also never been published, except that Strassmaier has given parts of it in his *Alphabet. Verz.* *Cf.* Bezold, *Literaturges.*, p. 262. The name of the writer Strassmaier transcribes *Rammânu-šum-uṣur* instead of *Rammânu-nâdin-aḫi*. See A V No. 7505.

Line 6. The first character is  and not  = *sa*, as Strassmaier, Nos. 1206 and 1852, gives doubtfully.

Line 11, *am-mu-te.* Strassmaier's remark in A V No. 468, that this word is "plur. m. von ammu wie ammâte plur. f. ist," seems to be correct. It is the same word as the Hebrew הֲמָדָה, which Strassmaier also compares. See A V No. 463.

Line 12, *ni-ḫar-ru-ub.* Other readings are possible, but this seems to be the most probable. Strassmaier also reads thus, querying the second syllable. The root is חרב, the Hebrew, חָרֵב, "to be desolate, waste." *Cf.* Pinches' *Texts*, 20, 9; 14, 14.

Line 13, *ni-ša-aḳ-ki* is II, 1 from שקה, "to be high." This form means "to make high."

Line 14, *a-ra-me-ma.* This word occurs in but one other text with which I am acquainted, W.A.I. IV, 53, No. 1, l. 15 (K. 114)  *a-ra-mu u ṣâbê ša Bit Da-ku-ri*, "the captain of the fortress (?) and the soldiers of Bit-Dakuri." Then again in line 33  *apil Ia-a-šu-mu a-di am. ḳin-ni-šu u am. a-ra-mi-šu i-na lib-bi u-šiš-šib.* "The son of Ia-šumu together with his family and the captain of his fortress there I caused to sit." My translation seems to me to fit especially well in our passage. *Cf.*, moreover, the Hebrew אַרְמוֹן. Mr. Pinches however gives the text as ḫa-ra-me-ma.

Line 16, *li-is-si.* This word must come from the root נסא. *Cf.* Strassmaier, A V No. 6071, for other passages.

Line 18, *am. par-šu-mu. Cf.* my remarks in the *Proceedings*, June, 1887, p. 244.

Line 22, *gam-rat*, comes from גמר, "to complete."

K 502.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri be-li-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Ik-ka-ru	*thy servant, Ikkaru.*
lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri be-li-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord.*
a-dan-niš a-dan-niš	*Constantly, constantly,*
5 Nabû u Marduk	*may Nebo and Merodach*
a-na ṣarri be-li-ia	*to the king, my lord,*

	lik-ru-bu Adar	*be gracious. May Adar*
	u Gu-la ṭu-ub libbi	*and Gula, joy of heart,*
	ṭu-ub šêrê a-na šarri	*health of body to the king,*
10	be-li-ia li-di-nu	*my lord grant.*
	ina muḫ-ḫi I-rat-ti	*As to Iratti*
	ša šarru be-li-ia	*whom the king, my lord,*
		
	a-di-il-ma	*I imprisoned (him) and*
	is-si-šu	*with him*
15	a-da-lul is-si-šu	*I humiliated myself, with him*
	a-na pa-ni la-a il-lak	*before me he did not go.*
	šarru be-li lu u-di	*May the king, my lord, know.*
	ki-i ma-ri-ṣu-u-ni	*When they were sick*
	ur-ki-te šarru i-na ḫi-ṭi-ni	*the herbs (?) of the king for our sins*
20	. . . la-a i-šak-kan	 *were placed*
	. . . ḫi-ṣi II u III	 *two and three*
	ip-pa-aš ṭu-bu	*he made joy*
	lib-bi la-a e-mur	*of heart he did not see.*

REMARKS.

This text is not mentioned by Bezold in his *Lit.* It is, therefore, entirely new. The letter is a report concerning a certain Iratti who seems to have been commissioned by the king. The tablet is so broken that some of the text is lost. There is very little here that requires explanation.

Line 13, *a-di-il-ma.* The root is, perhaps, אדל, but this is not at all certain. The meaning is certainly "to bolt in, shut up."

Line 15, *a-da-lul.* This is probably the proper transcription, but it is possible to transcribe *a-da-lib;* this latter word would come from the root דלב, of which Dr. Heinrich Zimmern in his *Babylonische Bussspsalmen*, p. 93, speaks. *Cf.* also my *Asurb.*, *Heft* I, p. 93.

Line 18, *ma-ri-ṣu-u-ni.* This word seems to come from the stem מרץ, "to be sick."

Line 19, *ur-ki-te.* The only word written in this way with which I am acquainted is W.A.I. II, 26, 54, 41, 4. *Cf.* Strassmaier, A V. No. 2698. *Cf.* Zimmern, *Bussps.*, p. 36, 7. Whether our word is the same as this or not I am unable to decide.

K. 504.

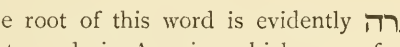
Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri be-li-ia	*To the king, my lord*
ardu-ka Ištar-du-ri	*thy servant Istar-dûri.*
lu-šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord.*
ina êlî Nabû-šum-iddin	*About Nabû-šum-iddin (and)*
5 Nabû-irba am. asû	*Nabû-irba, the physicians*
ša a-na šarri be-li-ia	*of whom to the king, my lord*
aḳ-bu-u-ni an-nu-šim	*I spoke, at once*
. . . . am. apil šipri-e-a ina pa-an	*with (?) my messenger to the presence*
šarri be-li-ia a-šap-ra-šu-nu	*of the king, my lord I sent them.*
10 ina pa-an šarri be-li-ia	*Into the presence of the king, my lord*
li-ru-bu šarru be-li	*may they enter, may the king, my lord*
i-si-šu-nu lid-bu-bu	*with them speak*
ki-e-tu a-na-ku	*faithfully (?). I*
la u-bar-ri	*did not decide,*
15 la a-ḳa-ba-aš-šu-nu	*I did not command them.*
bi-it šarri be-li i-šap-par-ša-nu-ni	*The house of the king, my lord sent to me.*
Šamaš-bêl-aḫî	*Samas-bêl-aḫî*
ultu Di-ri i-šap-ra	*from Diri sent*
ma-a muš-ša-ra-ni-i	*thus: Inscriptions*
20 la aš-šu ina libbi igârâtê	*are not; in the walls*
ša bît ili la niš-kun	*of the house of God we have not placed.*
u-ma-a a-na šarri be-li-ia	*Now to the king, my lord*
a-šap-ra êšten muš-ša-ru-u	*I send, may one inscription*
liš-ṭu-ru lu-še-bil-u-ni	*be written, may it be brought.*
25 ina pi-it-ti ri-ḫu-ti	*Suddenly they were destroyed;*
liš-ṭu-ru ina lib-bi igârâtê	*may they be written, in the walls*
ša bît ili liš-ku-nu	*of the house of God may they be placed.*
zunnê ma-'-da	*Much rain*
a-dan-niš i-ta-lak	*constantly shall come.*
30 šibirrê di-e-ḳi	*May the harvest (when) threshed*
lib-bi ša šarri be-li-ia	*the heart of the king, my lord*
lu-u ṭâbu	*rejoice.*

REMARKS.

There seems to be no reference to this letter except in George Smith's *Eponym. Canon*, p. 85. (*Cf.* Bezold, *Lit.*, p. 263.) The purpose of the letter is to report that there are no inscriptions in the walls of the temple, and to secure one for it. Some characters are broken away, but I am able to restore all but one of them with almost absolute certainty.

Line 5, *am. asû*. I think this ideogram is to be read in this way, but a proof passage I am unable to find. *Cf.* Pinches on the permansive tense.

Line 8. I cannot tell with any certainty what was originally at the beginning of this line; I have supplied "with" in the translation merely to make sense and fill up the space.

Line 13, *ki-e-tu*. I am not certain as to the meaning and derivation of this word. Another passage where the word is written as here is K. 596,17,  *la ki-e-tu i-si-e-a ta-da-bu-ub*, "unfaithfully (?) with me thou hast spoken." For passages containing similar forms, *cf.* Strassmaier, *Alphabet. Verz.*, No. 4449.

Line 14, *u-bar-ri*. The root of this word is evidently ברה, but there are several different words in Assyrian which come from this radical. We have the very common word *barû*, "to see." *Cf.* W.A.I. II, 21, 32, *ab-ri-e*, Sennach., VI, 27; Neb., III, 63, &c. Another well-known word is ברה "to bind;" it is very common, as *birtu*, "midst;" *biritu*, "fetter." *See* W.A.I. V, 1, 131, Sennach., I, 78, &c. It is probable that the word *bartu*, *ba-ra-nu*, W.A.I. V, 21, 23, 5, 31 (*Cf. Asurbanipaltexte*, *Heft* I, p. 99) comes from the same radical. There is another word, however, to which Zimmern, *Babyl. Bussps.*, p. 50, 18, refers, which means "to decide." *Cf.* W.A.I. II, 62, 36 ab, and the Hebrew בָּרָה, 1 Sam. xvii, 8. From this latter stem I derive our word.

Line 19, *muš-ša-ra-ni-t*. I regard this word to be the plural of *musarû*, "inscription." *Cf. Asurb.*, *Heft* I, p. 106. The singular occurs in line 23 below. The writing *š* instead of *s* is of frequent occurrence.

Line 25, *ina pi-it-ti*. I think this is the same expression as that which I have explained in my *Asurbanipaltexte*, *Heft* I, p. 103, 61. There is another word of a similar form which is mentioned in the

list of clothing, W.A.I. V, 14, 19b: 44b, and which corresponds to the Hebrew אַבְנוֹר. See also Zimmern, *Bussps.*, p. 39, note.—*ri-ḫu-ti*. I think this is the correct reading, but it may also be read *dal-ḫu-ti*. The root is רחא. See Zimmern, pp. 83-4.

Line 30, *di-e-ḳi*. *Cf.* for this word the Hebrew דּוּק, 2 Sam. xxii, 43. In the same manner we have 𒀀𒈾 𒄿𒈾 𒀀𒈾 K. 122, 38, from the stem דוך "to kill." *Cf.* further W.A.I. III, 40, 83 V, 16, 74-5.

K. 506.

Transcription.

A-na šarri be-li-ia
ardu-ka Ašûr-dûr-pâni-ia
lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri be-li-ia
am. rab L-ia šu-u ša am. Ra-a-a Mu-tur-na-a-a
a-na am. ḫa-za-ni ša Mu-tur-na i-du-ka
ultu mar-kas il-li-kan-a-ni la il-li-ka
til-lu ultu aḫê-šu la e-pu-uš
ultu pa-an ip-ta-laḫ XV am. Ra-a-a
ina ḳa-a-ti-šu i-ṣab-bat a-na Akkada-a i-la-ka
it-tal-ku-u-ni iḳ-ṭi-bu-u-ni ana-ku An-da-la-a
a-na Šu-pur-a a-sa-pa-ra mu-ku a-lik
am. arda-ni-ka še-ri-da it-tal-ka
am. arda-ni-šu u-si-ri-da a-sib u-sa-ḫi-ir
am. apil šip-ri-ia ina irti An-da-la-a a-sa-pa-ra
mu-ku am. rab L ḫa-ni-u ultu ṣabê-šu
mu-ku ikkašdu-u u ni-rab-a-ni gab-bu
ina muḫ-ḫi-šu u-ta-ḫi-iṣ-ṣi
mu-ku at-ta-ri-di pi - tu šu a-lik
ir-ti di-bi a-na Šu-pur-a it-la-ka
am. rab L ultu am. ṣâbê-šu
ina Mar-ḫu-ḫa âlu - te
ša Šu-pur-a-a e-tar-bu
An-da-la-a e-ta-am-mar-šu
. . . . bat-tu i-si-šu i-sa [-pa-ra]
ma-a a-lik kunûku ša amêli
. . . . za al-la-ka lu tal- . . .
am. rab L-ia ultu Me-ra . . .
ša a-ri-te Mar-ḫu-ḫa-a-a

i-da-at An-da-la-a it-tal-ku-u-ni
ina ḫarrâna i-zu-ku-pu am. arda-ni ša šarri bêli-a
it-ku-la aš-šu mi-mi-ni ina lib-bi-šu-nu
la i-du-ku am. rab L u-ta-ḫi-iṣ-ṣu
is-su-ḫar ina Mar-ḫu-ḫa e-tar-bu
an-ni-nu ša u-ma-a ri-it-bu a-du âbi am. rab L
ni-iš-ku-u-ni la ṣi-bu-tu la i-di-nu
am. ip-tu-gu-tu-ra am. arda-ni ša šarri bêli-a
la-bi-ru-u-te ša ina lib-bi kam-ma-su-u-ni
u-še-ṣu-u-ni i-du-nu

Translation.

To the king, my lord
thy servant, Aššûr-dûr-pani-ia.
Peace to the king, my lord.
My captain of fifty, he who the people of Ra and Maturna
for the mayor of Maturna killed,
from prison came to me, did not come;
the order from his brothers he did not execute;
at my presence he feared, 15 officials of Ra
in his hands he took, to Akkad he went,
they came (and) commanded; I Andalâ'
to Supur sent; afterwards (?) I went
thy servants brought down, he went
his servants I brought down, set down (and) besieged.
My messenger against Andalâ' I sent.
Then (?) the captain of fifty, everywhere from his soldiers
then they captured, and we entered altogether.
Against him they pressed;
then (?) I went down I went;
against command to the people of Supur he went,
the captain of fifty from his soldiers
into Marḫuḫa
of the people of Supur entered.
Andalâ' saw him
. . . . with him they sent (?)
Thus I went, the seal of the
.
my captain of fifty from
who (is) the gatekeeper (?) of the people of Marḫuḫa

the force of Andalâ came
in the road they hung (them). The servants of the king, my lord
trusted to him; those who were in their midst
they did not kill; the captain of fifty pressed forward,
besieged, into Marḫuḫa entered.
This (man) who to-day pressed forward together with the father
of the captain of fifty
we are keeping not bound, not judged.
The Iptugutura, the servants of the king, my lord,
the aged who therein were bound
I caused to come out, judged.

REMARKS.

This letter has never been referred to in the published literature. It is wanting in Bezold's *Literaturges.*, p. 263. It is quite difficult, and in some places where the words are all known, the sense is by no means clear. The original is also only fairly well preserved, and in some parts the characters are altogether lost. The letter is a report on military operations, which can hardly become intelligible, when the circumstances are all unknown.

Line 6, *mar-kas.* The root is רכס "to bind." It, perhaps, means "prison."—*Il-li-kan-a-ni* comes from the well-known stem הלך, with the suffix of the first person.

Line 12, *sê-ri-da*, I regard as III, 1, from ורד, "to descend." The same word occurs in the next line, *u-si-ri-da.*

Line 15, *ḫa-ni-u.* This is an uncommon word, and I am uncertain as to its meaning. Pinches in my *Asurbanipaltexte*, *Heft* II, p. 59, line 10, translates it "allgemein." These are the only passages with which I am acquainted where the word occurs.

Line 17, *u-ta-ḫi-iṣ-ṣu.* The root of this word is נחץ. *Cf. Asurb.*, *Heft* II, p. 53, 13. *U-ta-ḫi-iṣ-ṣu*, line 32 below, comes also from this stem.

Line 18, *at-ta-ri-di* is I, 2, from ורד. Some of the following characters are so broken away that the sense of the line is destroyed.

Line 21. The character following is quite certainly , but I have no idea what follows.

Line 22. After the sign the tablet is broken, but there seems to be nothing lost.

Line 23. I cannot make out what precedes the last character of this line, and therefore the whole passage is dark to me.

Line 24. The first character of this line may be 𒄑, but it is not at all certain. The last signs are probably to be completed 𒄑 𒄑.

Line 26. The beginning and the end of the line are broken away, and the entire connection is thus lost. My translation is here, therefore, blank. *Al-la-ka* may mean "I went," but it is not certain that the characters are to be grouped in this way.

Line 27. The end of this line is also wanting; it seems to be only part of a proper name, but I cannot complete it. Mr. Pinches transcribes *êštin me am.* [*ṣabē*].

Line 28, *a-ri-te.* For this word see my *Asurb.*, *Heft* I, p. 101, Col. VII, line 2.

Line 30, *i-zu-ku-pu.* This word seems to come from the stem זקף, "to raise." The writing of כ for ק is very frequent.

Line 31, *it-ku-la* is from תכל "to trust."—For *mi-mi-nu cf.* Pinches in my *Asurb.*, *Heft* II, p. 63.

Line 33, *is-su-ḫar.* The stem is סחר, "to turn oneself." *Is-sa-ḫi-ir*, line 13 above, is from the same root.

Line 34, *ri-it-bu.* It seems to me that there are several possible stems for this word as far as the form is concerned. It may come from רבה, "to be great," or from ריב, "to strive" (Hebrew רִיב), or from ארב, "to enter." The connection seems to be best satisfied with the latter derivation.

Line 35, *ṣi-bu-tu* undoubtedly comes from צבת, "to take prisoner."—*I-di-nu* is to be derived from דין, "to judge."

Line 36, *am. ip-tu-gu-tu-ra.* I do not understand what official is here referred to.

Line 37, *la-bi-ru-u-te* is the plural of *labiru*, "old." The root is לבר.—*Kam-ma-su-u-ni* is from כמס.

K. 507.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri bêli-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ḳa Ṭâbu-rub-êsara	*thy servant, Tâbu-rub-êsara.*
lu šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord.*

	Ašûr Belit a-na šarri bêli-ia	*May Asur and Beltis to the king, my lord,*
5	lik-ru-bu	*be gracious.*
	Nabû-bel-šumê	*Nabû-bel-šumê,*
	am. ḳi-e-pu ša Bi-rat	*the mayor of Birat*
	ûmu VII^{kan} i-na Ašûr	*the seventh day into Asur*
	e-tar-ba a-sa-'-al-šu	*entered; I have asked him.*
10	mu-uk a-ta-a a-kan-ni	*Therefore now likewise*
	ta-li-ka ma-a a-bat šarri	*thou shalt come thus; the will of the king*
	ina muḫ-ḫi-ia ta-tal-ka	*to me thou shalt bring.*
	ma-a a-ta-a am. ḫazânâte	*Thus, now the aldermen*
	gab-bu il-li-ku	*all should come,*
15	i-na pa-ni-ia i-zi-zu	*before me stand.*
	ma-a at-ta la ta-li-ka	*In such case thou shouldst not come*
	ma-a i-si šarri ma-a a-ta-a	*then with the king. Thus now*
	mât Up-pa-a-a ḫu-ub-tu	*the people of Uppa the booty*
	ša Si-par iḫ-bu-tu-ni	*of Sipar should plunder.*
20	ma-a a-ta-a at-ta	*Thus now thou*
	a-di am. ardâni-kâ	*together with thy servants*
	tu-u-ṣi ta-bu-uk-u-ni	*should go out (and) destroy.*
	ma-a ina êlî a-bi-te	*Thus for these*
	an-ni-te at-ta-la-aḫ	*overthrows I will prepare (??),*
25	a-ta-al-ka	*I will come.*

REMARKS.

This text has, likewise, never been referred to or any part of it published. It is wanting in Bezold, *Lit.*, p. 263. The writer, Ṭâbu-rub-êsara, seems to be reporting to the king his orders to an official. The ends of some of the lines are broken away, but my completions appear to me highly probable.

Line 9. The ⟨ at the end of this line is quite certain.

Line 12, *ta-tal-ka* is from the well-known root הלך, "to go."

Line 15. The completion *zu* is very probable; it makes a good word and fits in the connection.

Line 20. The character *ta* at the end is quite certainly a correct completion.

Line 22, *ta-bu-uk-u-ni*. The root of this word seems to be אבך, "to destroy."

Line 23, *a-bi-te.* This word I have derived from אבת "to overthrow," but this is not at all certain.

Line 24, *at-ta-la-aḫ.* I do not know the etymology or meaning of this word, for I have never seen it before. My translation is a mere guess which seems to me to suit the connection.

K. 508.

	Transcription.	*Translation.*
	A-na šarri be-li-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
	ardu-ka La-an-še-e	*thy servant Lanšê.*
	lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri be-li-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord.*
	aš-šu-ud am. Da-i-ka-ni-e	*With respect to* (?) *the* Daikanê
5	ša apil Bâbîli	*of the son of Babylon,*
	ša šarru be-li-a iš-pur	*whom the king, my lord, has sent,*
	im-mat-at nâru a-na	*he has died. The river for*
	am. ḫi-in-ṭar-a-a	*the* Ḫinṭar
	pi-ta pi-ṣa-a-ti	*the crests* (?) *of white*
10	i-tib-bu-bu en-na	*covered entirely* (?).
	a-du-u II am. ḫi-in-ṭar	*Now two* Ḫinṭar
	êšte-en ša Ad-ḫa-sa-a	*one from Adḫasa*
	a-na apil Ba-bi-la	*to the son of Babylon,*
	a-na-ku am. Da-i-ka-ni-e	*I the* Daikanê
15	at-ta-din	*gave*
	u ummê	*and the mothers*
	ša am. ra-si-tu	*whom the* Rasitu
	it-ti-im-ma a-na	*has determined, to*
	apil Ba-bi-la	*the son of Babylon*
20	at-ta-din	*I gave.*

Remarks.

This text has never been published, but Dr. Bezold has copied it (*cf. Literaturgeschichte*, p. 263). As will be seen, I agree with Mr. Pinches as to the name; it seems to be *La-an-še-e*, though it may not be altogether certain. It is a very difficult text, and many words in it I cannot explain.

Line 4, *aš-šu-ud.* This word is entirely new to me, but it seems to mean something like "with respect to." It may be only another form of the well-known *šu-ud.*—The official names *am. da-i-ka-ni-e*

here and in l. 14, *am. ḫi-in-ṭar-a-a*, l. 8 and l. 11, and *am. ra-si-tu*, I do not attempt to translate or explain.

Line 7, *im-mat-at.* I derive this word from the common root מות, "to die."

Line 9, *pi-ta.* This word has given me no little trouble to explain, but it seems to me to be connected with אֵבוּד, of which I have spoken in the note to K. 504, l. 25. The meaning is "covering," here perhaps "crests."

Line 10, *i-tib-bu-bu.* There are several possible readings. This is the same Assyrian word as that which is translated elsewhere by "speak, plan" (דבב), but this does not seem to me to fit in this connection.

Line 18, *it-ti-im-ma.* I derive this word from אתה[1] "to determine." *Cf.* the Hebrew אוֹת (אות).

K. 511.

	Transcription.	*Translation.*
	A-na šarri be-li-ia	*To the king, my lord*
	Ardu-ka Marduk-šakin-šum	*thy servant Marduk-šakin-šum.*
	lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri	*Peace to the king,*
	be-li-ia Nabû Marduk	*my lord. May Nebo, Merodach*
5	a-na šarri be-li-ia	*to the king, my lord*
	lik-ru-bu gul-gul-la-te	*be gracious. The women,*
	ši-na ša ina lib-bi til-li	*they who to the work*
	ḳa-bu-u-ni	*were commanded,*
	nu-še-ri-ba-a	*we have caused to enter ;*
10	ina kir-si	*in the cold,*
	ku-zip-pi nu-ša šim	(*in the*) *snow* (*??*) *we caused to*
	ina lib-bi ni-iš-kun	*there we placed* (*them*).
	mi-i-nu ša šarru	*the number which the king*
	be-li i-ḳab-bu-u-ni	*my lord has commanded*
15	liš-pur-u-ni	*may they send.*

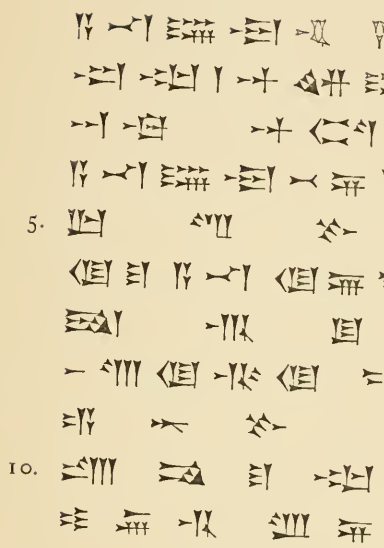
REMARKS.

This letter is also unmentioned by Bezold. Although it is a very small tablet, several words are unknown, and the text in one place is doubtful, so that the meaning of the whole is quite uncertain.

Line 6, *gul-gul-la-te*, is an entirely unknown word; it occurs only

PLATE I.

K 113.

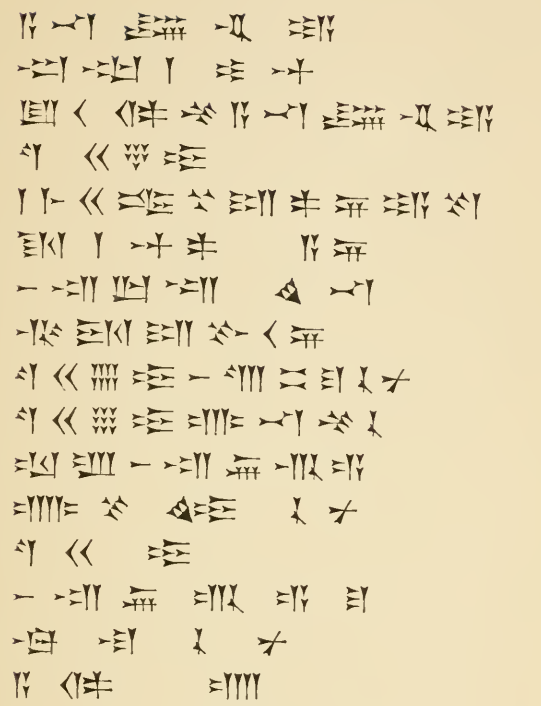


REVERSE.



PLATE II.

K 146.



REVERSE.

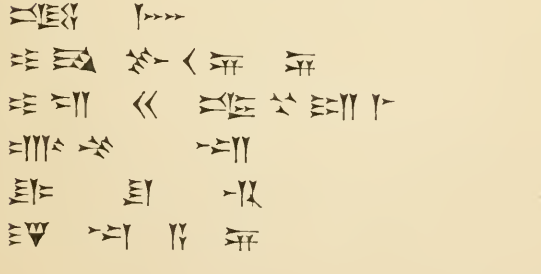
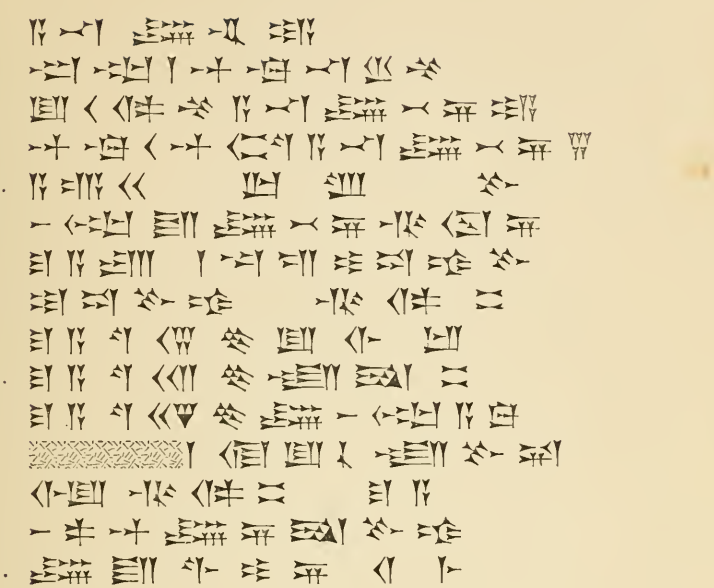


PLATE III.

K 174.



REVERSE.

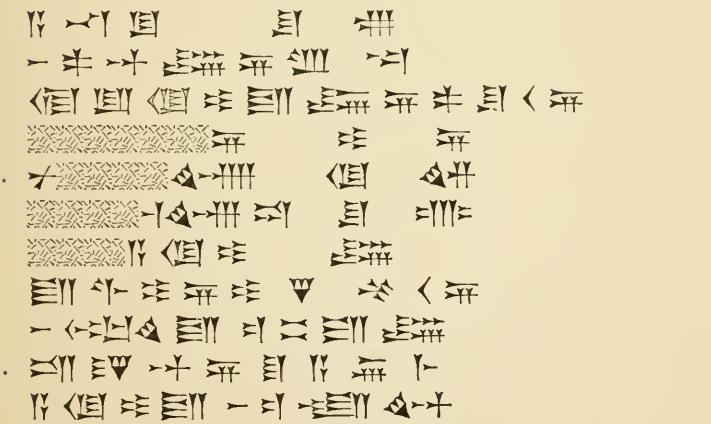
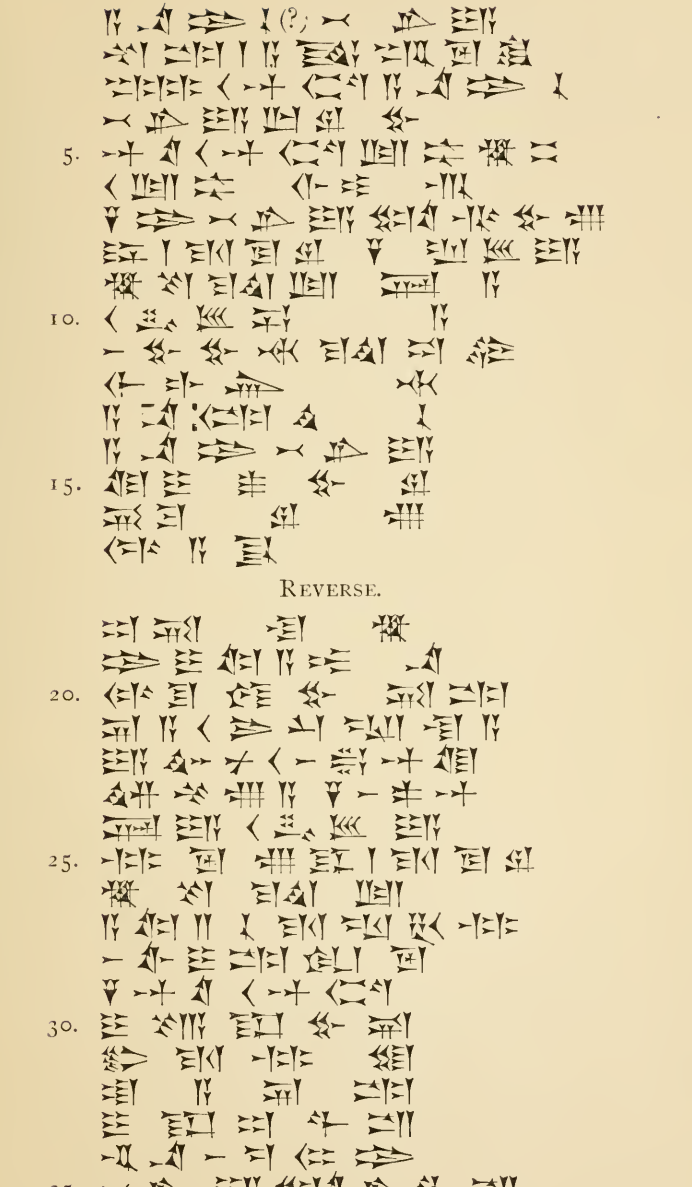


PLATE IV.

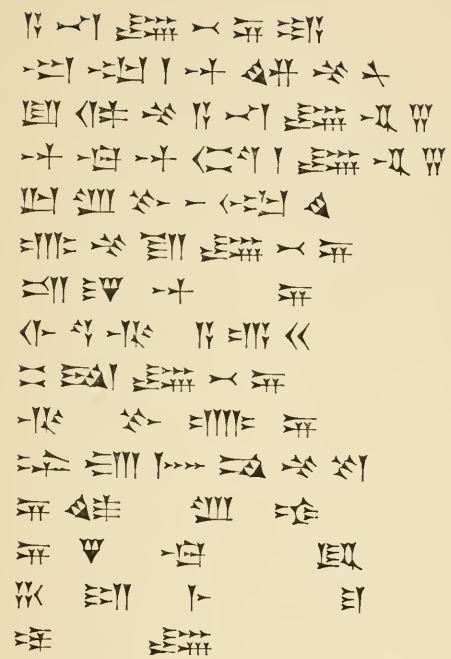
K 479.



REVERSE.

PLATE V.

K 492.



REVERSE.

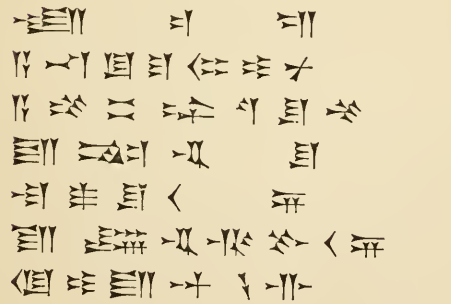


PLATE VI.

K 502.

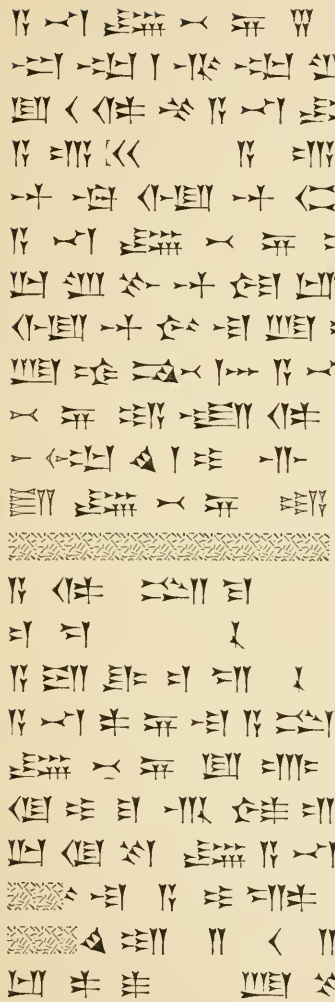
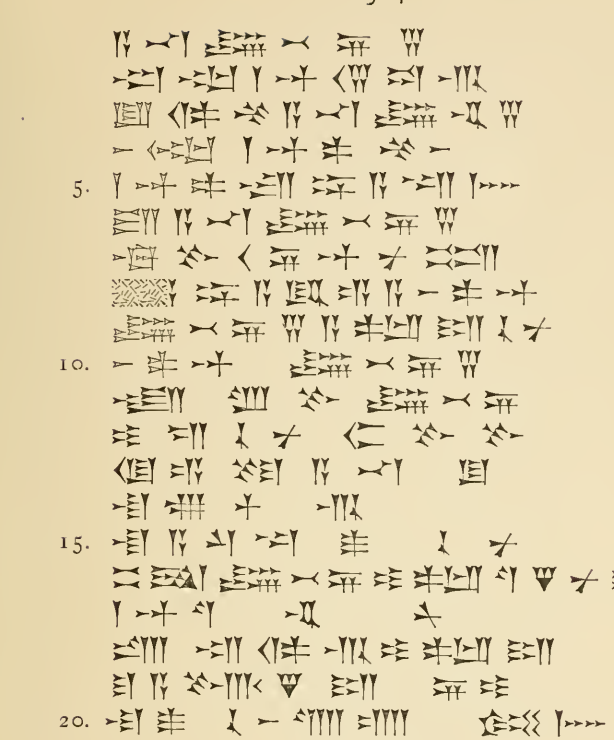


PLATE VII.

K 504.



REVERSE.

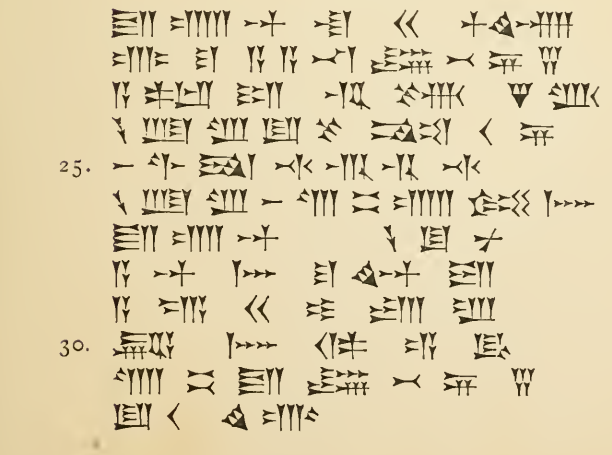
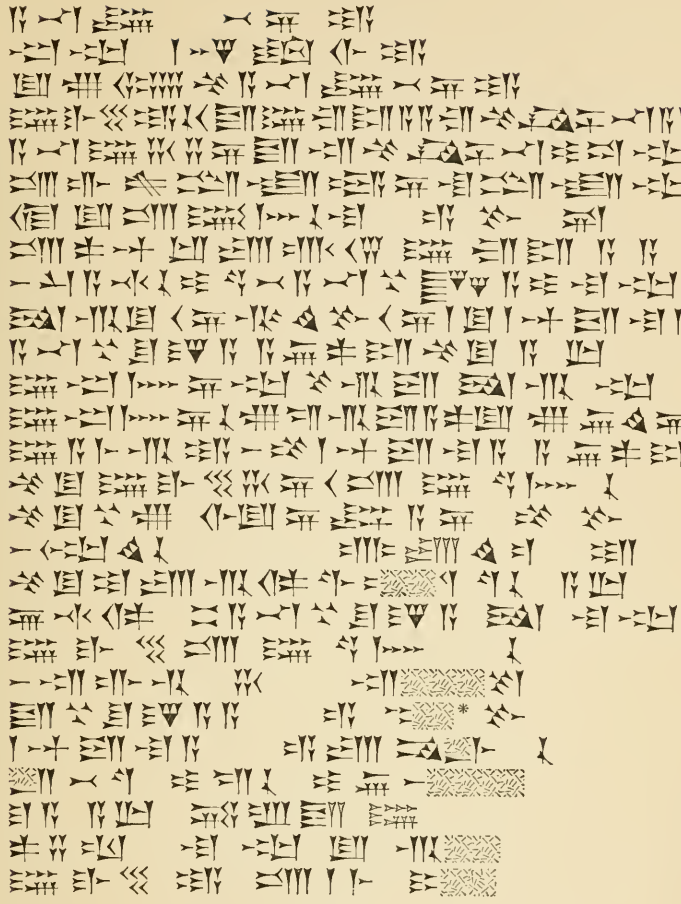
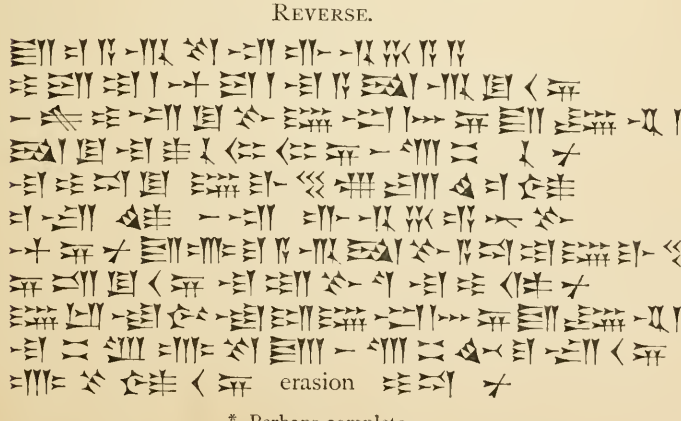


PLATE VIII.

K 506.



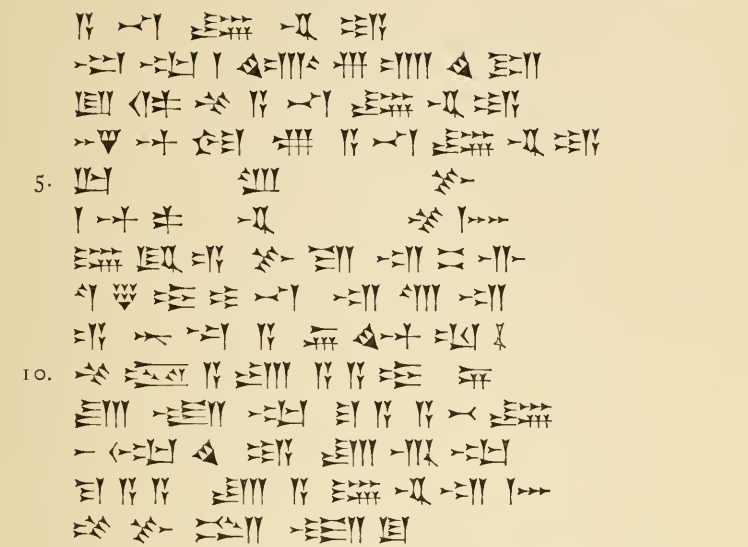
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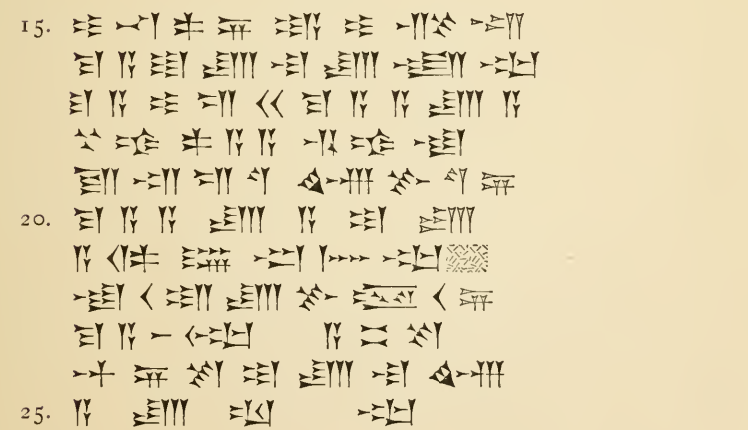
* Perhaps complete.

PLATE IX.

K 507.



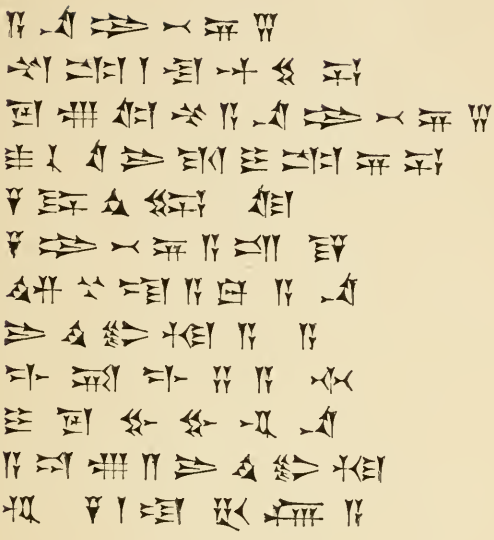
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‡

PLATE X.

K 508.



REVERSE.

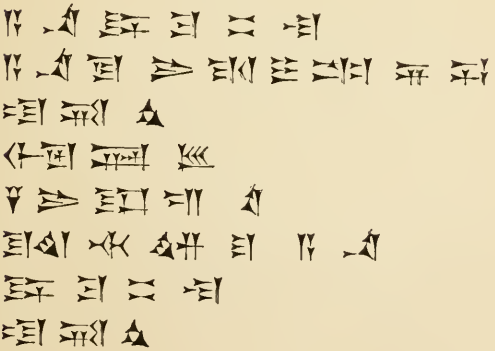
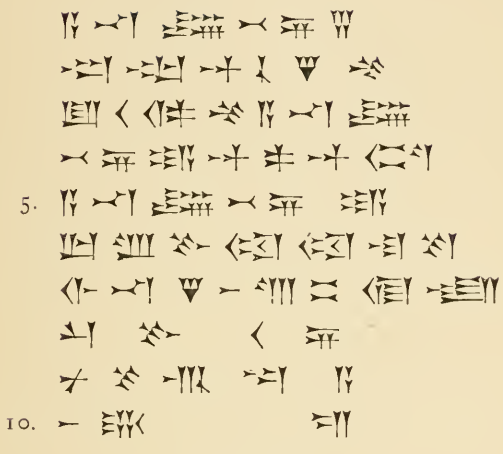


PLATE XI.

K 511.



REVERSE.

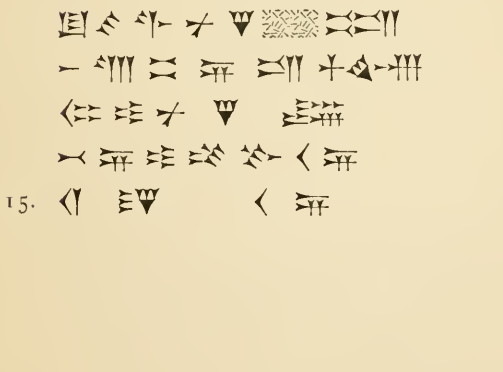
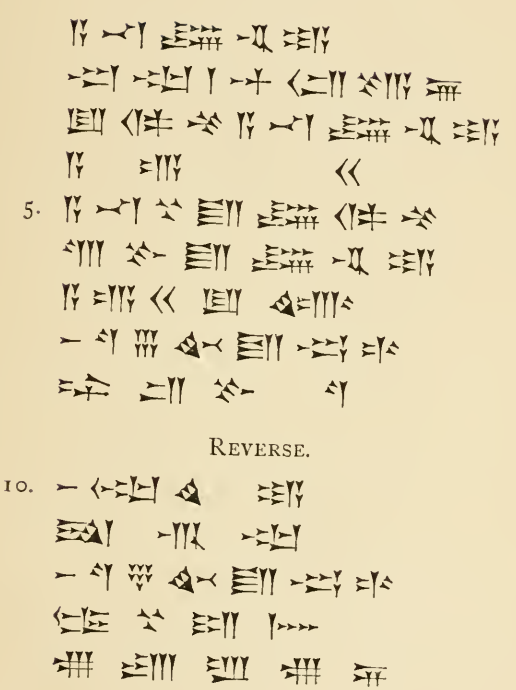


PLATE XII.

K 526.



REVERSE.

here as far as I know. I think it is to be connected with *gallû*, "servant." We have here a feminine form, and if my explanation be correct, it means "female servants."

Line 11, *ku-zip-pi*. This is another unknown word. Since it stands in connection with *kir-si*, I have given it a like meaning. —I am not able to read the sign preceding the last. This word occurs also K 183, l. 29, where this meaning does not seem to fit. Mr. Pinches thinks 𒂍 may be a determinative for "clothing."— The wanting sign, Mr. Pinches thinks, may be 𒌷𒂍.

K. 526.

	Transcription.	*Translation.*
	A-na šarri bêli-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
	ardu-ka Nergal-eṭi-ir	*Thy servant, Nergal-eṭir.*
	lu-šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord.*
	a-dan-niš	*Constantly* (*may there be*)
5	a-na mât ša šarri šul-mu	*to the country of the king, peace.*
	lib-bu ša šarri bêli-ia	*May the heart of the king, my lord,*
	a-dan-niš lu ṭâbu	*constantly rejoice.*
	ina ûmi VI^{kam} ša airu	*On the sixth day of the month Iyyar,*
	am. ḳur-bu-tu	*the contractor* (?)
10	ina muḫ-ḫi-ia	*to me*
	it-tal-ka	*came;*
	ina ûmi VII^{kam} ša airu	*on the seventh day of the month Iyyar*
	sisê	*the horses*
	u-ta-lak-u-ni.	*arrived.*

REMARKS.

This is likewise an entirely new text. No mention of it is made by Bezold, *Lit.*, p. 264. It is simply a note to say that certain horses had arrived.

Line 9, *am ḳur-bu-tu*. The root is קרב. In this connection, it seems to me to mean something like "contractor."

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 7th February, 1888, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

I.—P. LE PAGE RENOUF, *President*:—"Pronominal Forms in Egyptian, their relation to Semitic."

II.—MAJOR ARTHUR H. BAGNOLD, R.E.:—"Account of the raising of the two Colossal Statues of Rameses II at Memphis."

ERRATA.

The number on the last number of the Proceedings should have been LXXI in place of LXX; and the name of the author of the communication, "An Inscribed Fragment of Wood from Thebes," should read, F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A. (on the cover).

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
———— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
———— 2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
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VOL. X. EIGHTEENTH SESSION.

Fourth Meeting, 7th February, 1888.

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EIGHTEENTH SESSION, 1887-88.

Fourth Meeting, 7th February, 1888.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President.

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Ueber die in altägyptischen erwähnten Bäume und deren verwerthung.

Inaugural-dissertation zur erlangung der Philosophischen Doctorwürde an der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg von Charles E. Moldenke, New York. Leipzig. 8vo. 1886.

From the Author:—Das Gedicht vom Harfenspieler. Eine demotische studie. Von Heinrich Brugsch. 4to. 1888. Berlin.

Auszug aus der Zeitsch. für Ægypt. Spr., 1888.

From the Minister of Public Instruction:—Catalogo Generale dei Musei di Antichità e degli Oggetti d' Arte raccolti nelle Gallerie e Biblioteche del Regno edito per cura del Ministero della Publica Istruzione. Seria Sesta. Toscana ed Umbria. Volume I. Roma, 1887.

Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Antichità Egizie ordinate e descritte da Ernesto Schiaparelli. (Parte Prima.)

The following has been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

A Biography of Richard Lepsius, by Georg Ebers. Translated from the German by Zoe Dana Underhill. New York, U.S.A. 1887. 8vo.

Publications of the Exhibition Committee of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition:—

No. I. Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition. Royal Albert Hall, London, 1887. 8vo. 1888.

No. II. שטרות. Hebrew Deeds of English Jews, before A.D. 1290. Edited by M. D. Davis. 8vo. 1888.

No. III. Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica. A Bibliographical Guide to Anglo-Jewish History. Compiled by Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf. 8vo. 1888.

No. IV. Catalogue, Edition de Luxe. Compiled by Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf. Illustrated by Frank Haes. Folio. 1888.
Ordinary Catalogue.

The following were submitted for election, having been nominated on January 11th, and elected a Member of the Society:—

Miss E. M. Harris, 9, Queen's Square, W.C.
Rev. Thomas West, B.A., The Manse, Antrim, Ireland.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting on March 6th:—

Rev. R. H. A. Bradley, M.A., 1*a*, Russell Square, W.C.

A Paper was read by P. Le Page Renouf, *President*, entitled "Pronominal Forms in Egyptian, their relation to Semitic." To be printed in a future number.

Major Arthur H. Bagnold, R.E., read an "Account of the manner in which he raised the two Colossal Statues of Rameses II at Memphis," which will be printed in a future number of the *Proceedings*, with a series of plates from the photographs exhibited.

HISTOIRE DES DEUX FILLES DE L'EMPEREUR ZÉNON.

By Professor E. Amélineau.

Read 6th November, 1887.

Il existait autrefois dans la littérature copte toute une série de récits de pure imagination sur lesquels l'attention des savants ne s'est pas portée jusqu'ici. Depuis plusieurs années déjà je soupçonnais qu'il en avait dû être ainsi, et j'avais exprimé cette idée dans le premier mémoire que j'ai publié sur les documents coptes ;* un séjour prolongé dans la vallée du Nil, des rapports fréquents avec les derniers survivants des antiques moines de l'Égypte, m'ont convaincu que les célèbres ascètes de la Thébaide ou de la vallée des Natrons, tout comme leurs ancêtres, aimaient fort les nouvelles et les romans. Leur genre de vie leur laissant beaucoup de loisirs, ils employaient agréablement ce temps à la lecture ou à la composition d'œuvres romanesques dans lesquelles les auteurs cherchaient la satisfaction de leur goût littéraire et les lecteurs les douces émotions ou l'étonnement que donnaient à leur esprit naïf les œuvres de cette sorte. Pendant leur enfance, les moines égyptiens avaient eu leurs oreilles et leur imagination charmés par les antiques récits, toujours conservés dans la vallée du Nil, sortis du calame des scribes de la cour pharaonïque ; il eût été pénible pour eux de n'avoir dans leur vie d'homme fait aucun plaisir du même genre, plaisir innocent entre tous. Tout d'abord les moines instruits purent sans doute se procurer cette jouissance par la lecture des anciennes œuvres, conservées dans les papyrus démotipues ;† mais la connaissance des écritures anciennes, même de l'écriture démotique, devenait de plus en plus rare, et en outre, les contes ou romans pharaonïques si vieux, si connus, ne répondaient plus aux besoins des générations égyptiennes qui avaient embrassé le Christianisme, et surtout des hommes ou des femmes qui avaient

* Cf. *Voyage d'un moine Égyptien dans le désert, dans le Recueil de travaux relatifs à la Phil. et à l'Arch. Égypt. et Assyr., VI^e année, p.* 189—194.

† Le fait est hors de doute. On sait que le papyrus démotique contenant le conte de *Satni* à été trouvé dans la tombe d'un moine. En outre, dans les premières années du VII^e siècle, l'évêque de Keft Pisentios, pouvait encore lire un rouleau démotique contenant les noms des défunts dont les momies se trouvaient dans un tombeau. *Cf.* E. Amélineau : *Étude sur le Christianisme en Égypte en VII^e siècle, p.* 44 *et p.* 144.

embrassé la vie religieuse. A une religion, à des temps nouveaux, il fallait une littérature nouvelle; on la créa. Nous ne possédons de l'antique littérature romanesque de l'Égypte qu'un très petit nombre de récits pharaoniques;* plus heureux sous ce rapport pour l'époque chrétienne nous avons encore aujourd'hui un grand nombre de *romans* et *nouvelles* de l'Égypte chrétienne. Jusqu'ici personne n'a soupçonné cette richesse.

Il serait malheureux cependant que ces œuvres restassent plus longtemps dans l'oubli. Elles sont en effet une preuve manifeste de ce fait que je me suis efforcé dans mes publications précédentes, et que dans mes publications futures je m'efforcerai toujours de faire prévaloir, à savoir que l'Égypte chrétienne resta toujours fidèle à son antique caractère, et qu'avant d'être chrétienne elle fut égyptienne. Dans aucune autre série d'œuvres littéraires ce fait ne se présente avec plus d'évidence à l'esprit que dans les œuvres de pure imagination. Je n'en veux pas entreprendre ici la démonstration, cela m'entraînerait dans des developpements tout-à-fait hors de saison: cette démonstration je l'ai faite ailleurs, et elle paraîtra, car je compte publier bientôt un premier recueil de ces légendes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne. Je veux simplement attirer ici l'attention sur l'une des plus curieuses et des plus célèbres de ces *nouvelles*, celle qui était connue parmi les Chrétiens d'Égypte sous le titre d'*Histoire des deux filles de Zénon:* je ne crois pas qu' aucune de ces nouvelles puisse servir à démontrer plus péremptoirement l'existence de la littérature dont je parle que cette prétendue *Histoire des deux filles de Zénon.*

Le Zénon dont il est ici question est bien l'empereur Zénon de Constantinople, l'auteur du celébre décret d'union connu sous le nom d'Hénotique. L'*Histoire* de ses deux filles montre qu'il eut une grande popularité parmi les moines du désert Libyen. Il suffisait aux moines que l'empereur de Constantinople ne fût pas partisan du concile de Chalcédoine pour être regardé comme le plus pieux des empereurs. A ce titre Zénon était regardé comme un saint. Pour mieux prouver leur gratitude envers cet empereur qui ne les avait pas persécutés, les moines de Scété et de Nitrie en firent le héros de l'une de leurs pieuses nouvelles. On le mit en scène avec ses deux filles parcequ'il était de tradition dans la

* Ils sont tous compris dans la belle publication de M. Maspero: *contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne.*

vallée du Nil de choisir les rois les plus populaires pour en faire les héros des légendes et des contes dont le peuple était si friand. Je ne sais si l'empereur Zénon eut deux filles: l'histoire n'en parle guère; mais je crois bien ne pas me tromper en affirmant que s'il eut des filles, l'ainée n'alla point se faire religieuse dans un convent d'hommes à Nitrie, et que pour guérir la seconde, quand elle était malade, il n'était pas obligé de l'envoyer en Égypte prier les moines du désert libyque de lui rendre la santé. La manière dont est raconté cette touchante histoire est un preuve qu'elle est sortie tout entière du cerveau de l'auteur. Au fond, le récit se résume en ceci: L'empereur Zénon perd l'ainée de ses filles qui s'enfuit à Nitrie pour mener la vie religieuse: il la retrouve par le moyen de la seconde qui tombe malade, et qu'il envoie obtenir guérison à Nitrie où la cadette est guérie par l'ainée bientôt reconnue. Du premier coup d'œil, on voit que c'était là un canevas tout prêt à recevoir les broderies dont l'imagination de l'auteur voudrait l'orner. Je ne crois donc pas qu'on puisse le moins du monde songer à y voir un fait réel qu'on aura amplifié et orné. D'ailleurs on n'a qu'à soigneusement examiner la manière dont le récit se développe, et surtout les parties sur lesquelles l'auteur insiste davantage. En outre, si le fait eût été réel on ne rencontrerait pas dans cette littérature d'autres récits similaires, reposant sur la même donnée, à savoir la vie d'une femme parmi les moines de Scété et les suites plus ou moins naturalistes qui en découlent; or, pour ma part, je connais trois ou quatre autres récits ayant la même donnée fondamentale. Je ne veux pas rechercher ici quel était le mobile des auteurs coptes en introduisant ces extraordinaires invraisemblances dans leurs œuvres; mais je dois dire toutefois que l'élément féminin jouait un grand rôle dans cette littérature, même l'élément feminin dans ce qu'il a de plus abject et de plus repoussant. Au fond, toutes ces *nouvelles* sont des *Histoires édifiantes*, car la grâce finit toujours par triompher; mais quelque fois et souvent ce triomphe n'est pas facile, et les peintures ne sont guère *édifiantes*. Pour m'en tenir a l'*Histoire* des *deux filles de Zénon*, l'auteur se rendait parfaitement compte par lui même que les détails du récit n'étaient pas très édifiants, car il fait dire à l'empereur Zénon qui ne connaissait pas le trompe l'œil mis en avant par l'auteur. "Vraiment je n'ai jamais entendu dire que les moines osassent baiser les femmes sur la bouche, ni coucher

avec elles sur le même banc!" De semblables passages sont le triomphe de l'art pour un romancier ou nouvelliste copte; car si le personnage ne connaît pas les dessous de l'action, l'auteur et le lecteur les connaissent et ils jouissent par avance de tout l'étonnement des personnages au dénouement. J'ai pu moi-même juger de l'effet produit par cet art enfantin; car dans le séjour que j'ai fait à plusieurs reprises dans les monastères coptes, j'ai entendu raconter des *histoires* semblables, et, en de semblables passages, c'était une chose vraiment curieuse que d'observer la physionomie des auditeurs: évidemment ils se trouvaient beaucoup plus intelligents que le personnage en action, ils souriaient de pitié à sa méprise; et jouissaient avec intensité de sa stupéfaction finale: peu s'en fallait qu'ils ne prissent la parole et ne lui reprochassent son ignorance comme son manque complet d'intelligence et de bon sens. Évidemment, ils s'intéressent aux personnages du récit d'une autre manière que nous: de là les différences dans la manière de composer et l'emploi de ces moyens que nous regardons comme enfantins, et qui leur semblent le comble de l'art.

L'un des ces moyens était de mettre le récit sur le compte d'un auteur connu ou d'un personnage vénérable dont personne ne pouvait révoquer en doute l'autorité. J'ai expliqué ailleurs* comment grâce à ce mot de passe, l'auteur s'attirait la confiance et la croyance de ses auditeurs et de ses lecteurs. L'auteur de l'*Histoire des deux filles de Zénon* n'a pas manqué de se servir de ce moyen: le récit est attribuée dans la version arabe, qui seule contient la fin, à un certain moine nommé "le saint Anba Bemfoua." Or un personnage du même nom joue l'un des principaux rôles dans le récit: c'est le supérieur, l'hégoumène des laures de Scété à l'époque au se passe l'action, et si l'on cherche par sa transcription arabe à savoir quel était le nom copte de cet saint moine, on trouve que le nom arabe de Bemfoua est la transcription exacte du copte Pambô.† Aussi Pambô est le nom qui se trouve dans le texte copte. Ce nom de Pambô n'est pas inconnu: il est celui de l'un des premiers solitaires de Nitrie, compagnon de St. Macaire, et qui

* *Cf. Voyage d'un moine égyptien dans le désert*, p. 190–192.

† La différence qui existe entre ces deux mots est purement extérieure: ils se prononçaient de la même manière. Le ⲡ copte se prononçait *b*; le ⲃ comme un *v* en tirant sur la lettre *f*; l' ⲱ a été rendu par *oua*: ainsi ⲡⲁⲙⲃⲱ = بمفوه.

vivait sous le patriarchat de Théophile d'Alexandrie, c'est-à-dire sous les règnes de Théodose et d'Arcadius. Dans l'*histoire lausiaque* on trouve un autre Pambô, qui est donné comme le successeur de St. Antoine, et comme le maître des *Longs frères ;* mais il n'est pas hégoumène de Scété.* Ni l'un ni l'autre de ces deux Pambô ne saurait être l'auteur de notre conte, car ils étaient de beaucoup antérieurs au règne de Zénon. Le nom fut sans doute commun en Egypte, et il put y avoir à Scété un second hégoumène du même nom,† mais je serais assez porté à ne pas accorder grande confiance au nom lui-même, et je suis tenté de croire que le nom de Pambô est donné à l'un des principaux personnages de notre conte parce-qu'il avait été celui d'un des plus grands moines de Scété. Ainsi on le faisait entrer en scène au même titre que l'empereur Zénon, et il prêtait simplement son nom pour la plus grande crédibilité du récit.

Quant au récit lui-même, il est vraiment fort curieux à plus d'un titre, comme l'on pourra s'en convaincre. Il est bien regrettable que nous ne l'ayons plus en entier sous sa première forme : il n'en reste plus en effet que deux fragments, à ma connaisance. Le premier de ces fragments consiste en quatre feuillets qui se suivent : il est la propriété particulière de Lord Crawford, qui a bien voulu me permettre le copier, et auquel je renouvelle ici mes plus sincères remerciements. Le second se trouve au Musée de Leyden : il consiste en un feuillet simple, tout déchiré, et contenant les dernières lignes du dernier feuillet du premier fragment, plus quelques autres lignes dont on ne peut tirer parti. On trouvera plus loin le texte et la traduction de ces deux fragments. Si nous en étions réduits à ces restes, il serait possible, malgré tout, de se faire une idée très juste du récit, et des moyens employés ; mais fort heureusement il nous en a été conservé une version arabe, ou tout au moins un abrégé, dans le synaxare copte, au 21e jour de Touba, c'est-à-dire le 17 Janvier. Comme on s'en convaincra par la comparaison des deux textes, le traducteur ou l'abréviateur n'a pas toujours compris l'original, ou l'a changé sous sa propre responsabilité.

* *Hist. laus.*, ch. x. Dans les fragments de *l'histoire lausiaque* conservés en copte ce Pambô est appelé ⲡⲁⲙⲃⲱ ; mais c'est bien le même personnage. *Cf.* E. Amélineau, *De Historia lausiaca*, p. 92–104.

† Nous avons les noms de plusieurs hégoumènes de Scété à cette époque, et le nom de Pambô ne s'y trouve pas. Cependant la raison n'est pas concluante.

C'est une preuve de plus que les copistes coptes n'ont jamais pu reproduire fidèlement un original : je l'ai dit bien souvent : cependant les preuves nouvelles seront toujours les bien venues.

Et maintenant voici l'*Histoire des deux filles de Zénon* telle que le Synaxare nous l'a conservée :* Et encore en ce jour (17 Janvier) mourut Hilaria, la fille du roi Zénon. Ce roi n'avait pas d'enfant mâle ; mais il avait deux filles encore vierges qu'il éleva selon les préceptes de la morale. Il les instruisit tout d'abord dans l'écriture, et leur fit apprendre les *Psaumes* par cœur. L'aînée des filles du roi se nommait Hilaria : elle aimait la virginité et surtout la vie réligieuse ; mais elle craignait de se rendre dans les monastères de Byzance † parcequ'elle savait qu'on ne la recevrait pas par peur de son père ; (cependant) elle s'appliquait à apprendre ce qu'elle devait faire pour entrer dans la vie pure des moines. Un jour le roi se rendit avec sa fille à l'église à l'heure de la messe. Alors Hilaria, femme digne d'être enviée, leva les yeux au ciel et se dit en elle-même : "O Seigneur, si tu m'as trouvée digne de ces pures prières, et si tu veux faire réussir mon chemin, fais moi entendre des versets (de l'Écriture) indiquant le but que je dois atteindre." Et lorsqu'elle fut entrée dans l'église, elle prêta l'oreille et entendit les paroles du grand Apôtre : "Par la foi, Moyse ne voulut pas être appelé le fils de la fille de Pharaon ; il préféra souffrir avec le peuple de Dieu, sans accepter les délices et les faveurs temporelles."‡ En suite (elle entendit lire) dans l'Epitre Catholique : "La richesse de ce monde passe comme l'herbe et le foin ;"§ puis dans les Actes des Apôtres : "Je ne désire ni or, ni argent, ni vêtement, et vous savez que mes mains m'ont procuré ce dont j'avais besoin ;"‖ et encore dans les Psaumes : "La joie qu'il donne est plus douce que l'or et les pierres précieuses, que le miel et ses rayons."¶ Et encore dans l'Évangeliste : "Celui qui ne renonce pas à tous ses biens ne peut pas être mon disciple."** Et dans l'Homélie sur l'Évangile qui fut lue après l'Évangile (elle entendit) : "Pour-

* Cette histoire se trouve dans mon exemplaire, et aussi dans celui qui se trouve au Vatican. Je ne doute pas qu'elle ne se trouve dans quelques autres : mais je n'ai pas eu le temps de vérifier.

† Mon exemplaire porte القسانذ نون ce qui doit être une faute, pour القسنذ يون = Bysantion.

‡ *Epist. ad Hebr.*, xi., 24, 25. § *Ep. Cath. Jac.*, i, 10.

‖ Act. Apost., xx, 33, 34. ¶ *Psal.* xix, 11. ** *Luc.* xiv, 39.

quoi, ô homme, prends-tu soin de ce qui passe puisque tu le laisseras? Sache que les passions de ce monde cesseront: ne te fie pas aux richesses, car les richesses restent ici bas; mais les péchés nous précédent devant le tribunal de Dieu." Hilaria glorifia Dieu en disant: "Certes, Dieu a fait réussir ma démarche, et a rendu mon chemin facile!" Et lorsqu'ils eurent reçu la paix, elle se prépara à fuir et Dieu, dans sa bonté, lui indiqua ce qui devait la faire sortir. Dès le lendemain elle prit les habits d'un spathaire, mit une ceinture de cuir de Taïf, prit une baguette dans sa main, et sortit du palais vers la mer sans que personne s'en aperçût. Elle trouva une barque prête à partir pour la ville de Saphira, et elle dit au batelier, "Je veux que tu me débarques sur la rivage de la ville d'Alexandrie, car j'y vais par l'ordre du roi." Le batelier répondit: "Nous ne devions pas y aller, seigneur spathaire, mais puisque c'est service du roi, nous ne devons pas retarder la chose." Ainsi, ils la conduisirent à Alexandrie.

Elle était, alors, âgée de douze ans, et elle était belle de corps. Étant dans l'église d'Anba Botros, le dernier des martyrs,* elle le pria et lui demanda secours. Elle se rendit en suite dans l'église du Saint Marc, et le pria de lui faciliter son affaire. Elle trouva un diacre, nommé Théodore, et elle lui dit: "La paix soit avec toi, ô frère; je veux que tu viennes avec moi au désert de Schiît,† car je désire vivement visiter cet endroit, et je te paierai ton salaire; j'ai quitté mon pays uniquement pour visiter ce lieu." Le diacre lui dit: "O mon seigneur le spathaire! il y a bien longtemps que moi-même je désire voir ces lieux: peut-être Dieu veut-il maintenant que j'y aille! mais mangeons d'abord du pain, et demain nous nous mettrons en chemin."

Quant à cette femme vraiment digne qu'on l'envie, elle lui dit: "Combien est douce la parole que tu as dite!" Et elle tira (de sa bourse) un dinar qu'elle lui donna en disant: "Prends cela, achète avec tout ce qu'il nous faut." Le diacre prit le dinar et le dépensa pour ce dont ils avaient besoin. Le lendemain ils louèrent des ânes et se mirent en marche vers l'église d'Abou Mîna.‡ Ils y

* C'est l'archevêque Pierre qui fut en effet le dernier martyr sous Dioclétien d'après la tradition égyptienne.

† C'est le véritable nom du lieu nommé ordinairement Scété.

‡ Ce Mîna est un saint très populaire, c'est celui qu'on représente entre deux chameaux, par allusion à un récit populaire sur ses reliques.

passèrent la nuit jusqu'au lendemain. De là, ils se dirigèrent vers Schiît, et lorsqu'ils y furent arrivés on dit au prêtre Mar Bemfoua: "Voici un spathaire qui arrive en compagnie d'un diacre." Il ordonna de l'introduire en sa présence, et lorsqu'ils furent venus, il frappa des mains comme c'est l'habitude des moines, il pria, et lorsqu'ils se furent assis, il leur tint une conversation longue et profitable. Quant à cette femme digne d'être enviée, Hilaria, elle adressa la parole au prêtre pur en disant: "J'aimerais que tu me revêtisses de l'habit des moines afin que je pusse rester ici." Et le père Bemfoua l'aima, et lui dit: "O mon fils, tu ne peux rester ici: car tu es un fils de la richesse, et tu es accoutumé au bien être du corps; mais si tu veux embrasser la vie monacale, va trouver Aniatoun, car il te recevra,* et il y a en ce lieu une foule de riches qui se sont faits moines, y vivent sans peine, et y trouvent ce qui les console; mais nous autres, nous sommes loin de l'Égypte, loin de la plaine, du pays et des villages, de quatre jours;† nous n'avons rien qui nous console, nous sommes gênés et manquons d'habits. Mais toi, tu ne peux endurer une nourriture grossière et une vie triste." Et cette femme digne d'être enviée, Hilaria, elle répondit: "Sache, ô mon père, que je suis venue en cette montagne sainte de tout mon cœur: si tu me renvoies, tu seras responsable à mon égard devant Dieu." Et lorsque le vieillard pur, Anba Bemfoua, eut entendu ces paroles, il s'étonna de l'habile réponse du jeune homme, il se leva et lui donna une demeure pour elle et pour le diacre. Quant au diacre, il se fit bénir, et retourna à la ville. Quant à Hilaria, la fille du roi, elle dit (au père): "O mon père, reçois ce peu de chose de ma main et partage-le entre les pauvres." Il lui dit: "Nous n'avons en rien besoin de cela, le travail de nos mains nous suffit. Si tu as quelque chose, donne-le au diacre qui l'enverra au patriarche." Alors Hilaria lui donna tout ce qu'elle avait à la main, plus la baguette d'or et sa ceinture; et voici que le diacre prit congé d'eux et les quitta.

Alors voici que cette femme digne d'être enviée se retourna vers le saint Anba Bemfoua et lui dit; "O mon père, j'aimerais que tu

* Le texte de mon MS. est corrompu en cet endroit. Le mot *Aniatoun* est peut-être un nom de lieu, il est procédé de l'article, الي الانياطون.

† Le texte de mon MS. porte اربعين: quarante: c'est évidemment une faute. Quatre jours sont maintenant plus que suffisants pour aller a Schiît.

me revêtisses de l'habit des moines." Et le père l'examina, l'épouva dans son examen, lui apprit les peines de la vie religieuse, lui donna un bonnet* tout rapiécé et le vêtement de poils : sur le champ elle le revêtit après qu'il eut prié sur les vêtements. Il ne savait point que c'était la fille du roi, et il lui donna une cellule à côté de sa cellule, il la voyait tous les jours et Dieu la favorisa, elle se mit à parler la langue de l'Egypte. Elle faisait d'excessives dévotions de jeûne et de prière. Les frères s'étonnaient de la finesse de sa peau (et se demandaient) comment elle supportait ces habits grossiers. Lorsqu'elle eut vécu ainsi pendant neuf ans, comme la barbe ne lui avait point poussé, on la nomma Hilaire le *Saqlabi*.† Par suite du grand nombre de ses jeûnes, de ses prières et de la rigueur de sa vie religieuse, ses mamelles devinrent séches, et ce qui arrive aux femmes cessa d'avoir lieu pour elle. Et lorsqu'elle eut ainsi vécu longtemps (à Schiît) ses parents perdirent tout espoir à son sujet ; mais Dieu, que son nom soit béni, voulut la faire retrouver à son père.

Or, sa petite sœur, un Satan entra en elle, méchant et mauvais. Son père, le roi Zénon, l'envoya, escortée de soldats et de gentilshommes, vers de nombreux monastères, et aux cellules des vieillards dévots ; mais Dieu ne la guérit pas par leur entremise, car il voulait glorifier Hilaria. Les grands du pays donnèrent un conseil au roi, disant : "Que notre Seigneur le roi vive à jamais. Sache qu'il y a dans le Ouadi Habib des moines purs et saints : envoie leur ton enfant, et nous croyons que la jeune fille obtiendra guérison par leurs prières saintes." Quand le roi eut entendu ces paroles il se réjouit beaucoup, il prépara des serviteurs, ‡ des servantes et des soldats et il envoya la jeune fille. Il écrivit une lettre au gouverneur d'Alexandrie afin que celui-ci fît conduire la jeune fille à la montagne de Schiît. Le roi écrivit aussi aux vieillards une lettre (conçue) en ces termes : "Celui qui n'est pas digne de la royauté, Zénon, à qui Dieu a donné cette grande faveur malgré son indignité, écrit aux

* Le texte a le mot تاج *mitre*. Je pense qu'il s'agit du bonnet pointu encore en usage en Égypte.

† Le mot السقلابي correspond au copte ⲥⲓⲟϫⲣ = eunuque.

‡ Le mot employé ici par le texte arabe est استلدين ; il correspond au copte ⲥⲓⲟϫⲣ. Il désigne un corps d'officiers sous les Mameluks. L'emploi de ce mot est un argument pour la date de la traduction. *Cf.* Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mameluks*.

pères saints, pieux, amis, ceux qui implorent Dieu pour le salut du monde entier, aux dévots, aux solitaires, aux moines qui habitent la montagne de Schiît, nommée la *Balance des cœurs:** la paix soit avec eux. Avant toute chose, voici que je me prosterne sur mon visage devant votre sainteté. Lors, je vous informe, ô mes pères, de ce que la Seigneur m'a fait à cause du grand nombre de mes péchés. Le Seigneur m'avait donné deux filles: l'une m'a abandonné, je n'en sais point de nouvelles, et je suis dans une grande détresse à son sujet. Et pendant que je souffrais de cette grande tristesse, est venue à moi une autre douleur plus triste encore que la première, car ma fille, celle qui me restait, croyais-je, pour me consoler et me faire oublier, au lieu de sa sœur, un Satan s'est emparé d'elle, il la tourmente nuit et jour, jusqu'au point qu'elle en est venue à dire que la mort lui donnerait plus de repos que la vie. Et les plus grands personnages du palais m'ont conseillé à son sujet de l'envoyer à votre sainteté. Et maintenant voici la conclusion de l'espoir que j'ai en vous, c'est que Dieu ne refusera pas (d'exaucer) vos prières, et qu'elle sera guérie par vos supplications."

Et lorsqu'elle fut arivée dans la ville d'Alexandrie, l'émir sortit au devant d'elle avec de nombreux soldats; il se rendirent au monastère, ils prirent la lettre du roi,† ils la donnèrent au saint Anba Bemfoua. Or voici qu'il rassembla les frères et leur lut la lettre. Et lorsqu'ils eurent commencé de prier, le Satan se saisit de la jeune fille et se mit à la jeter à terre en leur présence, si bien que l'émir fut dans l'étonnement, avec tous ceux qui l'accompagnaient, et qu'ils dirent: "Comment ce Satan ose-t-il agir ainsi au milieu des saints?" Quant à la sainte Hilaria, lorsqu'elle eut vu sa jeune sœur, elle la reconnut, et son cœur fut plein de douleur à son sujet; elle pleura; et lorsque les frères la virent triste de cœur, il s'attristèrent aussi. Lorsque sa prière fut finie, Anba Bemfoua appela l'un des frères et lui dit: "Reçois cette jeune fille près de toi en ta cellule et prie pour elle jusqu'à ce que Dieu l'ait guérie." Le frère dit avec modestie: "Je ne suis point arrivé à ce degré (de perfection), et je ne

* Le roi Zénon savait le copte, on le voit, puisqu'il fait un jeu de mots sur le sens du nom Schiît, écrit non pas ⲥϫⲓⲏⲧ, mais ⲥϫⲓϩⲏⲧ, ce qui donne la signification susdite. C'était bien le moins que les moines prêtassent de leur esprit au saint empereur.

† Mot à mot: il sortirent.

reçois point cette femme dans ma cellule." Alors Anba Mardorios* dit :" Confie la à Hilarion le *Saqlabi*." Et on lui confia sa sœur, elle pria pour elle et pleura si bien que la terre en fut trempée : elle l'embrassait, lui baisait le visage, dormait avec elle sur le même banc, la tenant entre ses bras. Après sept jours le Seigneur lui accorda la guérison. Quant à l'émir, au général et aux soldats, ils firent l'offrande pour eux le dimanche, et s'en retournèront à Alexandrie. Quant à la jeune fille, la grâce de Dieu lui fut accordée, et ce méchant Satan la quitta. Alors on la confia aux serviteurs, aux femmes et aux soldats qui s'en retournèrent tout joyeux de ce que le Seigneur avait fait réussir leur voyage.† Quant aux vieillards ils écrivirent une lettre au roi Zénon écrite en ces termes : "Les humbles qui demeurent à la montagne des Natrons écrivent au vainqueur et au victorieux, au maître de leur esclavage, Zénon le pieux. Avant toute chose, nous tombons à terre et nous nous prosternons devant ta grandeur respectable et vénérable: que Dieu garde ton trône et qu'il consolide ton royaume comme celui de David et de Salamon, d'Ezéchias‡ et de Josias et qu'il le conduise sans trouble. Sois sain et sauf dans le Seigneur à cause du soin que tu prends pour l'Église du Seigneur le Messie, notre Dieu." Cette lettre parvint au roi, et il se réjouit beaucoup de la guérison de sa fille : il fit des festins aux pauvres et donna en aumônes de grandes quantités de biens. Or, voici qu'il dit à sa fille : "Que t'est il arrivé à Schiît?" Elle répondit : "On m'a confiée a un moine saint et dévot nommé Hilarion le *Saqlabi :* c'est lui qui a prié pour moi et je suis guérie. Il était plein de pitié pour moi, et souventes fois il couchait avec moi sur le même tapis et le même banc. Pour moi, mon père, j'avais entendu dire que les moines haïssaient les femmes, et que pour cette raison ils se retiraient au désert ! Comment celui-ci a-t-il agi ainsi? Je n'en sais rien."§ Quant au roi, en entendant les paroles de sa fille, il fut rempli d'étonnement et dit : "Pour un moine qui chasse les Satans, ce n'est guère le chemin qu'il doit

* On ne sait ici ce que c'est que ce Mardorios ; mais le texte copte nous renseigne à ce sujet. De même on est tout surpris plus loin de voir un général ; le texte copte nous préviendra qu'il avait accompagné le gouverneur (*l'émir*). Ce sont bien là des preuves d'abréviation.

† Mot à mot : leur chemin.

‡ Mon MS. porte Ezéchiel, ce qui est une faute évidente.

§ Ces paroles sont mises par le texte copte dans la bouche du roi, et se trouvent ainsi mieux à leur place. C'est une preuve des libertés que les scribes coptes prenaient avec leurs modèles.

suivre: c'est une méthode nouvelle." Et voici qu'il écrivit une seconde lettre à Schiît en disant: "Le victorieux, le vainqueur, Zénon le roi, ose écrire aux pères pieux, purs, de la montagne de Schiit. Je suis reconnaissant de votre bienveillance et de la faveur que vous m'avez faite, je me suis endetté envers vos frères. Comme je ne peux accomplir tout ce que je dois à votre sainteté, je vous prie de m'envoyer le frère Hilarion, car j'ai au cœur une maladie, et je ne peux pas aller sur mer et faire ce grand trajet à cause de mon mal. Le bruit de sa sainteté est parvenu jusqu'à nous, nous avons confiance en lui, et quand il sera près de nous, nous trouverons profit à ses prières."

Et lorsque fut arrivée la lettre du roi, et qu'elle eut été lue devant tous les moines, le saint et pur Bemfoua appela Hilarion et lui dit: "Fais tes préparatifs, ô frère, car le roi t'envoie chercher." Quand cette femme digne d'envie eut entendu ces paroles, son cœur s'attrista, et les frères la consolèrent en disant: "Va en paix, que le Seigneur soit avec toi, et reviens à nous sain et sauf." Ils envoyèrent avec elle deux frères et deux vieillards, et ils partirent pour Constantinople. Lorsqu'ils furent arrivés, le roi en fut tout joyeux et ordonna de les introduire; il alla lui-même à leur rencontre et dit: "Priez pour moi, afin que le Seigneur me conserve dans la foi de mes pères orthodoxes." Et quand il les congédia, il retint sa fille Hilaria, et lui dit: "O père saint Hilarion, nous avons besoin de tes prières, et je veux t'apprendre quelque chose; mais il ne faut pas que tu t'attristes. Ma plus jeune fille m'a appris que lorsqu'elle se trouvait en ta bénite présence, tu la baisais bouche à bouche et couchais avec elle sur le même tapis. Je veux que tu m'apprennes la raison de cette pitié (que tu lui montrais): était-ce par amour spirituel ou par amour charnel? dis-moi la verité sans honte, afin que je sois pur de toute faute."—Lors, la vierge Hilaria réfléchit, et se dit en elle-même: "Si je choisis de cacher ce déguisement, je crains que le roi ne regarde les autres moines d'un œil de mépris:" et elle dit: "Que le roi vive éternellement! Fais-moi apporter ici les quatre saints évangiles." Et lorsqu'on les lui eut apportés, elle dit au roi: "Jure-moi que tu ne découvriras pas ce secret, et que tu ne m'empêcheras pas de retourner dans mon monastère:" Le roi jura, et Hilarion dit: "Je suis ta fille Hilaria!" Le roi tomba dans l'étonnement et la stupéfaction: de longtemps il ne put parler. Quand il fut revenu à lui, il s'avança vers sa fille, se jeta sur son cou, comme Joseph sur le cou de

Benjamin, il versa des larmes abondantes. Quand sa mère et sa sœur eurent appris cela, elles vinrent en toute hâte, l'embrassèrent, lui baisèrent les mains et le visage et voulurent l'empêcher de retourner à son monastère ; mais le roi s'y opposa en disant : J'ai juré de ne pas la retenir :" Sa mère dit : "Nous la garderons pour ceindre sa (tête) de la couronne du royaume !" Et le roi dit : "Je ne le ferai pas, mais glorifions Dieu de ce que nous l'avons recouvrée vivante !" Quant au roi, il cacha l'histoire de sa fille et ne découvrit pas son secret. Il garda les moines trois mois afin de voir sa fille tous les jours ; il lui demanda comment elle était sortie du palais. Alors elle lui raconta son histoire, comment elle avait pris la ressemblance d'un spathaire, comment après avoir atteint Alexandrie elle s'était rendue à Schiît. Et lorsque le roi eut appris tout cela, il écrivit un ordre de donner aux moines qui habitaient le montagne de Schiît, comme offrande de sa fille, trois mille ardebs de blé * et six cents mesures d'huile : et il en a été ainsi chaque année jusqu'à ce jour. Puis ils congédia les moines.

Quant à Hilaria, après être rentrée à Schiît elle vécut encore douze ans ; alors elle fut atteinte d'une maladie et souffrit beaucoup de douleurs avec courage. Elle fit appeler le saint Anba Bemfoua et le conjura en disant : "Quand j'aurai fini mes jours, toi, ô mon père qui connais toute mon histoire, † ne les laisse pas ôter de dessus moi ce cilice, mais qu'on m'ensevelisse en étant revêtue." Et lorsqu'elle fut morte avec gloire et honneur, le saint Anba Bemfoua resta (près d'elle) et donna ses ordres aux frères qui firent selon ce qu'il leur avait commandé. Quand on l'eut enterrée, le saint Anba Bemfoua s'assit et parla aux frères de la sainteté de cette pieuse religieuse, et il dit : "Moi, le plus faible et le moins digne de tous les moines qui vivent dans la montagne de Schiît, qui est-ce qui a pu avoir autant de patience qu'elle ? Qui a vécu parmi des hommes nombreux ? Qui a quitté ainsi le monde et les délices du corps, sa gloire et ses parents ?" Et lorsque les frères entendirent cela, il glorifièrent Dieu. Et certes, Dieu lui accorda une

* Cela fait six mille hectolitres de blé par an : c'est un joli chiffre, et les bons moines de Scété n'avaient aucune crainte à entretenir pour leur subsistance ; mais je crois bien que les bons moines se forgeaient un bonheur qu'ils n'avaient pas, et qu'ils agissaient ainsi comme les doubles de leurs ancêtres qui mangeaient les pains et les viandes mentionnés sur les murs de leurs tombeaux.

† Le texte arabe ne dit rien de cette connaissance, mais on le verra, le texte copte en avertit.

grande faveur en la faisant mourir le même (jour) que la Vierge Sainte, mère de Dieu, Sainte Marie dont elle avait aimé la vie : c'est pourquoi Dieu lui accorda cette faveur. On écrivit au roi à son sujet, on lui apprit sa mort, et il commença par s'affliger, puis il consola sa mère en disant : "On a loué celui qui a des enfants à Sion et des proches à Jérusalem, comme il est écrit dans Isaïe le prophète : Heureux celui qui a de la semence à Sion !* Certes elle est puissante et elle intercèdera pour nous près de notre Seigneur Jésus le Messie pour qu'il nous pardonne nos péchés !"

Ces paroles ont été composées et écrites par le Saint Anba Bemfoua, qui les a déposées dans l'église de Schiît, pour qu'on en tirât consolation et profit. Que le Seigneur prenne pitié de nous par ses prières. Amen.

Telle est la rédaction arabe de l'*Histoire des deux filles de Zénon* d'après l'exemplaire du Synaxare dont je me sers : comme je l'ai déjà dit, nous n'avons malheureusement plus l'histoire entière en copte : mais nous en possédons des fragments qui remontent au plus tôt, je crois, au milieu du septième siècle. Il me faut les citer ici et en donner la traduction ; on jugera ensuite si les conclusions que j'en tire sont justes, fausses, ou simplement forcées. Le texte se compose de deux fragments, dont le second est la continuation partielle du premier. Comme je l'ai dit plus haut, le premier de ces fragments se compose de quatre feuillets qui font partie de la bibliothèque du Comte *of Crawford and Balcarres* ;† le second n'est qu'un feuillet détaché et en très mauvais état : il appartient au musée archéologique de Leyden, ou j'ai pu le copier au mois de Septembre dernier, grâce à la très-aimable obligeance de M. Pleyte.

Voici ces deux fragments :—

(-ⲢⲔⲂ- 1ère col.) ⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓ ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲣⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲏⲕ ⲩⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲏⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲥⲩⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲕⲉⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲩⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲛⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲙⲱ ⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲉ ⲩⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲛⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ

* C'est-à-dire : des parents.

† Je ne saurais trop remercier ici la parfaite obligeance avec laquelle Lord Crawford a mis tous ses MSS. à ma disposition.

ⲡⲁⲓ ⲁ ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲱⲛⲉⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲉⲉⲛⲧⲣⲉⲉ ⲛⲕⲛⲉⲉⲉ. ⲉⲉⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲱⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲩⲉⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲏⲍ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲡⲉⲉⲁ (-2e col.-) ⲉⲧⲉⲉⲉⲉⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲓⲉⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲉⲡϥⲉⲓⲉⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲉⲉⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲉⲓⲉⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲓⲉⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲉⲉⲁⲥ ⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲉⲡⲣⲧⲣⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲉⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲓⲉⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲱϧ ⲁⲙ ⲉϥⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲙⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲓⲉⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲟ ⲉⲙ ⲧⲛⲉⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ † ⲟⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲁⲫⲟⲣⲉⲉⲛ.

ⲉⲉⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲯⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲩⲉⲡⲉ ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲱⲛⲉⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲉⲛⲛⲧⲉ (*sic*) ⲛⲛⲥⲛⲏϥ ⲉⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲉⲟⲣϯ ⲉⲉ-(-verso 1ère col.-) ⲉⲉⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲧⲉⲉⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲏⲗⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ (*sic*) ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲁⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲉⲉⲉ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲭⲏⲉⲉⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲉⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲕⲓⲃⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲉⲡⲟⲩⲣ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲁⲓⲟⲩⲉⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲉⲓⲛ ⲁⲧ-ⲱⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲁⲥⲕⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲉⲛⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲉⲡⲟⲩⲁⲩⲧⲟ-ⲕⲓⲥⲑⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲁⲓⲣⲉⲉ (*sic*) ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁⲏ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲉⲉⲉⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲍⲉ.

ⲉⲉⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲯⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲩⲉⲡⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲟⲛ ⲉⲙ ⲉⲓⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲏ-ⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱ ⲩⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲕⲱ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ (-2e col.-) ⲉⲉⲡⲉⲥⲉⲉⲉ-ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲓⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲓⲣⲉⲉⲱⲛ (*sic*) ⲍⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲙ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲧⲭⲓⲧⲥ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ (*sic*) ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲙ ⲃⲏⲥⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲧⲱⲩⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲭⲱⲥ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲉⲡⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ. ⲁⲧⲥⲛⲓⲃⲟⲩⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲉⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲉⲡⲓⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲭⲱ ⲉⲉⲉⲉⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲱⲛϩ ⲱⲁ ⲉⲡⲉϩ ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲥⲣⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲱⲱⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲉⲡⲉⲛⲱⲟⲭⲛⲉ ⲙⲧⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲱⲩⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲉⲱⲓⲛⲧ (-p̄kē 1ère col.-) ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲥⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲍⲙ ⲡⲉⲉⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲉⲉⲉⲁⲩ ⲉⲍⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲙ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲓⲁ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲧⲙⲙⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲉⲡⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲩⲗⲏⲗ. ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲉ ⲁϥⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲉϫⲉⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲱⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ (*sic*) ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲉⲕⲁⲍ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲱⲟⲟⲛ ⲉⲉⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲱⲛⲉⲉ.

ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲭⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲙⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲉⲉⲉⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲉⲉⲙ ⲅⲉⲛ ⲕⲉⲅⲉⲉⲅⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲅⲧⲡⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲁ (*sic*) ⲁⲩⲥⲅⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲉⲡⲉ- (-2e col.-) ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲉⲙ ⲡⲅⲉ-ⲧⲉⲉⲉⲱⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲧⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲉⲉⲉⲉⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲓⲏⲧ. ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲅⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲩⲓⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲉⲡⲉⲭⲁⲣ-ⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲉ ⲡⲉⲉⲉⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲥⲅⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲝ ⲉⲉⲉⲉⲓⲙ ⲉⲉⲉⲉⲟⲩ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲙⲛⲉⲭ ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲟⲟⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥ-ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲡⲣⲉⲡⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲉⲉⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲧⲉⲉⲡⲱⲁ ⲣⲣⲟ ⲍⲧⲙⲱⲙ (*sic*) ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲧⲧⲉ † ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲉⲡⲉⲓ-ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲉⲡⲱⲁ ⲉⲩⲥⲅⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩ-ⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲱⲟⲩⲉⲉⲉⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲩⲗⲏⲗ (-verso 1ère col.-) ⲉⲭⲱⲙ ⲅⲉⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉⲧⲉ. ⲅⲁ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲉⲙ ⲉⲉⲡⲱⲁⲭⲉ †ⲡⲣⲟⲥ-ⲕⲩⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲉⲡⲉⲧⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲍ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲅⲉⲉ ⲡⲉⲭ$^{\overline{\text{c}}}$ ⲁⲱⲱ ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲉⲡⲱⲁ †ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲉⲉⲡⲱⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ (*sic*) ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲉⲛⲧⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ. †ⲧⲁⲉⲉⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲉⲉⲉⲱⲧⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲧⲧⲉ ⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲉⲉⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓ ⲕⲉ-ⲗⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲥⲟⲗⲥⲗ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲃⲗⲗⲁⲧ. ⲧⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲉⲙ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲃⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲉⲟⲩ ⲅⲓ ⲑⲁ-ⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲫⲓⲧⲥ (-2e col.-) ⲡⲗⲏⲙ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲉⲟⲩ ⲡⲛⲟⲧⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲙ. ⲁⲧⲡⲟⲩ (*sic*) ⲛⲅⲏⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲟⲓ ⲅⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲉⲡⲓⲅⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲉⲉⲁ ⲉⲧⲱⲉⲉⲥ ⲉⲉⲉⲉⲟⲥ. ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲁ ⲕⲉⲅⲏⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲅⲟⲓ ⲉⲩⲅⲟⲣⲱ ⲛⲅⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲡⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲧⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲭⲱⲥ ⲁⲧⲁⲁⲓ-ⲉⲉⲱⲙ (*sic*) ⲅⲟⲙⲫ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲛⲅⲁⲣⲉⲅ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲉⲡⲉⲅⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲧⲱⲩⲏ. ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲉⲃⲟⲩⲗⲉⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲉⲡⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ (*sic*) ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲅⲙ ⲟⲩⲉⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲧⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲧⲟ ⲧⲏⲩ-(-$\overline{\text{ⲣⲕⲓ}}$ 1ère col.-) ⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲙ ⲉⲉⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲓⲧⲏⲉⲉⲁ.

ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲩⲗⲁ-ⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲉⲙ ⲡⲅⲏⲩⲉⲉⲉⲱⲙ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲉⲉⲉⲉⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲓⲏⲧ ⲁⲱⲱ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲩⲁ ⲡⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲉⲉⲃⲱ ⲁⲩⲧ

ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲣⲉ ⲫⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲱⲙⲓⲟⲛ (*sic*) ⲅⲓⲱⲱⲥ. ⲁϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲏⲏⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲧⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲱⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲅⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲅⲛ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲏⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲧⲟⲩⲟⲥ (-2e col.-) ⲁϥⲥⲱ ⲉϥⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲅⲱⲥⲁⲉ (*sic*) ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲛⲅⲛⲧⲉⲙⲙⲱⲛ ⲣ ⲫⲏⲛⲣⲉ ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲑⲁⲩⲓⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲅⲩⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ (*sic*) ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲏⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲓⲕⲏ ⲁⲥⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲓⲕⲏ ⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲙⲱⲛⲁⲭⲏ ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲅⲉ ⲁϥⲫⲓⲃⲉ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲧⲁⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲁⲗ ⲫⲱⲕⲃ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲅⲓⲱⲱⲥ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲫⲁⲣ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲏⲁⲩ (-verso 1ère col.-) ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲉⲥⲥⲁ ⲛⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲕⲓⲱⲱ ⲉϫⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲅⲧⲥ ⲉϫⲱⲱ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕⲃ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲣⲓⲙⲙⲉ ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲃ ⲅⲱⲣⲡ ⲅⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲣⲙⲙⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ. ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲣⲓⲙⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲥⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲅⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲫⲁⲛ ⲅⲧⲏϥ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲅⲣⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲅⲙ ⲡⲫⲱⲙⲉ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ (*sic*) ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲭⲓ ⲧⲉⲫⲩⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲫⲏⲓ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲕ- (-2e col.-) ⲏⲓ ⲛⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϫⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲑⲟ. ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲡⲱⲃ ⲉⲡⲫⲓ ⲛⲅⲱⲃ ⲛ†ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲁϫⲓ ⲥⲃⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲓ. ⲡⲉⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲅⲩⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲟⲙⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϫⲓ ⲥⲃⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉϩⲏ. ⲁⲩ† ⲧⲫⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲫⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲥϫⲓⲧⲥ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲓ ⲉⲥⲫⲁⲛⲥⲱⲫⲧ ⲉⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲅⲣⲁⲓⲥ (*sic*) ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲫⲁⲥⲫⲧⲟⲣ- (-p̄k̄ẓ̄ 1ère col.-) [ⲧⲣ ⲛⲉⲫⲁⲥ (ⲡⲁⲅⲧⲥ) ⲉϫⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲃ [ⲁⲥⲣⲓⲙⲙ]ⲉ ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲫⲁ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲅⲣⲁⲓ ⲫⲁⲥⲧ ⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲥ ⲅⲉⲛ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲫⲁⲥⲛ-ⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲅⲓ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲙⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲛⲥⲁ ⲫⲁⲫⲩ

ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲧⲉ (*sic*) ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲁⲥⲛⲧⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲛⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲫⲓⲧⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲧⲧⲉ ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲛⲧⲱⲫⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ. ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ (*sic*) ⲁⲉ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲏⲓⲉⲙⲙⲱⲛ ⲁⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩⲉ (*sic*) ⲁⲧⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲧⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓ-(-2e col.-) ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲫⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲫⲫⲉⲉⲣⲉ. ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲗⲁϫⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲏ ⲡⲧⲟ-ⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲃⲥⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲫⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲣⲉϥϫⲣⲟ ϩⲛⲱⲙ. ⲫⲁ ⲑⲏ ⲛⲉⲃⲱϥ ⲛⲓⲏ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲉⲓⲏⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲧⲧⲉ ⲉϥⲉⲫⲁⲣⲉϥ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲙⲡⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲁⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ ⲉϩⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲣⲟⲛ ⲟⲧϩⲁⲓ ⲉⲕϥⲓ ⲣⲟ-ⲟⲧⲱ ⲫⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲫⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ.

ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲫⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲩ (*sic*) ⲛⲣⲁⲫⲉ ⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲉϩⲙⲙ ⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲛⲧⲱⲫⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲁϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ-(-verso 1ère col.-) ϥⲟϧ (*sic*) ⲉⲡⲥⲱϧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁϩ ϥⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁϥⲁϥⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲉϥⲭⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲁϥϯ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲕⲟⲛⲧⲓ-ⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲓⲝ. ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ (*sic*). ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥ-ϫⲛⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲫⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲧⲫⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲥⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ϩⲩⲗ-ⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲫⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲉϫⲱⲉⲓ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲧⲧⲉ ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲟⲩ-(-2e col.-) ⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲛⲧ ⲉϩⲟⲩ[ⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ] ϩⲉⲛ ⲥⲟ[ⲛ ⲫⲁϥ]ⲁⲥⲡⲁϩⲉ ⲙ[ⲙⲟ]ⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲁⲡⲣⲱ (*sic*) ϩⲉⲛ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲫⲁϥ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲓ (*sic*) ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲫⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ. ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲡϩⲱϧ ⲫⲱⲛⲉ* ϩⲟⲣϥ ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ ⲡⲉϩⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲡⲁϩⲉ ⲛⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲏ ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲧⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ϩⲓ ⲟⲧⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉϫⲉ ⲉⲫⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲛϩⲉ ⲏⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ

Sic exit cod. Crawford.

* Ce passage est fautif, il faut lire: ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲓ ⲁ ⲛϩⲱϧ ⲫⲱⲛⲉ ϩⲟⲣϥ ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ.

Voici maintenant le fragment de Leyden tel que je l'ai copié et restitué : (-recto 1ère col.-) ⲁϥ . . ⲁⲁ ϭⲓⲝ ⲙⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲁϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ-(ϩⲟⲛ) ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲟϭ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟ]ⲩ ⲙⲙⲡⲉⲡⲁⲗ(ⲗⲁⲧ)ⲓⲟⲛ (ⲁⲧⲱ ⲛ)ⲉⲧⲣⲁϣⲉ (ⲙⲙⲁⲟ)ⲟⲩ ⲉⲭⲙⲙ (ⲡⲧⲁⲗ)ϭⲟ ⲛⲧ(ϣⲉⲉ)ⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ (ⲁⲧⲱ) ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣ(ⲣⲟ) ϫⲛⲉ ⲧⲉϥϣⲉ(ⲉⲣ)ⲉ ⲉⲧϧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ(ⲧⲁⲩ)ϣⲟⲡⲉ ⲙⲙ(ⲙⲟⲥ) ⲛ ⲉⲥϫⲱ (ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲥ) ϫⲉ ⲁⲩ(ⲧⲁⲁⲧ ⲉ)ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ (ⲛⲟⲩ)ⲁⲥ(ⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ) ϫⲉ (ϩⲓⲗⲁⲣ)ⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ(ⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ) ⲡⲉ ⲛ(ⲧⲁϥϣⲗ)ⲏⲗ (ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⲁ) ⲡϫⲟ(ⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍ)ⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ (ⲙⲙⲡⲧⲁⲗϭ)ⲟ ⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ (-2e col.-) ⲉⲣⲟⲓ (ϩⲛ) ⲥⲟⲛ ϣⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲩ ϩⲛ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ ϣⲁϥⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ϩⲓ ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲟⲛ ϣⲁϥⲡⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲙⲙⲙⲁⲓ ϩⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲓ (*sic*) ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲧϣⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ. ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙⲙ ⲉⲡⲉⲓϣⲁϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡϩⲱϧ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉϥϩ-ⲟⲣϣ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲙⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙⲙ ⲉⲡⲉϩ ϫⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲥϩⲓⲙⲙⲉ ⲏ ⲁⲉ ϥ-ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ϩⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲥϩⲓⲙⲙⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϣⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙⲙ (ϫⲉ)ⲥⲉⲙⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ ⲡⲁⲓ(?) ⲉⲧϧⲉ ⲧⲁ ⲧⲉ (-verso 1ère col.-) (ⲁ)ⲡⲉϫ(ⲉ) ⲁϥ(ϣⲁⲛ)ϣⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲙⲛ(ⲙⲁⲩ) ⲛⲁϥ ⲁⲉ (ⲛ)ϩⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ. ⲁⲧⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲙⲉ-ⲉⲧⲉⲉ ⲉⲡⲱϫⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲁϥ. ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲁϥⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲙⲙⲉϩ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉϣⲓⲛⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲏ (*sic*) ⲡⲁⲩⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲉϥϫⲣⲟ ϩⲛⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲉϧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏϩ ϩⲛ ϣⲓⲛⲧ. ϯⲭⲣⲉⲱⲥⲧⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲛ-ϣⲗⲏⲗ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲙⲙⲛ ϭⲟⲙⲙ ⲙⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲡⲱϩ ⲉⲡϣⲓ ⲙⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲁⲧⲱ ⲉⲙⲙⲉϩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲭⲣⲱⲥⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲧ ⲁⲡ (-2e col.-) ⲛⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲧⲏⲧⲧⲏ ϯⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲧⲏ ϣⲱ . . . ⲧⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲁ ⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲏ(ⲧⲛ)ⲛⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲁ(ⲣⲟⲓ ⲙⲙ)ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲟⲛ (ϫⲉ ϩⲓ)ⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩ(ϣⲱ)ⲡⲉ ϣⲱ(ⲡⲉ ϩⲙⲙ.) ⲡⲡⲁⲗⲗ(ⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ) ⲁⲧⲱ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲙⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉ ⲣⲁ(ⲛ)ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲑⲁ

. Il lui donna une cellule près de sa cellule, au sud de l'église. Il allait chaque jour la visiter deux fois, et avec lui aussi un philosophe* nommé apa Martyrios. Et les paroles que le saint apa Pambô lui disait pour le bien de son âme, apa Martyrios les énonçait en grec, parce que la jeune fille ne connaissait pas† la langue égyptienne. Après trois ans qu'elle habitait en ce lieu, le Seigneur révéla a Pambô que c'était une femme, mais il ne sut pas que (c'était) la fille du roi. Lorsqu'il sut que c'était une femme, il lui parla en secret, disant: "Ne laisse savoir à personne que tu es une femme, car ce n'est pas chose qui convienne à notre vie de faire qu'une femme habite au milieu de nous, (et je te dis cela) afin que personne ne souffre dommage à notre occasion." Après neuf ans, comme on voyait la jeune fille sans barbe au milieu des frères, on l'appela Hilarion l'eunuque, car il y avait une foule d'hommes de condition pareille. Quant à ses mamelles, elles ne furent point comme celles de toutes les femmes; d'abord elles se desséchèrent par suite de ses ascèses, et ensuite elles ne furent pas soumises aux souffrances des femmes‡ car Dieu le régla ainsi.

Quand elle eut passé neuf ans en ces grandes *ascèses*, ses parents ayant fini par oublier son souvenir, un démon entra en sa petite sœur à Constantinople. On la conduisit en la présence des grands ascètes de Byzance afin qu'ils priassent pour elle; mais Dieu ne lui accorda pas la guérison par leur entremise. Les grands du palais donnèrent un conseil au roi et lui dirent: "O roi, vis éternellement! S'il plaît à ta puissance, reçois notre conseil, envoie ta fille à Schiît près des ascètes qui s'y trouvent; ce sont de grands (moines) dans la vie religieuse, et nous croyons que Dieu lui accordera la guérison par leurs prières." Le roi, lorsqu'il (les) eut entendus, se réjouit de leur conseil; car il y avait une grande douleur en sa maison au sujet de la petite fille.§ Il prépara ce qui était bon pour sa fille, il envoya avec elles deux eunuques et deux jeunes filles, et d'autres serviteurs pour la servir. Il écrivit à Rakoti au

* C'est-à-dire un moine instruit. D'ordinaire le mot philosophe est pris en mauvaise part par les auteurs coptes.

† Mot à mot: *était en dehors de, étrangère à.*

‡ La traduction est rigoureuse: on en pourrait conclure qu'aux yeux des Égyptiens les *πάθη* des femmes étaient en rapport avec les mamelles, ce qui semble tout à fait conforme à leur médecine ordinaire.

§ En Égypte on était *petit garçon* jusqu'à 40 ans, et petite fille au moins jusqu'au mariage. Le tout dépendait de l'interlocuteur.

stratélate et au gouverneur afin qu'ils l'accompagnassent à Schiît. Le roi écrivit une lettre à Schiît, demandant du papier et de l'encre pour écrire de sa propre main, afin qu'on n'employât pas de grands mots, comme il sied à la royauté.* "L'indigne roi Zénon, auquel Dieu a donné l'honneur au delà de son mérite, écrit aux saints dignes d'être aimés qui prient pour nous dans le Seigneur: Salut. Avant (toute) parole, j'adore votre assemblée dans le Christ, et, si vous m'en rendez digne, je baise la poussière des pieds de votre sainteté. Je vous informe toutefois de ce que le Seigneur m'a fait à cause de mes nombreux péchés. J'avais deux filles, je n'avais nulle autre consolation qu'elles. La première m'a quitté, elle est partie: est-elle morte dans la mer? Les bêtes sauvages l'ont-elles déchirée?† Dieu (seul) sait la manière dont elle est morte. J'ai eu un grand deuil à son sujet,‡ car je n'ai point trouvé son corps pour l'enterrer. Du reste un autre deuil m'a saisi, plus dur de beaucoup que le premier: (mon) autre fille, (celle) sur laquelle je m'appuyais, un démon est entré en elle: nous la gardons le jour et la nuit. On m'a conseillé de l'envoyer à votre sainteté. Maintenant donc la conclusion de cette lettre, en vérité c'est que Dieu ne rejettera pas vos prières."

Lorsque la jeune fille fut arrivée à Rakoti, le stratélate et le gouverneur allèrent avec elle à Schiît; et lorsqu'ils furent arrivés jusqu'au saint apa Pambô, ils lui remirent la lettre du roi, et l'informèrent au sujet de la jeune fille en laquelle était le démon. Il réunit tous les frères, leur lut la lettre du roi. Mais lorsqu'ils eurent commencé de prier sur elle, le démon entra en elle au milieu des frères, la jeta à terre et demeura la tourmentant de telle sorte que le stratélate et le gouverneur en furent grandement étonnés. Quant à la sainte Hilarie, lorsqu'elle vit sa sœur restée dans le monde,§ elle la reconnut: mais la sœur restée dans le monde ne reconnut pas sa sœur devenue religieuse; et comment l'aurait-elle reconnue! car sa couleur était changée, la beauté de son corps avait péri, ses yeux s'étaient enfoncés, et elle n'avait

* Il s'agit des protocoles ordinaires à la chancellerie byzantine, qui en effet n'auraient pas été à leur place dans une lettre de supplication.

† Mot à mot: l'ont-elles prise.

‡ Mot à mot: un grand deuil m'a saisi à cause d'elle.

§ Mot à mot: sa sœur mondaine. De même plus loin: la sœur mondaine ne reconnut pas sa sœur *moine*.

sur elle que les os et la peau.* Or, lorsqu'elle vit sa sœur, elle fut grandement troublée, ses entrailles furent émues sur sa sœur, elle se jeta sur le cou de sa sœur, pleurant au point que la terre fut trempée de ses larmes. Les frères, en la voyant pleurer, disaient: "Elle a le cœur compatissant pour la jeune fille."† Mais lorsque celle-ci fut un peu calmée de son accès‡ Pambô appela un vieil ascète et lui dit: "Prends la jeune fille en ta cellule, prie pour elle, jusqu'à ce que Dieu lui accorde guérison." Mais, lui, il dit: "Je ne suis point parvenu à ce point de perfection de pouvoir prendre une femme en ma maison."§ Mais le philosophe apa Martyrios dit à Pambô: "Remets-la entre les mains d'Hilarion l'eunuque, il peut prendre une femme en sa maison." Ils remirent la jeune fille entre les mains de sa sœur, qui la prit en sa maison. Lorsqu'elle regardait le visage de sa sœur, elle était troublée, elle se précipitait à terre et pleurait beaucoup: lorsqu'elle s'était relevée, elle lui baisait la bouche. Parfois, elle couchait avec elle sur le même banc.‖ Après sept jours Dieu lui accorda la guérison (de sa sœur), elle la mena au milieu de l'église et dit: "Grâce à vos prières, Dieu a accordé la guérison à la jeune fille du roi." Le stratélate et le gouverneur firent la synaxe, ils s'en retournèrent.¶ Quant aux frères, ils écrivirent une lettre au roi par la main de sa fille. "Ces minimes qui sont à la montagne des Natrons écrivent au victorieux Zénon. Avant toute chose, nous adorons ta puissance illustre. Que le Seigneur garde ton royaume de tout achoppement, comme (il garda celui

* Ce passage dont la traduction est absurde en français, est très compréhensible en égyptien. Le corps n'était qu'une enveloppe d'un être moins grossier, le *double;* on pouvait donc dire que cet être moins grossier n'avait sur lui que les os et la peau. Peut-être d'ailleurs n'y a-t-il là qu'une manière vulgaire de parler.

† Mot à mot: elle est en pitié de cœur sur elle.

‡ Mot à mot: lorsqu'elle eut un peu cessé de sa maladie.

§ Le mot copte est ⲡⲟⲓ, écrit aussi ⲡⲁⲓ dans le fragment de Leyde. Il s'agit bien d'un banc avec dossier, comme cela est expliqué dans la vie de Pakhôme. J'ai eu le plaisir de coucher moi-même sur cette sorte de lit: c'est dur et peu agréable.

‖ Mot à mot: ils se tournèrent pour partir.

¶ Cette phrase est amphibologique. On peut comprendre que les moines firent écrire Hilarie, ou qu'ils remirent la lettre à la plus jeune sœur.

de) David et de Salomon. Sois sain et sauf, toi qui prends soin de nous et de toute l'Église."*

Ils arrivèrent ainsi à Constantinople. Il y eut une grande joie pour la guérison de la fille du roi. Le roi fit un festin à tous les infirmes et à tous les estropiés de corps, il se tint debout, les servit et donna à chacun de sa propre main un mélange de vin assaisonné de conyze.† Le lendemain il fit un festin à tous les grands du palais. Mais lorsqu'il interrogea sa fille sur ce que lui était arrivé, elle lui dit : "On m'a remise entre les mains d'un ascète nommé Hilarion, c'est lui qui a prié pour moi, et Dieu m'a accordé la guérison. C'etait un grand (pitoyable) pour moi. Parfois il me baisait la bouche, parfois il couchait avec moi sur le même banc toute la nuit." Quand le roi entendit ces paroles la chose lui fut dure, il dit ; "Je n'ai jamais entendu dire que les moines embrassaient les femmes ou couchaient avec elles sur un même banc ; mais j'ai entendu dire qu'ils les haïssaient et qu'ils ne pouvaient même pas supporter de parler avec elles tant soit peu. Comment cela se fait-il ? je n'en sais rien." Et ces pensées fatiguaient le roi. Alors il écrivit une seconde lettre à Schiît, en ces termes : "L'Auguste victorieux, Zénon, écrit aux pères pieux qui habitent à Schiît. Je suis redevable à vos prières, et je ne peux atteindre à la hauteur‡ de votre mérite ni payer ma dette par votre entremise. Je désire donc que vous soyiez et que vous m'envoyiez le frère qui s'appelle Hilarion Il y a une maladie dans le palais et

Tels sont les deux fragments coptes qui nous ont conservé une partie de l'*histoire des deux filles de Zénon*. Comme on a pu le voir aisément la ressemblance est tellement frappante qu'on peut sans danger conclure à l'identité de la version arabe et de la version thébaine : toutes les deux nous donnent bien la même *histoire*. Cependant on rencontre dans les deux versions de légères dissemblances qui sont toutefois assez fortes pour permettre de conclure que ces deux versions ont été faites et abrégées d'un récit primitif connu des deux traducteurs. On peut sans crainte avancer que la traduction arabe n'a pas été faite sur le document thébain, puis qu'on rencontre certains traits qui ne se trouvent pas dans la version

* Mot à mot : toi prenant soin de nous et de l'Église entière.

† Le texte porte le mot ⲕⲟⲛⲧⲓⲧⲟⲛ qui tout l'allure d'un mot grec. Le mot ⲕⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ qui précéde montre bien qu'il s'agit de vin.

‡ Mot à mot : parvenir à la mesure de votre honneur.

thébaine, et, ce qui est plus grave, que certaines phrases ont été placées en une bouche différente.* Toutefois cette dernière différence pourrait avoir uniquement pour origine le peu de scrupules du traducteur. Tout bien considéré, je crois que le récit a été composé primitivement par un moine de Scété pour la plus grande édification des religieux ses frères. Dans les documents thébains d'origine indéniable, on ne trouve aucune histoire sur les moines de Scété : en chaque dialecte, on écrivait ses propres histoires, et quand un scribe instruit dans les deux dialectes trouvait que quelque production de l'une des moitiés de l'Égypte pouvait édifier les moines de l'autre moitié et avoir du succès, il la traduisait du memphitique en thébain, s'il vivait en Thébaïde ; du thébain en memphitique, s'il demeurait à Scété ou dans les environs. On se faisait ainsi de pieux emprunts qui entretenaient l'amitié et l'édification, et l'on pouvait sans scrupule arranger l'œuvre première qui n'aurait pas cadré assez bien avec le goût de ceux à qui était destinée la traduction. Cette manière de faire explique très bien les divergences que l'on trouve dans les deux versions.

Cette *histoire* montrera aussi que les moines de Scété, tout aussi bien que leurs frères de la Haute Égypte, avaient conservé le goût des compositions littéraires, et qu'ils étaient bien les dignes successeurs des scribes de l'empire Pharaonique dont l'imagination a rêvé le *conte des deux frères*, celui du *prince prédestiné*, et celui de *Satni*, pour ne parler que des plus eélèbres. Comme il est facile de le voir, les scribes chrétiens ne reculaient pas devant les idées lestes, les positions scabreuses et les peintures libres. On rencontre dans la littérature dont je parle des récits *naturalistes* qui défient toute œuvre moderne. *L'histoire des deux filles de Zénon* est une œuvre chaste en comparaison des autres, malgré que le bon empereur en soit scandalisé ; mais l'on en trouve d'autres qui ne sont rien moins que chastes, et toutes sont l'œuvre de moines écrivant sur des moines. Pour citer quelques exemples, les *histoires* où des jeunes filles s'habillent en hommes pour se faire *moines* sont fort nombreuses ; dans l'une d'elles, une jeune fille, *moine* à Scété, est envoyée dans un village de la Basse Égypte pour vendre les nattes

* La chose est surtout évidente pour les réflexions que suggère la manière dont Hilarion s'y était pris pour guérir la fille du roi. La version arabe les met dans la bouche de la jeune fille ; la version thébaine dans celle de Zénon. A mon avis elles se trouvent ici mieux placées que là : mais je ne peux guère savoir quelle est la bonne place.

et acheter les provisions de son monastère. Dans l'hôtellerie où elle passe la nuit un soldat met à mal la fille du *scheikh el beled :* on accuse naturellement le moine, qui est battu et chassé avec ignominie. De retour à son monastère, ce moine d'un nouveau sexe passe sa vie à pleurer un péché qu'il n'a pas commis et meurt. Pour l'ensevelir, on le découvre et l'on se trouve en présence d'une femme : tous les pères accourent alors pour constater *de visu* que le moine accusé était une femme et n'avait pas pu mettre à mal la fille du *scheikh el beled*, et la conclusion c'est que tout le monde glorifie Dieu de tant de vertu. Dans une autre, un vieux moine entreprend de convertir une courtisane ; il se rend près d'elle, la trouve sur sa porte, entre avec elle et la suit jusque dans sa chambre. Là, il s'assied sur le lit et attend que la belle fille se soit parée de ses bijoux et de sa plus belle robe : elle revient, le caresse et au moment où l'on attend la chute du vieillard, la grâce triomphe et la courtisane se convertit. Dans une autre, une courtisane entreprend de séduire un vieillard ; elle se rend à la caverne de l'ascète, comme une malheureuse femme sans resources. Le vieillard la reçoit ; pendant qu'il est sorti pour quelque besoin, elle change d'habits, se couvre de pierreries et oublie sa robe : sa seule beauté lui servait amplement d'habit, pensait elle. A son retour, le vieillard est frappé d'éblouissement à la vue d'un tel spectacle, elle le caresse, le presse, lui arrache son consentement. Le vieillard demande un moment de répit pour se préparer, et sort de la caverne ; il reste trop longtemps absent au gré de la courtisane, qui lui crie de venir vite ; le moine répond : Viens plûtot toi ; et la courtisane regardant par la porte voit le vieillard tranquillement occupé à tenir son pied dans le feu pour s'habituer à brûler dans l'enfer. Elle se convertit sans hésiter. Les courtisanes jouent un grand rôle dans cette littérature : les Thaïs, le Marie égyptienne sont des héroïnes qui n'ont eu d'autre vie que celle que l'imagination des moines égyptiens leur a donnée : elle sont maintenant sur les autels. L'une de leurs sœurs qui a échappé à la canonisation alla d'Alexandrie à Jérusalem pour se convertir : elle aurait pu aussi bien se convertir à Alexandrie, mais ce n'eût pas été l'affaire de l'auteur qui n'aurait eu alors plus rien à conter. Comme elle n'avait pas d'argent pour payer son passage, elle paya en nature sur le pont à tout l'équipage ; elle devint une grande sainte après sa conversion.

Je ne citerai pas d'exemple des crimes contre nature que l'on trouve dans ces récits : les frères qui violent leurs sœurs ; un enfant

né d'inceste qui devient le mari de sa mère, des moines tuant les filles qu'ils ont violées, des actes de sodomie, de brigandage, tous ressorts ordinaires des conteurs chrétiens de l'Égypte. Quelquefois ils s'élèvent jusqu'à l'épopée, ils ont des cycles : ils décrivent des batailles, des guerres toutes plus invraisemblables les unes que les autres. Il n'y a pas un genre qu'ils n'aient abordé. Le succès les a récompensés. Un grand nombre de leurs personnages sont devenus dans la suite tellement populaires qu'on leur a prêté une réalité historique dont il n'ont jamais joui. Si la valeur intrinsèque et littéraire d'une œuvre dépendait du succès qu'elle obtient, la littérature copte populaire eût été l'une des premières littératures du monde, sinon la première. Malheureusement elle manque un peu trop de facture et d'art. Non pas qu'il n'y ait aucun art dans ces sortes d'œuvre, mais cet art n'est pas tel qu'on puisse l'admirer : il est, comme la civilisation égyptienne, par trop naïf et trop immobile ; malgré leur apparente diversité, les récits ne sont pas assez variés, les moyens employés sont trop semblables et la rhétorique en usage n'a pas assez de moyens de remplissage et de lieux communs. Malgré ces défauts, cette littérature encore complètement inconnue, est d'une richesse merveilleuse pour la connaissance des idées qui avaient cours parmi ces moines de l'Égypte chrétienne : ils nous apparaissent ainsi sous un jour tout-à-fait nouveau, et ces œuvres fabuleuses, de pure imagination, deviennent l'une des sources les plus importantes de l'histoire religieuse et morale. Evidemment l'on s'en doit servir avec précaution et avec tact : mais l'historien doit s'en servir sous peine de ne pas connaître son sujet tout entier. Sous ce rapport, la publication de l'*histoire des deux filles de Zénon* ne saurait manquer d'être utile, si elle attire l'attention sur tout un côté inconnu du génie Égyptien, et par conséquent du génie humain.

UGRO-ALTAIC NUMERALS: ONE—FIVE.

By Robert Brown, Junr., F.S.A.

I.

The investigations of Lenormant, Hommel, and others have made it evident that the Akkado-Sumerian dialects belong to the Ugro-Altaic family of speech, in which I would also venture to include Etruscan; and this circumstance is remarkably illustrated by a comparison of the numeral-forms. The number of distinct words which man has to express any object or idea equals the number of distinct concepts he possesses regarding it; and there seem to have been in Akkadian two different ways of regarding the number *one*. The first, and that which appears to have been generally employed, probably connected it with the mouth or face; the second, with the finger or hand. Prof. Sayce and Mr. T. G. Pinches have kindly supplied me with most of the Akkadian numeral-forms mentioned; and the Arintzi and Kamacintzi words are from Strahlenberg's *Siberia*, Eng. edit., 1738, a valuable compilation which shows, amongst other things, what an immense number of forms have perished, many of which would at once have supplied the missing links across gaps which we are now unable to bridge.

Ugro-Altaic ONE-words. First Group. Basis-concept:—The Mouth or Face (as representing a, *i.e.* one, man):—

Akkadian.—	*g–u–i–s*	(earlier form)
	g——i–s	
	d——i–s	(dialectic)
	g——i	
	g——e	
	d——a–s	
	a–s	
	u–s	
	a	(most abraded form)
Assyrian.—	*e–s*	(-tin). "Number One." } loan-words.
Hebrew.—	*a–sh*	(-te asar, = 1 + 10 = 11) } loan-words.

Yenissei-Ostiak.—*x*–*u*—— *s*
x–*u*——*s*–*a*
k–*u*——*s*–*a*–*m*
χ–*û*——*s*–*e*–*m*
Arintzi.— *k*–*u*–*i*–*s*–*a*
Kamacintzi— *χ*–*u*–*od*–*sχ*–*ae*
Kamtchatkan.— *x*–*i* (-neppu)

Cf. Ak. *gu*, 'mouth,' 'face,' etc. (Sayce, *As. Gram.*, Syllabary, Nos. 39, 500); Yen.-Ost. *xu*, *xu'o*; *ku*, *ku'o*, 'mouth.'

Second Group. Basis-concept :—the Finger or Hand.

Tungusic.— *o*–*m*–*m*–*u*–*k*–*o*–*n*
u–*m*–*m*–*u*–*k*–*o*–*n*
u–*m*——*u*–*k*–*o*–*n*
o–*m*——*u*–*k*–*o*–*n*
a–*m*——*u*–*k*–*o*–*n*
o–*m*——*o*–*k*–*o*–*n*
a–*m*——*k*–*a*
u–*m*——*u*–*n*
u–*m*——*o*–*n*
m——*u*–*k*–*o*–*n*
a–*m*——*u*
Mordvin.— *v*——*ai*–*k*–*e*
v——*ei*–*k*–*e*
v——*e*
Etruscan.— *m*——*a*–*χ*
Mokscha.— *i*–*fk*–*a*
fk–*a*
Vogul.— *a*–*kv*–*a*
Ostiak-Samoied.— *o*–*k*–*e*–*r*
o–*k*–*u*–*r*
o–*kk*–*a*–*r*
Zyrianian.— *o*–*t*–*i*–*k*
Wotiak.— *a*–*tt*–*i*–*k*
Magyar.— *e*–*ck*–*i*
e–*g*–*y*

Lapponic.—	*a–kt*	
	a–kt–a	
Finnic.—	*y–ks–i*	
Esthonian.—	*u–ks*	
Tcheremiss.—	*i–k*	
Ostiak.—	*i–t*	
Akkadian.—	*i–kd*	
	i–d	
Assyrian.—	*e–d–u*	(loan-words?)
	i–kh–itu	
Hebrew.—	*e–kh–od*	
	a–kh–at	
Kamassin.—	*o–b*	
	o–m	
Turak-Samoied.—	*o–b*	
	o–p–oi	
Tangy.—	*o——ai*	
Yenissei.—	*ô*	(most abraded form)
Mantchu.—	*y*(–ga)	
Chinese.—	*yih*	

Cf. the common Tatar word *bar-maχ*, 'finger,' from the first syllable of which come the Yakut and Turkic *bir*, Koibal *ber*, and Karagass *birä*, 'one'; the Tungusic *unakan*, and the Magyar *ujj*, 'finger'; the Akkadian *id*, 'hand'; the Kalmuck *id*-am, 'ring-finger,' etc., etc. It is only such tabular comparison which enables us to detect the variant and abraded forms.

II.

Two-words. Basis-concept :—The two Hands.

Finnic.—	*k–a–k–s–i*	
	k–a–x	(Strahlenberg)
Esthonian.—	*k–a–k–s*	
Akkadian.—	*k–a——s*	
	g–a——s	
Zyrianian.—	*k–y–k*	
Vogul.—	*k–i–t*	

Ostiak.— *k–a–t*
Magyar.— *k–e–t–t – o*
Mordvin.— *k–a–v–t – o*
Lapponic.—*kv–e–k–t – e*
Yakute.— *i–k–k – i*
Turkic.— *i–k——i*
Arintzi.— *k–i* (–nae)
Etruscan.— *c–i*
c–i——s = 'second.'
c–i——z–i= 'twice.'

The hand-words in the various dialects exactly correspond, *e.g.*, Akkadian *kat* (whence the Assyrian *katu ; cf.* Heb. *khaph*-nayim, "both hands full," Ezekiel, x, 2), Finnic *käte*, Zyrianian *ki*, etc. (Vide *inf.* Sec. V.)

III.

Three-words. First Akkadian concept :—Plurality.

Akkadian.—*u–v–u–s* *Cf.* Yakute.—*y–s*
u–m–u–s Turkic.—*ü–c*
v–i–s
b–i–s
i–s

Cf. Ak. *mes*, *mis*, 'many,' sign of plural. So, similarly, "the Puris of South America call 'three' *prica* or 'many.'" (Sayce, *Principles of Comp. Philol.*, 274.)

Second Akkadian, and general Ugro-Altaic, concept :—(Hand + hand) + Foot.

Akkadian.— *e–s–s–e*, *e–s–s–a* } *Cf.* Ak. *essâ*, 'foot,'

Etruscan.— *e–s——a–l*
e–s——a–l–s = 'third.'
e–s——l–z = 'thrice.'
z——a–l
z——l (*e.g.*, *naper zl.*, "grave-niches 3," Cippus Perusinus).

Nogai Tatar.—	*o–l*
Finnic.—	*k——o–l–me*
Mokscha.—	*k——o–l–ma*
Mordvin.—	*k——o–l–mo*
Esthonian. Lapponic. —	*k——o–l–m*
Vogul.—	*k——o–r–om*
Magyar.—	*h——a–r–om*
Basque.—	*h——i–r–u*
Zyrianian.—	*k——u–j–im*
Tcheremiss.—	*k——u——m*
Surgut.—	*k——u–d–em*
Ostiak.—	*x——u–d–em*
Yukagir.—	*j——a–l–on*
Tungusic.—	*g——i–l–an*
	i–l–an
	e–l–an

The foot-words correspond, *e.g.*, Yenissei-Ostiak *bul*, *pul*, Buriat *kol*, Ostiak *kur*, Mongol *kul*, etc., 'foot.' The letter-changes are in accordance with the laws of Turanian languages. *L* final, at times, disappears in Akkadian, *e.g.*, *mal-ma*, *pil pi*, *bil-bi*, etc. Possibly an original final *l* in *essa-l* reappears in the Assyrian *sal*-satu, 'three.' The *l–r* change is familiar, *e.g.*, the Susianian Lagama*l*–Lagama*r*.

IV.

Four-words. A common Ugro-Altaic concept: (Hand + hand + eye) + Eye.

Mr. Pinches gives *limmu* as an Akkadian word for 'four'; *cf.* *lim*, *liv*, *li*, As. *enu*, 'eye.' But the more usual form is:—

Akkadian.—	*s——a*
	s——a–n–a
	s——a–b–a
	s——a–n
	s——a–v
	s——i–v
	s——i–m–u

Etruscan.—	*s*——*a*
	s——*a*–*s* = "fourth."
Yenissei.—	*s*——*a* (-gem)
	s——*e* (-ga)
	s——*i* (-em)
	s——*i* (-a)
	tsch-*a* (-ja)
Kamacintzi.—	*sch*–*a* (-gae)
Arintzi.—	*sch*–*e* (-ya)
Mantchu.—	*ss* –*i* (-ggae)
Chinese.—	*sz* –*e*
	s –*i*
Siamese.—	*s* –*i*

Perhaps, as Canon Isaac Taylor has suggested, this form also appears in the Turkic *se-kis*, "8," *i.e.* 4 × 2. The eye-words are quite in harmony, *e.g.*, Akkadian *si*, Ostiak *sê-m*, Zyrianian *si-n*, Samoied *sai*, Tcheremiss *si-n-za*, Finnic *si-l-ma*, Lapponic *sa-lb-me*, Magyar *sze-m*, etc.

But there are various ways of thinking out the number 4, and I believe that another has been to regard it as (Hand + hand + foot) + Foot, thus :—

Akkadian.—	*n* –*i*–*n*
	n –*i*–*n*–*g*–*a*
Lapponic.—	*n* –*e*–*l* –*j* –*e*
Finnic.—	*n* –*e*–*l* –*j* –*a*
Magyar.—	*n* –*e*–*l* –*l*–*i* (Strahlenberg)
	n –*e* ——*g*–*y*
Mordvin.—	*n* –*i*–*l*–*e*–*n*
Vogul.—	*n* –*i*–*l*–*a*
Tcheremiss.—	*n* –*i*–*l*
Zyrianian.—	*nj*–*o*–*l*
Ostiak.—	*nj*–*e*–*l*

For examples of *n-l* change, vide Schott, *Über das Altai'sche oder Finnisch-Tatarische Sprachengeschlecht*, 119, *e.g.*, "Mongol. *em-N-ekü* für *em-L-ekü*." That the foregoing FOUR-words were originally

connected with foot-words will, I think, appear from the following list of the latter;—

Akkadian.— *n–e –r*
n–i –r
Tcheremiss.—*j–a –l*
j–o –l
Finnic.— *j–a –l–k–a*
Lapponic.— *j –uo–l–k–e*
Esthonian.—*j – a –l–g*
Magyar.— *gj– a –l* (–og) = 'foot-passenger.'

The *r–l* change has been noticed. So, in the lists of Euphratean kings, Pu–u–lu, Pulu, Pul, Phulos, appears in the Ptolemaic canon as Πῶρος. *Cf.* the Ak. *pur, pul*, "to explain." The FOUR-words are natural variants from the prior idea. A comparison of the Zyrianian and Ostiak 'four' with the Tcheremiss 'foot,' brings the point out very clearly.

V.

FIVE-words. Basis concept :—the Hand, as having five fingers.

The Hand having already furnished Two-words, and being naturally again called upon to assist in expressing numerals, man, as a matter of course, differentiates in the form, and produces a variant of the *kat*-words, thus :—

Hand.	*Five.*
Akkadian.— *k–a–t*	*v–a–s* (abraded form *ia, a*)
	v–a–r
	b–a–r
	p–a–r–a
Finnic.— *k–ä–t–e*	*v–ü–s–i*
Esthonian.— *k–a–s–i*	*v–ü–s*
Lapponic.— *k–ä–t*	*v–i–t*
Tcheremiss.—*k–e–t*	*v–i–s*
Mordvin.— *k–a–d*	*v–a–t–e*
Zyrianian.— *k–i*	*v–i –t*
Vogul.— *k–a–t*	*a–t*

Ostiak.—	*k–e–t*	*v–e–t*
Magyar.—	*k–e–z*	*ö–t*
	Yakute.—	*b–ia–s*
	Karagass.—	*b–ei–s*
	Osmanli.—	*b–e–s*

A second set of Five-words is connected with another set of Hand-words as follows :—

Five.		*Hand.*	
Akkadian.—	*s–a*	Akkadian.—	*s–u*
Yenissei-Ostiak.—	*x–â*		
	x–e(–ga)		
	k–a(–ng)		
Kottic.—	*k–e*(–ga)	Kottic.—	*k–ê*(–gär)
Arintzi.—	*e*(–ga)		
Tungusic.—	*t–o*(–nga)	Yenissei.—	*t–o–n*
Buriat.—	*t–a*(–ban)		
Samoied.—	*t–u*		
	t–u–n	Kamtchatkan.—	*t–o*(–no)
Etruscan.—	*θ–u*		
	θ–u–n–ezi } = "five times"		
	θ–u–n–z }		

S–t is a familiar Turanian letter-change, *e.g.*, *süpi–tüp*, *seiwäs–teiwas*, etc. In the form *kang* it will be remembered that *ng* is one letter; hence the division given. A third Akkadian hand-word *id*, Samoid *ud*, *ut*, *uda*, *ude*, *utte*, *utö*, *ura*, *jutu*, Asiatic Turk. *il*, Osmanli *él*, appears to be connected with One-words, as noticed above.

Barton-on-Humber, 17*th January*, 1888.

INSCRIPTIONS OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II.

II. The Phillipps' Cylinder.

(*See Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. I, Pl.* 65, 66.)

By Rev. C. J. Ball.

The chief interest of this inscription is that it confirms the implications of Herodotus (i, 183) and Diodorus (ii, 9) respecting the *lectisternia* or sacred banquets of Bel-Merodach, the tutelar god of Babylon; a reminiscence of which may also be seen in the Apocryphal story of *Bel*, v. 3, (See col. i, 16 *sqq.*; col. ii, 27 *sqq.*; col. iii, 7 *sqq.*)

I know of no translation of this piece, except that which Ménant published so many years ago, that it would be highly ungenerous to criticise it now. Readers will find it convenient to refer to the notes in my former paper (*Proceedings*, December, 1887) for many terms which recur in this inscription.

Col. I.

Transcription.

D. na-bi-um-ku-du-ur-ri-u-ṣu-ur šar mi-ša-ri-i^{m}
ri-e-a-u^{m} ki-i-nu^{m} mu-ut-ta-ru-u te-ne-še-ti
mu-uš-te-ši-ir ba-'u-la-a-ti D. EN-LIL D. šamaš u D. marduk
mu-uš-ta-la^{m} a-ḫi-iz ne-mi-ki mu-uš-te-'u-u^{m} ba-la-ṭa^{m}
5 na-a-da^{m} la mu-up-pa-ar-ku-u
za-ni-in E-SAG-ILLA u E-ZI-DA
abil na-bi-u^{m}-abla-u-ṣu-ur šar ba-bi-la^{m} *ki* a-na-ku
i-nu-u^{m} D. marduk belu ra-bi-u a-na be-lu-ut MA-DA
iš-ša-an-ni-ma
10 ni-ši^{m} ra-ap-ša-a-ti a-na ri-e-u-ti i-ti-na^{m}
a-na D. marduk i-lu ba-ni-ia pa-al-ḫi-iš lu u-ta-aq-qu
a-na ša-a-ṭa^{m} si-ir-ṭi-e-šu lu u-ka-an-iš ki-ša-da^{m}
sa-at-tu-ku-šu du-uš-šu-u-ti^{m}
ni-da-ba-a-šu e-el-lu-u-ti^{m}
15 e-li ša pa-ni^{m} u-ša-te-ir
ša u-um ešt-en GÛ-IL-E ma-ra-a GÛ-ŠU-UL
ḫi-za zu-lu-ḫi-e da-am-gu-ti^{m}
ga-du-u^{m} ša ilâni E-SAG-ILLA u ilâni ba-bi-la^{m} *ki*
nu u ma^{m} iṣ-ṣu-ru u-šu-um-mu pi-la-a si-ma-at ap-pa-ri-i^{m}

di-iš-pa-a^{m} ḫi-me-ti^{m} ši-iz-bi du-mu-uq ša-am-ni^{m}
ku-ru-un-ni^{m} da-aš-pa-a^{m} ši-ka-ar sa-tu-u^{m}
ka-ra-na^{m} e-el-lu ka-ra-na^{m} *mât* i-za-al-la^{m}
mât tu-'i-im-mu *mât* çi-im-mi-ni *mât* ḫi-il-bu-ni^{m}
mât a-ra-na-ba-ni^{m} *mât* su-u-ḫa-a^{m}
mât bit-ku-ba-ti^{m} u *mât* bi-ta-a-ti^{m}
ki-ma me-e na-a-ri la ni-bi-i^{m}
i-na GIŠ BARA (?) D. marduk u D. zar-pa-ni-tu^{m}
EN-MEŠ-e-a lu u-da-aš-ša-a^{m}
pa-pa-ḫa šu-ba-at be-lu-ti-šu
ḫuraça na-am-ra-a^{m} ša-al-la-ri-iš lu aš-ta-ak-ka-an
bâb ḫi-li-su ḫuraça u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma
bîta a-na D. zar-pa-ni-tu^{m} be-il-ti-ia
ku-uz-ba-a^{m} u-za-'i-in
E-ZI-DA šu-ba-at D. LUGAL LUGAL-DIM-ME-IR-ANA-KI-A
pa-pa-ḫa D. na-bi-u^{m} ša ki-ri-ib E-SAG-ILLA
si-ib-bu-šu ši-ga-ru-šu u *içu* ka-na-ku-šu
ḫuraçu u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma
bîta ki-ma u-um lu u-na-am-mi-er
E-TEMEN-ANA-KI zi-ku-ra-at ba-bi-la^{m} *ki*
i-na ḫi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti e-pu-uš
ba-bi-la^{m} *ki* ma-ḫa-az beli ra-bi-u D. marduk
im-gu-ur-belu du-ur-šu ra-bi-a-a^{m}
u-ša-ak-li-il
i-na ZAG-GAB KA-GAL KA-GAL AMA AMA URUDU
e-iq-du-ti^{m} ÇIR-RUŠ-RUŠ še-zu-zu-u-ti uš-zi-iz
ḫi-ri-su aḫ-ri-e-ma šu-bu-ul me-e ak-šu-ud
ki-bi-ir-šu in EŠIR-Ê-A u ŠIB-AL-UR-RA
lu ab-ni^{m}
za-ra-ti ki-ib-ri ša BADA DA-LUM
ša ki-ma sa-tu-u^{m} la ut-ta-aš-šu
in EŠIR-Ê-A u ŠIB-AL-UR-RA u-še-bi-iš

Translation.

Nebuchadrezzar, king of righteousness,
The faithful shepherd, the guide of mankind,
The ruler of the subjects of Bel, Shamash, and Merodach,
The mild, the possessor of wisdom, that seeketh after life,
The exalted, the unwearied,
The sustainer of Esagilla and Ezida,

The son of Nabopalassar, king of Babylon, am I.
When Merodach, the great lord, to the lordship of the land
Raised me, and
Broad peoples for shepherding gave;
To Merodach, the god my maker, I was reverently obedient,
To obey his laws I bowed the neck.
His rich oblations,
His splendid free-will offerings,
Above the former amount I increased.
Of one day, a bullock fine, a fatling, a bullock without blemish,
The delight of pure dishes,
The portion of the gods of Esagilla and the gods of Babylon,
Fish, fowl, flesh (?), vegetables, tokens of abundance,
Honey, curd, milk, the best of oil,
Noble wine, mead, mountain beer,
Choice wine, wine of Izalla,
Of Tu'immu, of Cimminu, of Helbon,
Of Aranabanu, of Suha,
Of Bitkubati and Bitâtu,
Like the waters of a river, numberless,
In the chapel of Merodach and Zarpanit,
My lords, I made to abound.
As for the chamber, the abode of his lordship,
Of shining gold the walls thereof did I make;
The gate Hilisu with gold I overlaid, and
The house for Zarpanit, my lady,
With splendour I aborned.
Ezida, the abode of the god Lugal, the king of the gods of heaven and earth,
The chamber of Nebo, which is within Esagilla,
Its lintel, its bolt, and its lock (?)
With gold I overlaid, and
The house like day I made to shine.
Etemenanaki, the tower of Babylon,
With rejoicings and revels I made.
As for Babylon, the town of the great lord Merodach,
Imgurbel, the great wall of it,
I finished.
At the side of the gates bulls of bronze,
Massy, and huge serpents erect I set up.

The moat thereof I dug, and the bottom of the water I reached;
The bank of it in gypsum and kiln-brick
I built.
The pavilion (?) of the bank of the great wall,
Which like a mountain had not been lifted up,
With gypsum and kiln-brick I caused to be made.

Notes to Column I.

1. *mišarî*^{m}: *cf.* Heb. מישרים, "justice": Ps. ix, 9.

2. *kînu*^{m}: *cf.* Syr. ܟܢܘܢ, "just," "right." *rêu*^{m}: 5 R. 13, 55 Rev. SI-BA = ri-'-u; 5 R. 12, No. 4, 35, SIB = ri-e-a-u^{m}. *muttarû* = *muttarrû*: ptcp. I, 2 (Ifteal) of *arû*, ירא (= Heb. ירה, Ps. xxv, 8). *Cf.* Lotz, Tigl. II, 96.

3. *šamaš*: 5 R. 37, col. I, 39.

4. *muštê'û*: ptcp. I, 2 of *šê'û* = ישעה Heb.

5. *mupparkû*: ptcp. IV, 1 of *parâku*: Nif. = "to cease," "leave off." *Cf. La nîḫa*: Stand. Inscr. I, 11; Tigl. V, 41; VIII, 19.

6. *zânin*: "feeder," "food-supplier": a term illustrated by 16 *sqq.* below. The Heb. (Jer. v, 8, Ketib) and Chald. זון is cognate.

8. *înu*^{m}: *cf. ênûma*: Stand. Inscr. I, 26; and *ištu*, *ibid.*, I, 23.

10. *itina*^{m} = *iddîna*^{m}, aor. I, 1 of *nadânu*, "to give." With *ti* = *di*, *cf. tu* = *du*, line 21; II, 25 *tu* = *ṭu*. Such peculiarities of spelling may represent the dialect of individual scribes; but, on the other hand, they may be nothing more than variations of writing, and indicate no difference of pronunciation.

11. *utaqqû*: aor. II, 1 of *taqû* = נקי.

12. *šâṭu*: infin. I, 1 of Hollow Verb. *Cf.* Ethiop. ሰጠወ: exaudivit, obedivit; (2) suscepit, gratum habuit; (3) St. John ix, see ii, 15, *infra.*

širṭu = شرط, conditio, lex.

ukânîš = *ukannîš* aor. II, 1 of *kanâšu*, "to submit," Tigl. III, 74. *Cf. ukinîš*, "I reduced," Tigl. I, 54 (= *ukannîš*, with vowel-assimilation).

13. *sattuku*: R. *sanâqu*, syn. of *qarâbu* (satnûqu, with regressive assimilation). Or is the root שתק (or שָׁנַק), quievit? Sedationes = placationes = sacrificia.

dušsû: "rich," "fat," "abundant": *cf. udaššа*^{m} l. 28. R. דישא: *cf.* also דָּשֵׁן.

14. *nidabû*: plur. in -u, Heb. נְדָבוֹת.

15. *Cf.* Tigl. VI, 34, *sq.* bilta u madatta eli ša pana uttir ina muḫḫišu, "toll and tribute, above what was before, I added upon him."

16. *IL-E*, *i.e.*, apparently *elli*. *Cf.* ii, 27; iii, 9. GÛ = *alpu*, S^{b} 96.

marû: *cf.* מְרִיא, 2 Sam. vi, 13; 1 Kings, i, 9. Or perhaps *mâru*, "young."

ŠU-UL: a Sumerian expression: *cf.* 4 R. 25, col. 3, 37. U-ŠAR EL-LA ŠU-UL-A-ME-EN = azkaru ellu uštaklilu, "(when) the glorious hero was perfected": 4 R. 9 15, 16. *Obv.* (Hymn to Sin) ŠU-UL = šuk-lu-lu^{m}, "completed," a verbal adj. like *šurbû*, *šuguru šunṭulu.*

17. See iii, 11 for the division of the words *ḫîzu*. Eth. ሐወጺ: voluptas, deliciae. Or Arab. حَازَ collegit, *e.g.* opes; infin. حِيَازَةٌ; also conquisivit, possedit. Or perhaps *ḫîçu*: *cf.* Ar. خَصَّ, "to appropriate a thing to some one." "An assignment or appropriation (to the god) of pure dishes;" or, lastly, חוץ = חצה, "to divide," "part," "apportion."

zulûḫê: צְלָחוֹת, צְלָחִית, اِكْسُلٌ, Eth. ጸሐል: "platter."

18. *gâdu*^{m}: جَدَا, "to give"; جَدْوَى, "gift." *Cf.* also جَادَ and جَدَّ.

19. *ušummu*: For the division of characters, see ii, 29; iii, 13. I have assumed the root to be תשם, the Ar. حَشَمَ, "to be or become fat," whence the noun حَشُومٌ, which in form corresponds exactly to *ušummu*. The roots عَشِمَ, عَسِمَ, are both said to mean "to be dried," and the mention of dried fruits such as dates, figs, raisins, would be suitable. But *cf.* also אֲסָמִיךְ, Deut. xxviii, 8; אֶסְנָיָא; اِسْفُنٌ; which suggest the sense "grain." The term might also be equivalent to Syr. مَعْصَنَا, "dinner."

pîlâ: written bi-e-la-a, iii, 13. See 2 R. 26, 48 *sqq.* Rev. *Ibid.*, No. 3, 41 *sq.*

SI	pi-lu-u ≻ pi-lu-tu^{m}	si-iz	pi-lu-u
ZI ≻ pi-lu-u	𒄑 ≻ pi-lu-u	𒄑	𒌓
(si-ig)	a-ra- ≻ ar-qu		
U si-ig ḪU	ra-aq-ra-qu		
A-RA-AK-A	𒌓		
u-rik	ur-ki-tu^{m}		
ŠAR	ar-qu		

Arqu recalls גַּן הַיָּרָק, "a garden of herbs," 1 Kings xxi, 2, and Syr. مَرْقَا, "greens"; and *raqraqu* is like יַרְקְרָק, "greenish-yellow," or "golden-green, (Lev. xiii, 49; Ps. lxviii, 14); *cf.* our "greenfinch."

apparu: *cf.* وَفْرٌ, copia, abundantia; أَوْفَرُ, amplus, magnus. *Apparu* = *awparu, a noun like azkaru, asmaru, etc.

20. *dišpu* = דִּבַשׁ, دِبْسٌ; *dašpu*, in the next line, is evidently a drink prepared from honey, like mead and metheglin, both of which are still made by cottagers in the West of England.

ḫimetu = חֶמְאָה, Judg. v, 25.

dumuq.: constr. of *dumqu*, das Beste, Tigl. II, 32.

21. *šikar*: constr. of *šikaru*, שֵׁכָר, سَكَرٌ. *kurunni*^{m}: 5 R. 19, 2, 28: 𒌓 ku-ru-un 𒄑 = sa-bu-u; *i.e.*, sâbû, Heb. סֹבְאָ, Isa. i, 22.

satu^{m} *:* a difficult form, but probably only a mode of writing *šadu*, "mountain"; see line 50 below. Nebuchadrezzar writes everywhere *ḫursaniš* in tead of *ḫuršaniš*, adv. from *ḫuršâni*, "woods," or "wooded hills"; and *markaš*, III, 28, is *markasa* in Stand. Inscr. VII, 37. *Cf. ušašḫir*, II, 6, for *ušasḫir*, Stand. V, 37. Col. III, 21, *bišit satu*^{m} = *bišiti šadi*^{m} of Stand. Inscr. II, 34.

23. *Helbon :* Ezek. xxvii, 18; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 281.

26. *la nibi*^{m} *: cf. la niba*, and *la mani*. *Nîbû* is the passive participle I, 1 of *nabû*, "to call," "tell."

GIŠ-BARA : *parakku*.

28. EN-MEŠ-e-a = bêlê'a.

udašša^{m} *:* aor. II, 1 of *dašû :* see note on I, 13 above. Sarg. Cyl. 68; *Bêlit mudišša*t *ḫisbi*.

30. *aštakkan :* pres. I, 2 of *šakânu*. For *šallâru*, "wall," see 5 R. 42, 25, g. h. IM-BE | si-i-ru.
IM-ZI | šal-la-ru.

sîru is Heb. שׂוּר, Arab. سور, "wall."

31. *ḫilisu :* see Stand. Inscr. II, 51, where this Sumerian term is apparently explained by *kuzbu* (Read "KA HILISU *bâb kuzbu*, Kahilisu, 'the Gate of Splendour.'") *Kuzbu* (line 33 below) seems to mean both "strength," and "beauty": 4 R. 9, 19/21. Obv. ḪILI-LALA-MALLATA = kuzbu u lalâ malû, "full of power and abundance." In 2 R. 35, 64 *sqq.* g.h. ḪILI = kuzba, membrum virile.

34. LUGAL, *i.e.*, *šarru*, "king." *Cf.* 5 R. 46, 30 *a*.

39. *zîkûrat :* also written zig-gur-rat; from *zaqâru*, זקר, "to erect," "rear." *Cf. zaqru*, "high."

41. *rabi'u : cf. rabi'a*^{m} in the next line, and *rabi'ûti*, II, 10, as well as *Nabi'u*^{m}, line 35. Perhaps we should pronounce *rabyu*, *rabyûti*, and recognize in such forms a trace of the original third radical *yod*.

44. Assyrian : *ina çilê abullâti rîmû êrî*.

45. For RUŠ, *cf.* 5 R. 38, obv. 1, 8 : HIBIS — ru-uš-šu . . . and with the Sum. term ḪIBIS, *cf.* Assyr. *gibšu*, *gibiš*, "mass," "size."

50. *uttaššu :* aor. II, 2 (Iftaal) of *našû* = נשׂא.

51. EŠIR-Ê-A = Assyr. *iddû*. 4 R. 6, 45/46 *b*. 𒌓𒅆 = id-da-a. S^{b} I, 1 rev. id-du u. *Cf.* The name of the town I-ID, *Idd*, 5 R. 23, 1, rev. 32; and 5 R. 22, 1, rev. 25 : E-ŠIR = 𒌓𒅆 : 5 R. 38, rev. 2, 30 : (ta ?)-ar—id-du-u.

Column II.

Transcription.

aš-šu ma-aç-a-ar-ti E-SAG-ILLA du-un-nu-ni^{m}
li-im-nu^{m} u ša-ag-gi-šu
a-na ba-bi-la^{m} *ki* la sa-na-ga-a^{m}
ša ma-na-ma šarru ma-aḫ-ri-i^{m} la i-pu-šu
in ka-ma-at ba-bi-la^{m} *ki* BADA DA-LUM

ba-la-ar D. UTU-Ê ba-bi-la^{m} [*ki?*] u-ša-aš-ḫi-ir
ḫi-ri-su aḫ-ri-e-ma
ki-bi-ir-šu in EŠIR-Ê-A u ŠIB-AL-UR-RA
u-za-ak-ki-ir ḫu-ur-sā-ni-iš
i-ta-at ba-bi-la^{m} *ki* ši-bi-ik SAĠAR-MEŠ ra-bi-u-ti^{m}
aš-ta-ap-pa-ak-šu
mi-li ka-aš-ša-a^{m} me-e ra-bi-u-ti^{m}
ki-ma gi-bi-iš ti-a-am-ti^{m} u-ša-al-mi-iš
ap-pa-ri-a^{m} lu uš-ta-aš-ḫi-ir-šu
a-na ša-ṭa na-bi-iš-ti ni-ši^{m} ba-bi-la^{m} *ki* la-ni^{m}
i-na ma-ḫa-az MA-DA šu-me-er u ak-ka-di-i^{m}
šu-um-šu^{m} u-ša-te-ir
E-ZI-DA bîtu ki-i-nu^{m} in ba-ar-zi-pa
e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš e-ri-ni^{m} çu-lu-li-šu
GUŠKIN na-am-ra-a^{m} u-ša-al-bi-iš
in GUŠKIN KUBABBAR NA NA ne-si-iq-ti^{m}
e-ra-a *içu* mis-kan-na e-ri-ni^{m}
u-za-'i-in ši-ki-in-šu D. na-bi-u^{m} u D. na-na-a
in ḫi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti
šu-ba-at tu-ub li-ib-bi ki-er-ba-šu u-še-si-ib
ša u-u^{m} I-en GU-IL-E ma-ra-a GU-ŠU-UL
XVI pa-si-il-lu^{m} bi-it-ru-ti^{m}
ga-du-u^{m} ša ilâni ba-ar-zi-pa *ki*
i-si-iḫ nu-u-nu^{m} iç-çu-ru-u^{m} u-šu-um-mu
bi-la-a si-ma-at ap-pa-ri-a^{m}
da-aš-pa-a^{m} si-ra-ru^{m} ku-ru-un-nu^{m}
ši-ka-ar sa-tu-u^{m} ka-ra-na^{m} e-el-la^{m}
di-iš-pa ḫi-me-ti^{m} ši-iz-ba-a^{m} u-ul ša-am-ni
GIŠ-BARA D. na-bi-u^{m} u D. na-na-a EN-MEŠ-e-a
e-li ša pa-ni^{m} u-da-aḫ-ḫi-id
ša u-u^{m} VIII lu-lu gi-ni-e D. ne-uru-gal
D. la-az ilâni ša E-ŠID-LAM u GU-DU-A-KI u-ki-in
sa-at-tu-uk DIMMER-GAL-GAL uš-pa-ar-zi-iḫ-ma
e-li gi-ni-e la-bi-ri gi-na-a u-ša-te-ir
E-U(R)-RA ša UD-KIP-NUN-KI a-na D. šamši u D. a-a
bi-e-li-e-a e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš
E-U(R)-RA ša la-ar-sa-am *ki* a-na D. šamši u D. a-a
EN-MEŠ-e-a e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš
E-KIŠ-NU-GAL ša ŠIŠ-URU-KI a-na D. EN-ZU-EN
na-ra-a^{m} šar-ru-ti-ia e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš

E-I-BIL D. A-NUM ša DIL-BAD-KI a-na D. IB
EN-ia e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš
E-KU-GI-NA ša al ba-az a-na D. EN-ZAR-BI
EN-ia e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš
si-ma-a-ti ri-eš-ta-a-ti
bil-lu-di-e ku-ut-mu-u-ti^{m}
ša D. iš-tar UNUK bi-e-li-it UNUK e-el-li-ti^{m}
u-te-ir aš-ru-uš-šu-un
a-na UNUK še-e-du-u-šu
a-na E-AN-NA la-ma-sa-ša da-mi-iq-ti^{m} u-te-ir
te-me-en-na E-AN-NA la-bi-ri
a-ḫi-iṭ ab-ri-e-ma
e-li te-me-en-ni-ša la-bi-ri
u-ki-in uš-šu-ša
D. na-bi-u^{m}-ku-du-ur-ri-u-ṣu-ur

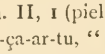
Translation.

To strengthen the ward of Esagilla,
That foe and destroyer
To Babylon might not come nigh;
(What no former king had done;)
In the environs of Babylon a mighty rampart,
At the ford of the sunrising, I threw around Babylon.
The moat thereof I dug, and
The bank thereof with gypsum and kiln-brick
I reared high as the wooded hills.
On the flanks of Babylon, with a heaping of much earth,
I heaped it up:
A strong flood of many waters,
Like the volume of the sea, I carried round it:
With abundant waters I girded it about.
That the soul of the people might accept Babylon for a dwelling-place,
In the capital of Shinar and Accad
I added a reservoir (?)
Ezida, "The Enduring House," in Borsippa
Anew I made. The cedars of its roof
With shining gold I overlaid:
With gold, silver, stones of price,
Bronze, palm-wood, cedar,

I adorned the structure thereof: Nebo and Nanaea
With revels and rejoicings
In the dwelling of gladness of heart therein I installed.
Of one day, a fine bullock, a fatling, a bullock full-grown,
The sixteen sumptuous courses,
The portion of the gods of Borsippa,
Food of fish, fowl, flesh (?),
Vegetables, tokens of abundance,
Mead, spiced wine, date wine,
Heady liquor of the hills, pure wine,
Honey, curd, milk, the first of oil,
In the shrine of Nebo and Nanaea, my lords,
Above the former amount I made plenteous.
On the eighth day the high sacrifice of Nergal
And Laz, the gods of Eshidlam and Cutha, I instituted.
The oblation of the great gods I set apart, and
To the old sacrifice a sacrifice I added.
The House of Day, at Sepharvaim, for the sun-god and the moon-god,
My lords, anew I made.
The House of Day at Ellasar, for the sun-god and the moon-god,
My lords, anew I made.
The house Kisnugal at Ur for Sin, the lord,
The darling of my majesty, anew I made.
The house Ibilanu, at Nipur, for Anu,
My lord, anew I made.
The house of Fixed Abode, at Baz, for Enzarbi,
My lord, anew I made.
The splendid badges,
The binding talismans (?)
Of Ishtar of Erech, the lady of Erech illustrious,
I restored to their place.
To Erech its shedu,
To Eanna its holy lamassu, *I restored.*
The old temennu *of Eanna*
I saw, inspected, and
Over its old temennu
I laid its foundation.
Nebuchadrezzar,

NOTES TO COLUMN II.

1. *maççartu* = *mançartu, from R. *naçâru*, "to protect." Stand. Inscr. VI, 53. *dunnunu:* infin. II, 1 (piel) of *danânu*, "to be strong." 5 R. 13, 14 obv. a. b. EN-NU-UN = ma-ça-ar-tu, "watch," "ward," *e.g.*, *mûši*, "of the night," *êkalli*, "of a palace," *bâbi êkalli*, "of the gate of a palace," *bîti*, "of a house," *êqli*, "of a field," *kirî*, "of a garden," etc.

2. *šaggišu* = *šâqišu:* ptcp. I, 1 of *šaqâšu*, "to slay," "destroy." Tigl. I, 11. *agiš limni*, "slayer of the foe." 5 R. 17, 2, 37 :  = ša-ka-šu^{m}.

3. *la sanaga*^{m} : infin. depending on *aššu*^{m}. For *sanâqu*, see note on Stand. Inscr. VI, 40.

5. *kamâti* : see Flood III, 7. BADA DALUM = *dûru dannu.*

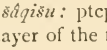
6. *balar:* see *balri:* Stand. Inscr. V, 35.

7. *ḫîrîsu* = ḫîrît + šu.

10. SAĜAR MEŠ = *êpiri*, plur. of *êpru* ; Stand. Inscr. VI, 49.

12. *mili:* Stand. Inscr. VII, 51, *milu*^{m}. *kašša*^{m} : *kaššu* = *kašušu*, "strong"; *cf. kissûtu*, "strength," Tigl. I, 25 ; and 2 R. 31, No. 3, 59, 66.

14. *appariam* : see I, 19.

15. *šâṭa:* see I, 12. For *lânu*, see 5 R. 11, 50 b. ID-MAR |  | la-a-nu. The ideogram is to be read IN-GAR ; 2 R. 42, No. 4, 56 *sq.* rev. That *lânu* is also syn. with *abâru*, "to be strong," "enduring," "to last," "abide" (Stand. Inscr. X, 4), is shewn, *ibid.*, 55.

16. *maḫaz* MADA = *âl irçiti*^{m} of the Standard Inscription.

17. *šumšu:* see 5 R. 22, 53 *sqq.* Rev. col. II.

A-A	A	a-a-u

mu-u
še
ma-'
šum-šu

mû means "water," and *ma'* probably "watercourse." With *še*, *cf.* Arab. سعى, "to go," "run."

19. *çululîšu:* with *çu.* Stand. Inscr. always *zu.*

21. Assyr. *ina ḫuraçi kaspi abni nisiqti*^{m}.

22. *miskanna:* elsewhere *mismakanna*

23. *šikin:* construct of *šiknu: cf. šiknatu* in *ušapû šiknat napišti*, "they created things of life." (Creation Fragment.) R. *šakânu*, "to make," "set up," etc. But *cf.* 5 R. 32, 1 obv. 24, b. c. *qadû šikani* = *šiknu ša nâri*, "the bed of a river."

25. *tûb* = *ṭub.* See note on I, 10.

27. *pasillu*^{m} : Is this a metathesis of סִפֶּל, Judg. v, 25 ; vi, 38? Or must we rather compare the root פָּסַל, "to carve"? In either case the term seems to mean "dish:" compare the parallel line I, 17 : *ḫiza zuluḫê damgûti*^{m}. As to *bitrûti*^{m}, it is plur. of *bitrû*, which might be compared with בָּרִיא, "fat," "rich," of food (Hab. i, 16) and with בָּרָה, "to eat," בְּרוֹת, "food." But from 5 R. 20, 2, 39: NAM-EN-AK-A = bit-ru-u, the conclusion seems to be that *bitrû* is a verbal adj. from *birû*, "to see," "look at," and means spectabilis, insignis.

29. *isiḫ:* construct of *isḫu; cf.* יְשַׁח "food" (?), Mic. vi, 14; or perhaps Arab. وَشَخ "basket."

31. *sirâru*^{m}: *cf.* III, 15, *tibiq sirari*^{m}, "a pouring out or libation of *sirari*^{m}." Arab. سِرَار "a cause of delight," "pleasant object"; from سرّ, "to please."

33. *ûlu: cf* Arab. اوّل, اولى, primus; and the parallel expression I, 20, *dumuq šamni*^{m}. The Heb. root אול also means "to be in front," "foremost."

35. *udaḫḫid:* aor. II, 1 of *daḫâdu*, syn. of *naḫašu*, "to be full," "abound;" *cf.* Targumic דַּחֵד "to gladden."

36. *lulu:* In the Stand. Inscr. *lulê* occurs often, in the sense of "fulness," "abundance." Is the meaning here "the plenty of the feast (or sacrifice)"? See next note. Perhaps *lulu* is the name of the month (=*ululu*, Elul).

ginû: cf. Syr. ܓܢܘ *ad cænam accubuit;* ܓܢܐ *stratus in triclinio.* Thus *ginû* might mean "feast," "banquet." But line 39 seems to require the meaning "sacrifice"; see I, 15, and compare Syr. ܓܢܐ *delubrum, sacellum, templum, idolum,* and *sacrificium* (Lib. Adam). See Payne Smith's *Thesaur. Syr.* The meaning "garden," which elsewhere belongs to *ginû*, does not suit here. *Cf.* also 5 R 38, obv. 1, 14, GI-NA—gi-nu-u.

ne-uru-gal: see Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*, Schrifttafel, 242.

In 5 R 46, 19, *c. d.* we read: A-RI-A | D. LU-GAL GU-DU-A-KI.

37. Eshidlam was the chief temple of Nergal at Cutha.

38. *ušparziḫ:* a quadriliteral, like Heb. פרשז, Job. xxvi, 9. *Cf.* Arab. فرز "to set apart" or "aside."

40. UD-KIP-NUN-KI: see 5 R 23, 1, 29, rev. ZI-IM-BIR | UD-KIP-NUN-KI | si-ip-(par).

aa: the moon god; *cf.* Egyptian āāḫ, the moon. *Larsa*^{m}: 5 R. 41, 10 *h.* la-ar-su.

48. *Enzarbi:* 5 R 46, 18 *c. d.*, D. zar-bu-u—D. en-zar-bi (?) "Lord of Silver" (*çarpu*).

51. *billudê:* a Sumerian loan-word. S^{b} 215: *billudu* 𒁀𒇻𒌦 *billudû.*

UNUK: 5 R. 23, 1, 8 obv. Assyr. u-ru-uk, 5 R. 41, 15 *h.*

kutmû: perhaps adj. from *kamû*, "to bind."

54. *šêdu:* usually compared with שֵׁד, while *lamassu* is of Sumerian origin. The two terms denote the bull-colossi of doorways, and the good genii represented by them. In *Shabbath* 63 *b.*, l. 1, it is said that למס means a dog "in Greek."

56. *temennu:* a Sumerian loan-word. S^{b} 311: tim-me-en-na 𒁀𒈬𒂍𒀭 te-me-en-nu. The term seems to denote the memorial cylinders buried under the foundations of temples and palaces (1 R. 69, 41 *sqq. b;* Tigl. VIII, 43, and Lotz's note), and then the foundations themselves (iii, 35; Sarg. Cyl. 65).

57. *aḫît:* aor. II, 1 of *ḫâṭu*, "to see": 2 R. 36, 9 *a. b.*; Tigl. I, 7.

abrê: aor. I, 1 of *bêrû;* see Stand. Inscr. III, 63. R. ברע.

COLUMN III.

Transcription.

iš-ša-ak-ku zi-i-ri
za-ni-in ma-ḫa-az DIMMER-GAL-GAL a-na-ku
a-na E-SAG-ILLA u E-ZI-DA
ka-ak-da-a ka-a-a-na-ak
pi (?) aš-ra-at D. na-bi-u^{m} u D. mar-duk bi-e-li-e-a
aš-te-ni-'i-a ka-a-a-na^{m}
i-si-na-a-ti(?)-šu-nu da-am-ga-a-ti^{m}
a-ki-su-nu ṣa-bi-ti^{m}
in GU-IL-E GU-IL-E pa-ak-lu-ti
GU-ŠU-UL GU-ŠU-UL
zu-lu-ḫi-e da-am-ma-ti^{m}
IM-MI-IR-MI-IR gu-uk-ka-al-la^{m}
u-šu-um-mu bi-e-la-a nu-u-nu^{m} iç-çu-ru-u^{m}
si-ma-at ap-pa-ri-i^{m}
ti-bi-iq si-ra-ru^{m} la ne-bi ma-mi-iš ka-ra-na^{m}
ša-at-ti-ša-a^{m} in nuḫ-ši u ḫe-gal-e
in ma-ḫa-ri-šu-nu e-te-it-ti-iq
ni-ši^{m} ra-ap-ša-a-ti ša D. mar-duk bi-e-la
u-ma-al-lu-u ga-tu-u-a
a-na ba-bi-la^{m} *ki* u-ka-an-ni-iš
bi-la-at MA-DA MA-DA bi-ši-it sa-tu-u^{m}
ḫi-sab ta-aš-a-ti^{m} ki-er-ba-šu am-ḫu-ur
a-na çi-il-li-šu da-ri-i
ku-ul-la-at ni-ši^{m} ṭa-bi-iš u-pa-aḫ-ḫi-ir
ur-ri-e še-i^{m} DA-LUM-ti^{m}
la ne-bi aš-ta-pa-ak-šu
i-nu-šu E-GAL mu-ša-ab šar-ru-ti-ia
ma-ar-ka-aš ni-ši^{m} ra-bi-a-ti^{m}
šu-ba-at ri-ša-a-ti u ḫi-da-a-ti^{m}
a-šar ka-ad-ru-ti^{m} uk-ta-an-na-šu
i-na ba-bi-la^{m} *ki* e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš
in ki-gal-la^{m} ri-eš-ti-i
in i-ra-at er-zi-ti^{m} ra-pa-aš-ti^{m}
in ÊŠIR-Ê-A u ŠIB-AL-UR-RA
u-ša-ar-ši-id te-me-en-ša
e-ri-ni^{m} DA-LUM-ti^{m} ul-tu la-ab-na-ni^{m} ki-iš-ti^{m}

e-el-li-ti^{m} a-na zu-lu-li-ša lu u-bi-la^{m}
BADA DA-LUM
in ÊŠIR-Ê-A u ŠIB-AL-UR-RA
u-ša-aš-ḫi-ir-šu
pa-ra-as šar-ru-ti šu-lu-uḫ be-lu-ti^{m}
i-na li-ib-bi-ša u-ša-pa-a^{m}
aš-ši ga-ta u-sa-al-la-a EN-EN-EN
a-na D. mar-duk ri-mi-ni-i il-li-ku su-bu-u-a
EN MA-DA MA-DA D. AMAR-UTU
ši-mi çi-it bi-ia
bît e-pu-šu la-la-ša lu-uš-bi-a^{m}
i-na ba-bi-la^{m} *ki* in ki-er-bi-šu
ši-bu-tu lu-uk-šu-ud
lu-uš-ba-a li-it-tu-ti
ša LUGAL LUGAL ki-ib-ra-a-ti^{m}
ša ka-la te-ne-še-e-ti
bi-la-su-nu
ka-bi-it-ti
lu-um-ḫu-ur
ki-ri-ib-ša
li-bu-u-a
i-na ki-er-bi-ša
a-na DA-ER-a-ti^{m}
çal-ma-at ga-ga-da^{m} li-bi-e-lu

Translation.

The pontiff supreme,
The sustainer of the town of the great gods am I.
To Esagilla and Ezida
In chief was I true;
The oracle of the places of Nebo and Merodach, my lords,
I seek unto faithfully.
Their holy festivals,
Their great banquet,
With fine large bullocks,
Bullocks full-grown,
Pure dishes,
A savour of victims (?),
Flesh (?), vegetables, fish, fowl,
Tokens of abundance,

An outpouring of fragrant wine, measureless, like water, wine,
Year by year in abundance and plenty
Before them I present.
The wide-spread peoples with whom Merodach, the lord,
Filled my hand,
To Babylon I subjected.
The tribute of the countries, the produce of the hills,
The fulness of seas, therein I received.
Unto its eternal shelter (lit. shadow)
The whole of the people I joyfully gathered.
Great stores of corn,
Measureless, I heaped it up.
At that time, the palace, the seat of my sovereignty
The meeting-place of many peoples,
The home of revels and rejoicings,
The place where tribute-bearers assemble,
In Babylon anew I made.
In hollow vast,
In the bosom of broad Earth,
In gypsum and kiln-brick
I made fast its foundation.
Huge cedars from Lebanon, the forest
Noble, for the roofing of it I brought.
A might rampart
In gypsum and kiln-brick
I threw around it.
A reserve of royalty, a stronghold of lordship,
In the heart of it I created.
I lifted up hands, I besought the lord of lords,
To Merodach the merciful went my prayers:
"*Lord of the lands, O Merodach,*
Hear the utterance of my mouth!
The house I have made—with the fulness thereof may I be satisfied!
In Babylon within it
Hoar age may I attain unto!
May I be satisfied with children!
Of the kings of the regions
Of all mankind
Their tribute

Heavy
May I receive
Therein!
My posterity
In the midst thereof
Hereafter
The dark-headed race may they rule!"

Notes to Column III.

4. *kakdâ:* contraction of *kakkadû* (qaqqada): see note, Stand. Inscr. III, 20. *ka'ânak:* perf. I, 1 of *kânu*=כון.

5. *pi:* lit. "mouth": *cf.* פי Ex. xvii, 1; Is. xxx, 2. The character (𒁹𒉿𒁹) is queried as doubtful in I R. The Standard Inscr. I, 28 has simply *ašrât ili aštênê.*

7. *isinâti:* plur. of *isînu*, Stand. Inscr. IV, 2.

8. *akisunu*=*akît*+*šûnu.* Stand. Inscr. IV, 7: "The House of the Offerings of the high feast of the lord of the gods."

9. *paklu:* 2 R 31, No. 3, 29=*ešqu*, and syn. of *dannu.*

11. *dammâti*^{m}*:* a scribe's error for *damgûti*^{m}*:* see I, 17.

12. IM-MIRMIR *gukkalla*^{m}. Both IM and MIRMIR denote "wind." 5 R. 11,

44 *sqq.* b. ME-IR	MIR		uz-zu
ME-IR	IM		ša-a-ru^{m}
ME-IR ME-IR	IM-MIR-RA		me-ḫu-u.

The scent or savour, the κνῖσα, or ריח ניחח of the offerings, may therefore be intended. Possibly, however, the second *mir* is a clerical error, and the term originally meant was *immeru*, "lamb."

gukkallu is a loan-word: S^{b} 1, 12 Rev. gu-uk-kal=gu-uk-kal-lu^{m}. The term seems to denote a sacrificial animal, probably a sheep, as the ideograph comprises the sign 𒄷𒈾𒀀, and the preceding term is im-me-ru, "lamb."

15. *mâmîš:* adv. from *mâmî*=*mê*, as *šamâmi*=*šamê.* I, 26, *kîma mê*=*mâmîš.*

siraru^{m}: There was a town called Si-ra-ra; 5 R. 23, 31, 1, rev. (another name of Erech; *ibid.*, obv. 7).

17. *êtettiq:* pres. 1, 2 of *êtêqu*, עתק. In Tigl. III, 47, etc. *etetiq* is intrans., "I advanced."

18. *bêla:* genitive in *a*, like *sanaga*^{m}, ii, 3.

19. For the phrase, see Ex. xxviii, 41; 1 Chron. xxix, 5.

21. *bîšit satu*^{m}=*bîšiti šadu*^{m}, Stand. Inscr. II, 34. This comparison proves that *satu* in this inscription is only a mode of writing *šâdû*^{m}, "mountains." (I, 21.)

22. *ḫisab* ta-aš-a-ti^{m}: *aš* is an error of transcription for *ma:* as we see from the parallel passage, Stand. Inscr. II, 35, *hisbi* ta-ma-a-ti^{m}.

23. *dârû:* (=*dâ'iru*), ptcp. I, 1 of dâru דור.

25. *urru:* "heap." *cf.* Heb. הר, construct plur. הררי, "mountains." See 5 R. 40. No. 3, 27 *sqq.* ša-ad ur-ri; še-bu-u; ni-me-lu; e-mu-qu; as synonyms.

27. *ûmu:* "time." Stand. Inscr. I, 40.

28. *markaš=markas:* Stand. Inscr. VII, 37. In Tigl. VI, 12, we even find *rašpu=raçpu.* For the root, see Exod. xxviii, 28.

30. *kadrûti*^{m}*:* at first I took this as plur. of *qadru = qâdiru;* Arab. قادر. Mr. Pinches informs me that the term occurs with the sense given it above.

uktannašu: pres. II, 2 of *kanašû* = Heb. and Aram. כנס.

32. See Stand. Inscr. VIII, 60. *Rêstû* is explained by Schrader *hervorragend, erhaben, erlaucht.* But the term probably answers to Heb. רֵאשִׁית, a noun denoting "the first of its kind" in various senses, *e.g.* "firstling," "first-born," Gen. xlix, 3; Lev. ii, 12; Prov. viii, 22; and "the choicest and best" of anything, 1 Sam. xv, 21; Amos vi, 6. In Stand. Inscr. V, 21 *abilšu rêstâ* may therefore be rendered "his first-born son." And *rešti šamê u irçiti*^{m}, a title of Ishtar, may be compared with the use of *rêshîth* in Prov. viii, 22 (see 2 R. 66, 1; 4 R. 22, 29—30 *b*, where Merodach is called DÛ-SAG-AB-ZU-(A)-KID = mâr rêštû ša apsî, "first-born son of the abyss"). See also 5 R. 38, obv. 2, 16: SAG =ri-iš-tu.

41 *paras* or *paraç* (*?*) construct of *parsu* or *parçu* (?) A *haram* or "sanctum," a *separate* abode, seems to be meant; *cf.* Heb. פרשׁ trennen, absondern, unterscheiden; whence פָּרוּשׁ "Pharisee."

šuluḫ: construct of *šulḫu*, which is connected with *šalḫu*, "wall." (*Cf.* Ar. سلخ "hide," "skin").

43. *gata*, i.e., *qâtâ*, dual of *qâtû*, "hand."

44. *Cf.* Ps. xviii, 6.

53 *bilasunu=bilatsunu*, Stand. Inscr. X, 11.

54. *kabitti: kabtu*, "heavy," f. *kabittu. Kabtu* is related to Heb. *kâbêd*, as *abâtu* ("to perish") is to Heb. *'âbâd.*

59. DA-ER-a-ti^{m}: 5 R. 21, 15, 1 obv. DA-ER=ar-ka-tu. The phrase in the text is, therefore, *ana arkâti*^{m}, "hereafter," "for the future;" and Stand. Inscr. X, 18 is to be read and rendered in the same way.

60. "The dark-headed race," *i.e.*, mankind in general: see Stand. Inscr. *ad fin.*

lîbêlu: precative, from *bâlu*=בעל; aor. *ibêl, ibîl.*

The "Peoples of the Sea" of Merenptah.

February 2, 1888.

Dear Sir,

The very valuable notes on "The Peoples of the Sea," by M. Max Müller, in last month's *Proceedings*, have reference chiefly to the practice of circumcision amongst the neighbours of the Egyptian people, and incidentally refer to the observance of it amongst themselves.

Thinking that I may be able to throw some light upon the probable cause of the African origin of the practice, which may be interesting from an Egyptological and anthropological point of view, I forward the following note :—

When in South Africa, I noticed the prevalence of a disease known as "Hæmaturea," which is peculiar to the colonies there and to Egypt at the present day. It is also at the Cape confined to the male colonists there, and is found to be produced by a parasite *Bilharzia Hæmatobia*, which takes up its abode in the urinary tract. It is a disease almost only induced in youths who bathe in the African rivers, and Dr. Allen, of Pietermaritzburg, has in a convincing memorandum on the subject recently shown that the surest and best protection from the parasite is the practice of circumcision. He adds, "It is very probable that in ancient Egypt the presence of this little fluke in the Nile water suggested the adoption of the operation." M. Max Müller's view that only African tribes, namely those exposed to the same danger, are shown on the monuments to have practised the rite, confirms this. To-day in parts of Africa where this fluke is found, circumcision is practised by the Basutos and other tribes, and it would be interesting to know if the fluke is to be detected in Palestinian rivers.

Yours faithfully,

J. Offord, jun.

W. H. Rylands, Esq., F.S.A.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 6th March, 1888, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

Prof. E. Amélineau : "Le Manuscrit Copte No. 1 de la Bibliothèque de Lord Zouche."

Prof. E. and Dr. V. Révillout : "Textes Égyptiens et Chaldéens relatifs à l'intercession des vivants en faveur des morts."

ERRATUM.

Proceedings, 10*th January*, 1888.

Page 145, line 4, *for* ה, *read* הָ.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.

Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.

Brugsch-Bey, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).

——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)

Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.

——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.

——————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.

——————————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.

Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.

Lepsius, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.

De Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.

Wright, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.

Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.

Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.

Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.

Rawlinson, Canon, 6th Ancient Monarchy.

Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.

Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)

Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862–1873.

——— Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.

———Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.

E. Gayet, Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.

Ledrain, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Français au Caire.

Sarzec, Découvertes en Chaldée.

Lefèbure, Les Hypogées Royaux de Thebes.

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Guimet, Annales du Musée Gumiet. Mémoires d'Égyptologie.

Lefèbure, Le Mythe Osirien. 2nd partie. "Osiris."

Lepsius, Les Métaux dans les Inscriptions Égyptiennes, avec notes par W. Berend.

D. G. Lyon, An Assyrian Manual.

A. Amiaud and L. Mechineau, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.

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——— ——— ——— Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. Par Paul Pierret. Paris. 1875.

——— ———. ——— Études sur le Papyrus Prisse. Le livre Kaqimna et les Leçons de Ptah-Hotep. Par Philippe Virey, &c. Paris. 1887.

Bibliothèque des Hautes Études. Soixante-Dixième Fascicule.

From Miss H. M. Adair :—Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie Phénicie et Palestine, &c., au XIV^{ème} siècle avant notre ère. Par F. Chabas, avec la collaboration de Ch. Wicliffe Goodwin, Esq., M.A. 4to. Chalon et Paris. 1866.

From the Author :—J. N. Strassmaier, S.J. Babylonische Texte Inschriften von Nabonidus. By Dr. C. Bezold.

From the Author:—Eine Bemerkung zur Antares Literatur. Par Dr. C. Bezold.

From Dr. C. Bezold:—Die Altbabylonischen Gräber in Singhul und El Hibba. Par Robert Koldeway.

From the Author:—Note sur la Grande Inscription Néo-Punique et sur une autre Inscription d'Altiburos. Par M. Philippe Berger. 8vo. Paris. 1887.

Extrait du Journal Asiatique.

From the Author:—Mémoire sur deux Nouvelles Inscriptions Phéniciennes de l'île de Chypre. Par M. Philippe Berger. 4to. Paris. 1887.

Extrait des Comptes Rendus de l'Accad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres. Séances 1er et 6Avril, 1887.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on May 1st, 1888:—

Mrs. W. D. Paine, Cockshot Hill, Reigate.

Rev. C. M. Cobern, M.A., Ph.D., Cass Avenue, M.E. Church, Detroit, Mich., U.S.A.

The following was submitted for election and elected a Member, having been nominated on February 7th, 1888:—

Rev. R. H. A. Bradley, M.A., 1a, Russell Square, W.C.

A Paper by Prof. E. Amélineau, entitled "Le Manuscrit Copte No. 1 de la Bibliothèque de Lord Zouche," was read by the Secretary.

Remarks were added by Rev. J. Marshall, Mr. J. Offord, Mr. T. Christy, and the President.

A Paper by Prof. E. et Dr. V. Revillout, entitled, "Textes Égyptiens et Chaldéens relatifs à l'intercession des vivants en faveur des morts," was read by the Secretary, which will be issued in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Dr. S. Louis, Mr. J. Pollard, and the President.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

LE MANUSCRIT COPTE NO. 1 DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LORD ZOUCHE.

By Professor E. Amélineau.

Un certain nombre de bibliothèques privées en Angleterre renferment de précieux manuscrits que leurs possesseurs mettent avec la plus grande complaisance à la disposition des spécialistes dont les études sont intéressées par les antiques œuvres de civilisations disparues et d'un passé presque éteint. Plusieurs fois déjà j'ai éprouvé les effets de cette complaisance : toutes les fois que mes études l'ont exigé ou simplement occasionné, le noble Comte de Crawford and Balcarres a bien voulu m'envoyer ses plus précieux manuscrits coptes. Tout récemment Lord Zouche a fait déposer à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris certains manuscrits de même langue, afin que je pusse m'en servir pour étudier le texte du Nouveau Testament dans sa double version Copte, Memphitique et Thébaine, et établir ce texte selon les progrès et les exigences de la critique et de la science modernes. C'est sur l'un de ces manuscrits que je voudrais attirer aujourd'hui l'attention du monde savant, plus spécialement l'attention des savants, des théologiens et des historiens qui s'occupent de suivre à travers les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne le développement des dogmes du christianisme et qui recherchent avec avidité tous les débris échappés à la ruine et au temps. Mais auparavant, qu'il me soit permis de remercier publiquement ici, puisque j'en trouve l'occasion la haute intelligence des nobles Lords qui j'ai nommés : le plus noble emploi que l'on puisse faire de ses richesses littéraires, c'est de les faire connaître et de les mettre en circulation.

Le manuscrit de Lord Zouche sur lequel je veux appeler une particulière attention n'est pas complètement inconnu. Tout d'abord il en est naturellement fait mention dans le catalogue imprimé de la bibliothèque de feu Mr. R. Curzon, à Parham,* et depuis Mr. Wright † et Mgr. Lightfoot,‡ évêque de Durham, ont eū l'occasion

* Le MSS. parte le no. 102 dans le cat. imprimé et le no. 1 des MSS. Coptes sur vellum.

† Cf. *Journal of Sacred Literature*, VII.

‡ Dans : *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* de Mr. Scrivener, p. 82.

d'en parler. Je viens de le copier entièrement et de l'étudier, et je me crois maintenant à même d'en parler en toute connaissance de cause. Cette étude m'a pris beaucoup de temps et causé une assez grande fatigue ; mais je suis complétement de l'avis de Mgr. Lightfoot, mon temps et ma peine ont été amplement récompensés par les résultats de l'étude.*

L'origine et l'histoire du dit manuscrit sont consignées sur une feuille de papier que l'on a avec beaucoup de raison laissée dans le manuscrit même : je ne saurais mieux faire que de transcrire ici ces indications dont la plupart ont d'ailleurs pris place dans le catalogue imprimé de la bibliothèque de Parham. Voici cette note :† "Mr. R. Curzon brought this volume from the Coptic Monastery of Souriani on the Natron Lakes, to the west of the village of Teranneh on the Nile, in the month of March, 1838. It consists of 254 leaves of vellum, which contain two indexes, and the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, with the Commentaries of St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, Eusebius, Gregory the Patriarch, etc. The leaves are not in their proper places ; they have been put together just as they came over, to prevent their being lost. The name of the scribe who wrote this MS. is Zapita Leporos, a monk of the monastery of Laura, under the rule of the Abbot Macarius. Macarius of Alexandria, abbot of the monks of Nitria, died according to the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, either in the year 395 or 405 ; it would therefore appear that this manuscript must have been written before the end of the fourth century, in which case it is the most ancient book in existence with a date. Several of the Syriac MSS. which were brought to England from the same monastery in which this was discovered, are supposed to be of equal antiquity ; the earliest of those which have any date given in them is a quarto of Eusebius which was written in the year 411 : it is now in the British Museum. It seems however that this manuscript is even made more ancient, as it was probably written about the year 390."

Cette note, précieuse à beaucoup d'égards, contient un certain nombre d'inexactitudes, comme il est évident à ceux qui se sont occupés d'histoire ecclésiastique. Si le manuscrit eût été écrit vers l'année 390 de notre ère, il serait assez difficile d'expliquer comment il peut contenir certains passages des œuvres de St. Jean

* This magnificent MS. would well repay careful inspection. *Ibid.*, p. 382.

† Je respecte l'orthographe et la ponctuation de l'original.

Chrysostome, qui ne fut connu en Égypte qu'après avoir été nommé archevêque de Constantinople,* c'est-à-dire après cette date. En outre, comme l'a déjà remarqué Mr. Wright, le nom du patriarche Sévère, postérieur au concile de Chalcédoine (451) est un obstacle insurmontable qui se dresse devant la précédente conclusion.† Mr. Wright a pensé qu'il ne s'agissait pas ici du grand Macaire; mais Mgr. Lightfoot a fait observer avec raison, qu'il s'agissait bien du grand Macaire de Scété, et que rien n'indiquait qu'il fut alors vivant.‡ Je dois faire observer à ce propos que le Macaire dont il s'agit ici n'est pas Macaire d'Alexandrie qui ne fut jamais hégoumène des monastères de Nitrie et de Scété, mais le grand Macaire lui-même surnommé l'Égyptien. Il y eut en effet à la même époque et dans le même désert deux Macaires qui obtinrent une célébrité presque égale en Égypte: l'un était un ancien mime d'Alexandrie qui se fit moine et pratiqua des pénitences extraordinaires, c'est celui qui est appelé Macaire le jeune, Macaire le petit ou plus communément Macaire d'Alexandrie; l'autre était né dans un petit village de l'Égypte, avait été marié contre son gré, avait laissé sa femme, s'était retiré près d'un village de la Haute Égypte où il fut l'objet d'un supplice barbare autant qu'immérité: il s'était alors rendu à Nitrie, avait fait par deux fois le voyage de la mer Rouge pour s'instruire près du grand Antoine, et s'était définitivement fixé dans le désert de Scété, près de la montagne de Pernoudj, où il devint peu à peu le chef de tous les moines qui pullulaient déjà en cette contrée: c'est Macaire l'Ancien, Macaire le Grand ou Macaire l'Égyptien.§ C'est celui dont il est question dans la note que le scribe a écrite à la fin de l'Evangile

* Le MSS. lui-même en fournit la preuve, car il appelle St. Jean Chrysostome, archevêque de Constantinople.

† Ce Sévère est un patriarche d'Antioche qui dut se réfugier en Égypte après avoir été chassé de son siège pour eutychianisme. Il jouit d'une grande popularité en Égypte.

‡ *Cf.* Scrivener: op. cit. p. 382, note 1.

§ La distinction est déjà faite par l'auteur de l'*Historia Monachorum* attribuée à Rufin et par Palladius dans l'Histoire Lausiaque. *Cf.* E. Amélineau: *De Historia Lausiaca*, p. 12, *et seqq.* Les vies de ces deux Macaires ont été conservées en Copte. Je les ai copiées et traduites et les publierai dès que je le pourrai. Elles formeront avec les ouvrages qui se rapportent à Nitrie les III^e^ et IV^e^ volumes de mes *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne*, dont le premier vient de paraître.

selon St. Matthieu. Ce scribe, comme l'a déjà fait observer Mgr. Lightfoot, ne s'appelait point *Sapita Leporos;* mais bien "Théodore (ou Théodose) de Busiris, moine indigne de la laure sainte du grand abbé Macaire." L'auteur de la note manuscrite que je discute présentement a mal lu le texte copte, de là vient son erreur; de là vient aussi l'erreur dans laquelle ont été entrainés ceux qui, après lui, se sont occupés du manuscrit. Cette erreur est grave, et il est à propos de la faire cesser.

Pour obtenir ce résultat, je dois tout d'abord citer le texte même de la subscription que le copiste a mise à la fin de l'Evangile selon St. Matthieu. Il y dit: ⲧⲡⲟ ⲓⲥ ⲧⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲁ-ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲓ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲡⲏ ⲥⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲟⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲭⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲗⲉⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲥⲁⲓ ⲑⲉⲟⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙⲙⲩⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲗⲁⲧⲣⲁ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲩⲓⲛⲓⲩⲧ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲩ-ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲉⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲥⲁ ⲡⲩⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲥⲩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲥⲉ ⲱⲟⲛⲓ ⲭⲣⲏ ⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲁⲣⲉ ⲭⲉ. Cette subscription a été traduite dans le MSS. même, peut être l'auteur de la note sur l'origine du MSS.: la ressemblance de l'écriture en est sans doute une preuve, et la feuille de papier sur laquelle cette traduction a été écrite au-dessus du texte recopié pour la circonstance a été reliée avec les feuillets du manuscrit lui-même. Voici cette traduction qui a été la source de l'erreur ayant cours maintenant parmi les rares personnes qui se sont occupées de la question, et la voici telle que dans l'original latin-français-grec: "precor (?) *μετανοία*, souvenez-vous de moi en charité, *ὅπως* mon Seigneur Jésus le Christ, il veuille avoir pitié de moi et de vous, moi Zapita Leporos qui l'écrivait....* moine de la laure sainte du grand abbé Macarius, qu'il me sauve *ex* la honte des punitions. Amen, Amen, fiat, fiat, Christ, Christ.†

* Le traducteur n'a rien mis au-dessus des mots qu'il coupe ainsi ⲑⲉⲟ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲙⲙ ⲱⲙⲙ.

† Les mots ⲭⲣⲏ ⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲓⲟ ⲁⲣⲉ ⲭⲉ sont traduits: Christ le saint ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲉ. Le sigle ⲁⲣⲉ est fait par le traducteur ⲁⲧⲉ au lieu de ⲁⲣⲉ qu'il y a dans l'original. Le traducteur n'a pas fait attention à la boucle du signe médial qui est bien un ⲣ et non un ⲧ. D'ailleurs le sigle est bien connu. Au-dessous de cette subscription il y en a une autre en arabe que

Je dois faire observer comme circonstance atténuante en faveur du traducteur que la langue du scribe est fautive plus que de raison : évidemment ce pauvre copiste ne savait plus qu'imparfaitement la langue copte et il écrivait comme il parlait. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que des savants modernes éprouvent plus de peine à traduire de semblables phrases, pleines d'incorrection, que lorsqu'il s'agit d'un texte de la bonne époque, écrit par un moine qui savait parfaitement sa langue. Quoiqu'il en soit, voici comment doit se traduire le mauvais copte du scribe : "Je fais prière : voici la repentance : faites souvenir de moi avec charité afin que mon Seigneur Jésus Christ ait pitié de moi avec vous, moi le malheureux qui ai écrit, Théodore (ou Théodose) de Pousiri, l'indigne moine de la laure sainte du grand abbé Macaire, et qu'il me sauve de la honte des tourments : amen, amen, ainsi soit-il, ainsi soit-il : ère des saints martyrs 605. Cette subscription est parfaitement claire à l'exception des premiers mots que je demande la permission d'expliquer.

Les manuscrits coptes contiennent une foule de semblables subscriptions de moines qui avaient copié ou qui avaient simplement lu un ouvrage. Ces subscriptions commencent par la formule ⲫⲧ au ⲧⲧⲥⲟ : Dieu, ou *precor* (je prie). Le scribe continuait par une autre formule : ⲓⲥ ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ou simplement ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ, que je traduis par *repentance*, faute d'un mot mieux approprié à la chose. Ce mot grec ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ est employé en copte avec des sens tout à fait différents : il signifie d'abord comme dans le grec classique : repentir ou repentance ; il est ainsi employé dans la Pistis Sophia lorsque l'æon Sophia adresse ses chants de repentance à l'Esprit Saint dont la lumière l'a ranimée sans la tirer de ses douleurs. Il est aussi employé dans le sens chrétien de *confession*, non pas de la confession sacramentelle qui ne fut jamais en usage chez les Coptes, mais de l'aveu ordinaire, sans intention sacramentelle. Enfin il est

voici : يارب ارحم عبدك الخاطي المذنب المبتماج الي رحمتك غبريال بن قلايه منيمايه يطرب المطانوه لكل من قرأ هذه الاحرف ان يدعي له بالمغفره ومن يدى بشي فله مثله ولبني المعموديه امين

ce qui doit traduire : ô Seigneur, aie pitié du pécheur, du fautif, de celui qui a besoin de ta miséricorde, Gabriel fils de la laure de Mina (?) qui se prosterne devant quiconque lira ces lettres afin que celui-ci demande pour lui le pardon et la miséricorde, et qu'à quiconque aura pour lui demandé quelque chose, le semblable soit fait et aux enfants du baptême, ainsi soit-il.

employé dans le sens de génuflexion, et du copte il est passé en arabe dans l'expression encore usitée : طرب المطانوذ, s'agenouiller. Ici, il y a quelque peu des trois sens : le moine se repent de ses péchés, il les confesse publiquement et il s'agenouille devant ses frères, c'est-à-dire ceux qui liront sa copie, et les supplie de prier pour lui. Au fond, c'est la même formule qui se trouve sur les stèles funéraires des temps pharaoniques : Vous tous qui entrez dans cette syringe et qui lisez, hommes, femmes, vieillards, prêtres, dites : Que lui soit faite offrande de milliers de bœufs, etc. Les termes ont changé, l'esprit est resté le même. Ces termes une fois expliqués, il ne reste plus aucun doute sur le sens de cette subscription, et les conséquences qui en ressortent sont des plus claires : le manuscrit dont il s'agit a été écrit par un moine nommé Théodore ou Théodose,* originaire de Pousiri, c'est-à-dire, du village nommé actuellement *Abusir*, faisant partie du couvent du grand Macaire, c'est-à-dire de l'un des couvents de la vallée des Natrons, et cela en l'an des Martyrs 605, c'est-à-dire en ajoutant à ce chiffre le nombre 284, qui désigne l'année d'où date cette ère, en l'année du notre ère 889, vers la fin du neuvième siècle.

Cette date qu'il est impossible de nier est grosse de conséquences. Je ne peux ici tirer toutes ces conséquences qui m'entraîneraient dans des développements beaucoup trop longs, exigeant une centaine de pages pour être démontrés ; mais je peux indiquer sur quel ordre de faits et d'idées roulerait ce développement. Le manuscrit est écrit en lettres onciales : à première vue il parait splendide, et il l'est en effet jusqu'à un certain point ; mais quand on l'a bien considéré et qu'on s'en est occupé plusieurs semaines de suite on est porté (je parle d'après mon expérience personnelle) à lui retirer une partie de la beauté qu'on lui avait trop vite attribuée. Malgré tout, il reste acquis qu'à la fin du neuvième siècle de notre ère les copistes coptes se servaient encore de la belle onciale que nous admirons en d'autres manuscrits. Or, et c'est ici que la comparaison devient intéressante, cette onciale est sensiblement la même que celle de certains manuscrits fort célèbres auxquels on a attribué une très-haute antiquité. Cette écriture est encore sensiblement la même dans certains manuscrits memphitiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane qui datent du dixième et du onzième siècles. En outre, ce type d'écriture se retrouve le même dans la plupart des fragments des collections de

* L'abréviation du texte n'impose pas de conclusion ; je regarde cependant le nom de Théodore comme plus probable.

parchemins Thébains déposés au musée de la Propagande à Rome, au musée San Ferdinando à Naples, et à la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris. Presque aucun de ces manuscrits n'est daté : au musée de la Propagande un seul porte une date, c'est le numèro XI. du catalogue de Zoëga, et il contient des passages du livre de Josué et du livre de Tobie, il date de l'an 519 des martyrs, c'est-à-dire, de notre ère 803. Le musée de Naples n'a aucun fragment daté. La Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris est plus riche, elle a un nombre relativement considérable de fragments datés et à ma connaissance la plus ancienne date est du septième siècle.* Dans tous ces manuscrits ayant date l'écriture est onciale : elle est aussi onciale dans le fragment de la Propagande No. LXV du catalogue de Zoëga publié par Georgi : cet auteur, en raison de l'écriture, a attribué à ce fragment une date qui le fait remonter au quatrième siècle.† C'est sur la même raison que l'auteur de la note sur le MSS. de Lord Zouche s'est fondé pour attribuer la même antiquité au MSS. qui m'occupe. Il faut en rabattre : la beauté de l'écriture et le type oncial ne sauraient être une preuve d'antiquité. Si du septième au onzième siècle l'emploi de ce beau type fut fréquent en Egypte, comme le montrent les quatre ou cinq cents manuscrits maintenant au service de la science, il serait téméraire de conclure à une plus haute antiquité pour des manuscrits de même type. Je ne pousserai pas plus loin ces considérations : je me réserve de les présenter avec toute leur force dans le volume de *Prolégomènes* qui ouvrira la publication critique des deux versions égyptiennes du Nouveau-Testament à laquelle je travaille en ce moment. Il vaut mieux ici faire connaître plus amplement notre manuscrit.

Ce que je viens de dire ne saurait en diminuer, mais en accroître l'importance : ce qu'il me reste à dire en démontrera l'inappréciable prix. Non seulement ce manuscrit est bien écrit au point de vue calligraphique ; mais encore la copie en est particulièrement soignée, les quelques fautes qui s'y sont glissées ont presque partout été corrigées, soit par le scribe lui-même, soit par ses lecteurs. Au point de vue de la grammaire copte il est d'un style très-pur et je ne doute pas que l'auteur de la compilation ne sût admirablement sa langue.

* Cette date se trouve à la fin d'un MSS. de la vie de St. Pakhôme.

† Voici le titre de la publication de Georgi : *Fragmentum Evangelii S. Johannis Greco Copto Thebaïcum sœuli IV in Veliterno Musæo Borgiano.* Romæ, 1789.

Donc pour les trop rares savants qui s'occupent de linguistique égyptienne, l'importance du manuscrit est inappréciable : elle le serait encore plus, si faire se pouvait, pour les Théologiens et les Historiens des dogmes Chrétiens. Malgré le titre du catalogue imprimé, notre manuscrit ne renferme pas seulement des commentaires sur les deux Évangiles de St. Mathieu et de St. Marc, mais sur les quatre évangiles, comme l'a parfaitement observé Mgr. Lightfoot, dont je suis heureux de constater la perspicacité et la science une fois de plus.*

L'examen de la pagination du manuscrit suffisait a lui seul pour le prouver, car cette pagination est quadruple ;† l'examen du texte des Évangiles le démontre ensuite péremptoirement. Ce texte des Évangiles n'est pas malheureusement suivi et ne peut en général servir à une étude critique de cet texte, comme l'a encore observé Mgr. Lightfoot.‡ Là n'est donc pas l'importance supérieure du manuscrit : elle se trouve dans les commentaires dont l'auteur a entouré le texte évangélique. Ces commentaires sont volumineux puisque le manuscrit compte 254 feuillets dans son état actuel, c'est-à-dire 508 pages, et devait compter environ 300 feuillets dans son état premier. Ils sont empruntés aux Pères les plus célèbres de l' Église grecque en général, à St. Athanase, à St. Cyrille, à St. Épiphane de Chypre, à St. Grégoire de Nazianze, à St. Basile de Césarée, à St. Grégoire de Nysse, à St. Jean Chrysostome, à Clément d'Alexandrie, à Eusèbe l'historien, à Tite de Bosra, à Siméon le Stylite (sans doute le saint si connu) et surtout au patriarche Sévère d'Antioche, etc. La part de chacun des auteurs est fort inégale : ceux qui sont le plus souvent mis à contribution sont St. Cyrille, St. Jean Chrysostome et le patriarche Sévère. Ce dernier personnage est peut-être celui dont les commentaires sont le plus souvent cités, et cela est d'autant plus heureux que l'on ne possède en grec aucune de ses œuvres, ou du moins que pas une seule phrase n'en a été publiée. Ce patriarche cependant joua un moment un assez grand rôle en Syrie, quand il fut patriarche d'Antioche ; il en joua un plus grand encore en Égypte

* *Cf.* Scrivener, Op. cit., p. 382.

† Quoique la pagination soit quadruple, le manuscrit était un, comme en fait foi la numération des cahiers qui composaient le MSS. et dont le dernier porte le No. 37.

‡ "But its value may not be very great for the Memphitic version, as it is perhaps translated from Greek." *Cf.* Scrivener, p. 384.

où il obtint une popularité vraiment extraordinaire, si bien qu'il s'est formé autour de sa personne toute une série de légendes que nous possédons encore en partie. Il sera donc très-curieux de connaître ce personnage par ses œuvres mêmes, quand on ne le connait guère que de nom et par un ou deux faits de sa vie.

Les œuvres de Sévère ne seront pas les seules que nous fera connaître le manuscrit de Lord Zouche: le plus grand nombre des passages des Pères grecs est inconnu. J'ai voulu en avoir le cœur net pour St. Cyrille. On ne possède de ce grand docteur de l'église alexandrine que deux commentaires complets sur St. Luc et St. Jean, et certains fragments sur St. Mathieu. Il devait avoir composé aussi un commentaire sur St. Marc: le manuscrit copte en fait foi, car il nous en a conservé plusieurs passages. Il est probable en outre que St. Cyrille avait fait sur St. Luc et St. Jean plusieurs séries d'homélies, car les passages cités par la compilation copte, et que j'ai comparés aux passages correspondants des œuvres publiées de St. Cyrille, ne concordent que dans l'ensemble de la doctrine et nullement par le détail: certaines données du texte copte et certaines explications ne se retrouvent point dans les œuvres grecques. C'est donc de ce côté encore toute une série de passages des œuvres des Pères grecs qui nous a été conservée par le manuscrit de Lord Zouche.

Mais il y a plus encore: les commentaires disparus d'Eusèbe nous sont rendus en partie; de même ceux de Tite de Bosra ou de son homonyme, s'il ne s'agit pas de l'auteur du traité contre les Manichéens; de même un fragment de Siméon le Stylite. En outre, ce qui est d'une valeur inappréciable en l'espèce, le manuscrit contient des passages empruntés à des Pères anténicéens, à Clément d'Alexandrie et à un certain Hippolyte qui est dit ordinairement évêque de Rome, et qui n'est autre que le célèbre Hippolyte de Porto dont les œuvres sont perdues. On s'est beaucoup préoccupé à Rome dans ces derniers temps de recueillir tout les fragments épars des Pères anténicéens: le manuscrit copte de Lord Zouche peut être d'une précieuse contribution à cette reconstitution d'œuvres qui sont d'autant plus intéressantes qu'elles sont plus rares et qu'elles nous permettent d'assister en quelque sorte à l'éclosion des idées religieuses qui ont fait notre civilisation et qui régissent toujours une bonne partie du monde terrestre.

On pourra voir dans nombre de fragments des Pères, cités dans cette sorte de *Commentaire évangelique*, une préoccupation presque

constante de l'un des plus difficiles problèmes de l'herméneutique sacrée. En d'autres pays on se préoccupa de bonne heure d'établir une concordance, une *Harmonie* des Évangiles : l'essai de Tatien le plus ancien, est aussi le plus célèbre, malgré qu'il soit presque inconnu. En Égypte, je ne crois pas qu'il y ait jamais eu pareille tentative, du moins il n'en est pas resté une seule trace et l'on ne trouve aucune allusion à semblable écrit ; mais les problèmes qui se sont posés de nos jours à la critique scientifique, se posaient déjà aux chrétiens d'Égypte dès le cinquième siècle, comme d'ailleurs ils s'étaient posés à Celse et à l'empereur Julien. Il est curieux d'observer que l'auteur copte qui réunit le commentaire entier et fabriqua ce que l'on devait plus tard nommer une *Catena*, se préoccupa lui aussi de ces problèmes et qu'il les résolut à sa manière, c'est-à-dire en prenant dans les œuvres des Pères les passages qui lui semblaient les plus probants selon ses idées personnelles. Je ne voudrais pas dire que les solutions proposées de ces difficiles problèmes soient les plus vraisemblables et surtout les plus scientifiques ; mais leurs idées n'étaient pas les nôtres, ils ont eu leur système et, pour le juger, l'historien doit le connaître.

Une dernière raison qui montrera le prix que l'on doit attacher au manuscrit sur lequel j'appelle l'attention, c'est qu'il est unique. Aucune bibliothèque publique en Europe n'en possède le semblable ; je crois bien que je ne me tromperais guère en disant que sans doute aucune bibliothèque privée n'en a le pareil. De même en Égypte, ni au patriarchat du Caire, ni dans les bibliothèques des couvents où j'ai eu accès, je n'ai rien trouvé qui ait pu me donner une idée d'un pareil ouvrage. J'ai été très-surpris en lisant le catalogue de la bibliothèque de Parham, encore plus en étudiant l'ouvrage. On pourrait en inférer qu'il n'eût pas grand succès et fut dû à l'initiative personnelle d'un moine de Nitrie qui composa l'ouvrage pour son usage particulier. Cette conclusion ainsi présentée serait trop rigoureuse. Que le commentaire, ou si l'on veut, la *Catena*, soit l'œuvre d'un moine, j'en suis persuadé ; qu'il n'ait pas eu de vogue, je le conteste, au moins pour ce qui regarde la vallée de Nitrie. Les passages fautifs de la copie ont été presque tous corrigés et par des mains différentes, peut-être quatre ou cinq : c'est bien une preuve que le livre était lu. En outre le volume de Lord Zouche n'est qu'une copie d'un autre volume plus ancien : il y en a une raison péremptoire. Si le scribe Théodore avait lui-même composé la *Catena* et traduit en copte les œuvres des Pères grecs, nous devrions

reconnaître en lui l'un des plus purs auteurs coptes ; mais il n'en est point ainsi puisque ce même scribe lorsqu'il écrit et compose la note qui donne la date du manuscrit commet plusieurs énormes fautes en quelque lignes. L'ouvrage est donc antérieur et avait eu assez de vogue puisqu'on le recopiait. D'ailleurs quiconque a étudié les usages des moines égyptiens, sait qu'une œuvre réputée belle dans un monastère était bientôt réputée belle dans un grand nombre. Enfin si le manuscrit copte est unique,* je crois bien qu'il a un frère, ou plutôt un petit-fils arabe, ce qui prouverait que la vogue dura assez longtemps pour qu'on ait senti le besoin de faire une traduction arabe d'un ouvrage dont on commençait de ne plus comprendre assez couramment l'idiôme originel. En effet la Bibliothéque Nationale de Paris possède un manuscrit arabe taillé sur la même patron que le manuscrit copte, ayant le même but, employant le même méthode ; et, ce qui est plus important, les auteurs cités sont les mêmes. Il est vrai qu'il ne s'agit que de l'évangile selon St. Jean et que sur le recto du premier feuillet se trouve une prière en *karschouni ;* mais dans le manuscrit copte aussi chaque évangile forme un tout à part, et la présence d'une prière en *karschouni* pourrait bien indiquer seulement que le manuscrit copié en Égypte fut porté en Syrie, à moins que l'on ne préfère dire, ce qui serait beaucoup plus en faveur de ma thèse et sans doute plus conforme à la réalité, qu'une prière en *karschouni* écrite sur un feuillet de manuscrit arabe ne doit pas étonner dans un monastère où se trouvaient des Syriens, et l'on ne doit pas oublier que le manuscrit copte provient lui-même du monastère des Syriens, que l'on y cultivait le Syriaque, puisque ce monastère a tant fourni de MSS. syriaques aux bibliothéques européennes, et l'on ne saurait trouver surprenant qu'un jour un moine syrien y ait écrit une prière syriaque en caractères arabes. D'ailleurs il y a un moyen bien simple de résoudre le question si elle intéresse quelqu'un, c'est de comparer les deux manuscrits.

Pour me résumer et finir, je dois dire qu'à tous les points de vue, linguistique, théologique, scripturaire et historique, le manuscrit de Lord Zouche est d'une grande valeur, et en étendant la parole de Mgr. Lightfoot, que celui qui en ferait la publication raisonnée

* Depuis que j'ai écrit ces considérations, j'ai retrouvé parmi les parchemins de la Bibliothèque Nationale un fragment d'un manuscrit semblable, en thébain.

† Catal. des MSS. Arabes de la Bibl. Nat., p. 12, No. 99.

ne perdrait pas son temps et rendrait service aux études scientifiques et religieuses. Il appartient sans doute à l'Angleterre et aux savants anglais de s'intéresser à cette publication : le clergé anglais s'occupe, plus que tout autre, des questions religieuses et des publications qui ont trait aux premiers siècles de l'Église chrétienne. Je souhaite ardemment qu'il vienne à l'idée de quelqu'un de provoquer une semblable publication, j'y contribuerais volontiers pour ma modeste part ou m'en chargerais entièrement. Sans doute les documents théologiques ou scripturaires que contient le manuscrit ne changeront pas la face de l'histoire, ils n'apporteront aucune nouvelle preuve du génie des Pères grecs, ils ressemblent à toutes les autres œuvres connues ; mais je le répète, ils seront utiles en plusieurs points et de plusieurs manières. Et puis, il est toujours bon pour les générations contemporaines de recueillir pieusement les œuvres des temps passés, surtout quand ces œuvres ont exercé une telle influence sur notre monde, notre civilisation et nos idées.

J'ose donc espérer que ces quelques lignes trouveront un écho, que des personnes aux quelles la Fortune, déesse des plus capricieuses dès les anciens temps, n'a pas ménagé ses dons s'intéresseront à l'œuvre et qu'un si précieux manuscrit pourra devenir l'objet des études de tous ceux qui ont à cœur d'étudier les commencements du Christianisme, ou les derniers restes de la langue la plus antique dont nous ayons les monuments.

PARIS : 7 *Février*, 1888.

PRONOMINAL FORMS IN EGYPTIAN.

BY P. LE P. RENOUF (*President*).

Read 7th February, 1888.

The resemblance between certain Egyptian personal pronouns and the corresponding ones in Hebrew and other Semitic languages has long been remarked. Gesenius when first noticing the fact argued that the Egyptians must have borrowed the pronouns which are common to the two systems. But his knowledge at that time was necessarily limited to Coptic forms, and when the older Egyptian forms were discovered he saw at once that the argument he had used * might be employed in the opposite direction. In his later writings, therefore, he simply confined himself to the statement of what he considered a very remarkable fact. Many later scholars, however, some of them of considerable name and authority, have not only asserted the original identity of the two systems of pronouns, but inferred the existence of a language from which the Egyptian and the Semitic were derived. Undeterred by the protests of Pott and Ewald and the wise cautions of Renan, some scholars still continue to give the name of sub-Semitic to a number of dialects in North Africa, and to foster the belief that "the parent of the sub-Semitic idioms was a sister of the parent Semitic speech." "While the vocabularies," according to these scholars, "are for the most part (as in old Egyptian) essentially non-Semitic, the grammars—including the pronouns and in some measure the numerals—must clearly be referred to the Semitic family."

I am not going to discuss speculations which I believe to be utterly unsound, but the analysis which I propose to give of the pronominal forms of the ancient Egyptian language will, I hope, contribute to the solution of what at first sight appears to be a very puzzling phenomenon—the apparent identity between certain Semitic and Egyptian pronouns. The phenomenon is only puzzling

* "Stimmt hier und in der zweiten Person das Koptische uberein (*anok* ich, *antu* du) welche Formen aber eher von den Semiten zu den Aegyptern gekommen seyn mögen, da sie in die Analogie der übrigen Personen und die Bildung des Pronomen eingreifen." *Ausfürl. Lehrgebäude*, 1817, p. 200.

when a narrow view is taken of it. If, instead of comparing a few Egyptian personal pronouns with their equivalents in Hebrew, Arabic, or Assyrian, the whole system of pronominal forms is looked at and studied, not only in the languages immediately concerned, but in the Indo-European and other families of speech, it will be seen upon what very insufficient grounds many scholars have hitherto founded their conclusions.

They do not seem to be aware that in languages utterly unconnected, Pronominal Forms often resemble each other, both in sound and in significance,* and that it would be nearly as reasonable to draw inferences from the resemblance between the Interjections of two languages. Interjections, as being mere exclamations expressive of feeling, are by many scholars not counted as words, properly speaking. Pronominal roots, which in their first significance merely point to an object in space, and "in their primitive form and intention are addressed to the senses rather than to the intellect,"† are only one step removed from the Interjections.‡ Professor Max Müller§ sees no reason why we should not "accept them as real survivals of a period of speech during which pantomime, gesture, pointing with the fingers to actual things, were still indispensable ingredients of all conversation." They have, however, so completely penetrated and pervaded the whole structure of language, and particularly of Semitic and Indo-European speech, that there is not a single word in any language of these families which has not once had at least one of these pronominal forms bound up with it.

The nature of these demonstratives and their extreme importance in the structure of language can best be learnt from the study of

* M. Halévy speaking of Assyriologists (*Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 474), says: "Ils semblent oublier un fait établi depuis longtemps par la linguistique, c'est que les familles de langues les plus diverses montrent souvent une grande similitude dans les pronoms. Il serait facile de retrouver dans les langues africaines, malaises, et papoues toute la série des pronoms qu'on signale dans l'accadien. Quelle est la valeur de pareilles comparaisons? Elle est absolument nulle, et s'évanouit au moindre examen." In reply to this, M. Lenormant (*Langue Primitive de la Chaldée*, p. 165) never dreams of denying the force of the argument if it were applicable to the case in point, but maintains that M. Halévy has misunderstood what is really asserted by Assyriologists.

† Max Müller, *Science of Thought*, p. 221.

‡ Ewald, *Ausführl. hebr. Spl.*, p. 258.

§ *Ubi supra*, p. 554.

Indo-European comparative grammar; not only because the many different languages of this family shed light upon each other, but because a vast amount of thought and learning has, for more than half a century, been devoted to the subject by the ablest philologists. In presenting a short summary of the results of Indo-European science on this matter, I shall not, I hope, be understood to imply that what has taken place in Sanskrit, Zend, or Lithuanian must necessarily have taken place in Egyptian any more than in Chinese. But if, as a matter of fact, it can be shown that, as far as the nature of a language allows which has neither declensions of nouns nor conjugation of verbs, the same phenomena occur in Egyptian as in Sanskrit or Zend, I shall have accomplished a useful task.

This then is what we learn from the study of Indo-European speech.*

The demonstrative roots are few in number and of the most rudimentary structure: short syllables such as *a*, *i*, *u*, *ma*, *va*, *na*, *ka*, *ta*. Their use was simply to point to an object in space,—to call attention to the person or thing spoken of. It has gradually become the conviction of scholars that it is a mistake to enquire after the special primitive meaning and function of each of them. They must have originally been synonymous; no shade of difference in meaning or function can be pointed out till a comparatively late period of language. The simple truth was admitted from the first by Bopp, that one demonstrative root is susceptible of indicating the most varied relations of place.† Several such roots must necessarily be synonymous.

* *See* M. Bréal in the admirable introductions to the French translation of Bopp's Comparative Grammar, Vol. II, p. xxiv, and Vol. IV, p. 1, and following. I have only quite recently had my attention called (by M. Müller's *Science of Language*, pp. 224 and 228) to M. Alf. Dutens' *Essai sur l'origine des exposants casuels en Sanscrit*, in which I was agreeably surprised to find, not Ludwig's fierce attacks upon "agglutination" but, what seems to me the true theory of agglutination of pronominal forms set forth in the clearest and most intelligible language. I most earnestly recommend the study of this book to Egyptologists, as part of their scientific training.

† "Die verschiedensten Ortsbeziehungen sind geeignet durch einen und denselben Demonstrativstamm ausgedrückt zu werden." *Ueber einige Demonstrativstämme*, p. 9. He refers in evidence of this to K. G. Schmidt's tract *De præpositionibus græcis*. In process of time, what Benfey thought (G. W. Lex., p. 152) of the pronominal stems of the third person has been extended to all stems of the same nature. "Vieles darauf hinweist, das die Pronominalstämme der dritten Person ursprünglich bloss den Begriff *der Bezeichnung* an und für sich hatten und *erst nach und nach durch den Gebrauch specialisirt wurden*."

Their function of calling attention to a person or thing led to their being joined as suffixes to attributive or predicative roots. The suffix became the subject of which the meaning implied in the root was predicated. A glance, however, at the Indo-European verbs or nouns detects the presence in innumerable instances of more than one suffix attached to an attributive root in a single word. The same tendency which in our days leads men to give force to their words in such expressions as "this here," "that there," "ce-ci," "ce-la," "ce-lui-là," led to a vast number of combinations between the primitive demonstrative roots. A root might be doubled, as *ma-ma*, or *sa-sa* apocopated to *sas*, or several roots might be joined to the first, as *ka-da*, *ta-da*, *ya-da*, *sa-da*, *tu-bhya-ma* apocopated to *tubhyam*. It is in this way, most probably, that new series of suffixes such as *ana*, *tra*, *vân*, *mâna*, *ant*, *vant*, which form such important features in the structure of Indo-European grammar, have come into existence.

Some of the composite forms I have quoted present the fact, so instructive for our present purpose, of the formation of independent personal pronouns. It is indeed from the rudimentary demonstrative roots that all the true primitive pronouns, adverbs, and prepositions derive their origin.

It is no argument against this statement that certain words used in our languages as pronouns, prepositions, and adverbs, and also certain suffixes have been traced to attributive roots.* Languages which are so developed as to admit of whole sentences called adverbial or prepositional clauses easily give birth to expressions like 'because,' 'secundum,' 'in obedience to,' which are of a more mixed nature than the primitive demonstrative forms, or derive their prepositional or adverbial force from the presence of demonstrative elements. The Indo-European languages again largely admit of composition between attributive roots, and a second root may therefore assume the appearance of a suffix to that to which it is joined. Of the part which analogy plays in multiplying words and forms it is needless to speak.

Two of the most eminent Semitic scholars, Ewald and Dillmann, have put forth a doctrine on the pronominal forms substantially

* This has always been acknowledged. See Bréal, *ubi supra*, IV, p. xix, and an excellent note of M. Dutens', *Essai*, p. viii.

identical to that held in the Indo-European school, and Ewald specially prides himself* on having carefully taught it in all his writings.

It may be well at this point to show how in the Semitic as in Indo-European languages, the demonstrative roots manifest the tendency to combination. In Arabic we have the demonstrative particle ذا *dā* (properly *θā*) around which a number of other particles are grouped, forming fresh words; for instance, ذاكَ *dā-ka*, ذالكَ *dā-li-ka*, ذانلكَ *dā-ni-li-ka*, هذا *ha-dā*, هكذا *ha-ka-dā*, هاذاكَ *hā-dā-ka*, الذى *el-la-dy*, الذين *el-la-dī-na*. This last pronoun is the same as the Hebrew הַלָּזֶה *hal-la-zeh*. In modern popular Arabic *dā* is the most common demonstrative pronoun, and its combinations with other pronouns are like those in the older language, *dikha*, *dukhauwa*, *dikhaija*, *keda*, *kedalik*, *dol* (= *da* + *ûl*), *â-di*, *ādy*, *âdinte*, etc. If we start with another demonstrative ان *an*, we come to a new series of compounds, *li-an*, *al-lā* (= *an-lā*), *li-al-lā*, *ke-an* with suffixes, *e.g.*, *ke-in-na-hu-mā*.

In one respect Semitic grammar is more instructive than Indo-European in establishing a distinction between predicative and pronominal roots.

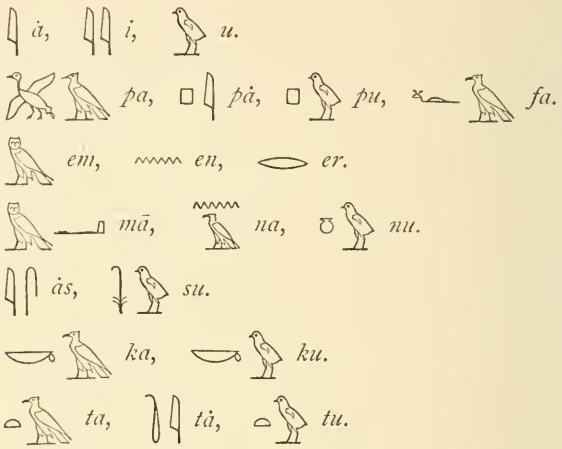
True composition is impossible between predicative roots in Semitic languages.† It is extremely common in Indo-European languages, and must already have existed before the separation of the different branches. This is evident from the aorist and the future tenses of the primitive verb, in each of which two predicative stems are so united as to form a new stem.

* See *ubi supra*, note 4. In his text he says admirably: "Es ist bewunderungswürdig zu sehen wie die wenigen urwurzeln welche sich uns bei schärferer untersuchung ergeben, durch verstärkung und abschwächung zusammensezung und wieder vereinfachung und sonstigen lautwechsel eine so mannichfache bildung durchlaufen, dass sie sowohl die schon ansich vielen unterschiede des sinnlichen raumes als diese noch zahlreichern geistigeren bedeutungen bis aufs feinste anzeigen können."

† "Wortzusammensezung im Sinne des Mittelländischen ist dem Semitischen grundsäzlich unmöglich." Ewald, *ubi supra*, p. 655.

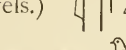
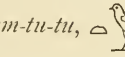
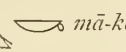
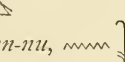
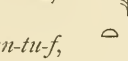
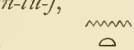
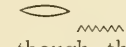
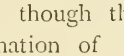
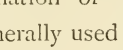
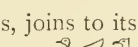
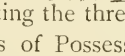
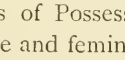
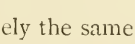
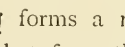
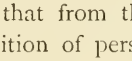
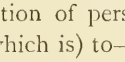
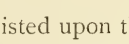
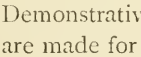
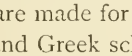
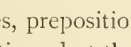
In this respect Egyptian resembles Semitic. Real composition of predicative or attributive roots is as impossible in one as in the other. *Sen-ta*, literally 'kiss earth,' may be considered as an Egyptian verb signifying 'adore,' but the moment we wish to say 'I adore,' 'he adores,' a pronominal suffix intervenes, and *ta* appears as a second word.

The pronominal or demonstrative elements in Egyptian are as follows :—



The list might be reduced to even smaller dimensions, because some of the forms which differ in vocalisation can be proved to have been originally one. *em* and *en* have a vocalic anlaut like the Coptic ⲉⲙ and ⲛ̀, but they are demonstrably connected with *mā* (and *mà*) and *na* respectively.

The consonantal endings, *f*, *k*, *s*, and *t*, are apocopated forms of syllables representing words. No one can say of the Egyptian forms, what some say of the Indo-European, that they are "rein hypothetische gebilde." *fa*, indeed, has not yet been found as a separate word, but its compounds *pe-fa* (otherwise written with the determinative of direction) *te-fa* and *ne-fa* are in frequent use. All the other forms are well known words, current at some time or other in Egyptian speech. The reduplications and combinations of these forms are also well

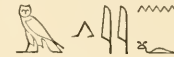
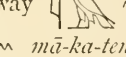
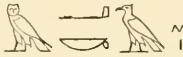
known.  *às-ku*,  *às-tu*, (often written , without the vowels.)  *às-tu-à*,  *tu-tu*,  *em-tu-tu*,  *tu-tu-às*,  *mā-ka*, (often written  *mā-ka* or *mā-ku*)  *mā-ku-à*,  *en-en*,  *en-nu*,  *en-su*,  *en-mā*,  *en-tà*  *en-tu-f*,  *te-n-à* or  *te-n-nu*,  *er-mā*,  *er-te-n-nu* are familiar to all Egyptologists, though they may not always have recognized the peculiar formation of these pronouns. The demonstrative  *pa*, generally used as the article, but also found with quite different functions, joins to itself another demonstrative element  *i*, and to the new stem  *pa-i* thus formed, other demonstratives representing the three persons singular and plural are added, forming the series of Possessive Pronouns *pa-i-à pa-i-k*, *pa-i-f*, and the rest, masculine and feminine.

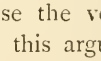
It is in precisely the same way that in the Aramaic languages the demonstrative דִּי forms a new stem דִּיל by the addition of the particle ל, and that from this new stem the Possessive Pronouns arise by the addition of personal suffixes. *Pa-i-à* "my," like *di-l-i* means, "that—(which is) to—this one."

It must be insisted upon that all the forms in our list are radically and essentially Demonstrative, whatever they may be called in grammars, which are made for popular use, and follow the terminology of the old Latin and Greek school-grammars. They may practically be definite articles, prepositions, adverbs, or conjunctions, according to the popular notions, but their original function was simply to point to the object with reference to its position in space and its relation to the speaker.

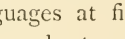
Such words readily adopt themselves to a variety of uses. Our English word 'that' is a *demonstrative* when I say '*that man*,' a *relative* in 'the man *that* I see,' a conjunction in 'I tell you *that* I see him,' an adverb in "*that* I should live to see it!" But this is no peculiarity of the English language. The same kind of thing may

be found in every Indo-European language from Sanskrit to French, in every Semitic dialect and in countless other branches of speech.

The uses of  *em* as a preposition, conjunction, and prohibitive adverb have long been known. The ancient texts published by Maspero are full of passages which exhibit its purely demonstrative character;  *em Unàs i*,  *em su i*,  *em i-nef*, 'here cometh Unas,' 'it is he coming,' 'here he cometh.' In phrases like these  *em* and  *mā-ka* (or *mā-ku*) are used indifferently and synonymously. In the same way  *àm-ten*, 'you,' is equivalent to  *mā-ka-ten*.

It has unfortunately been the habit of some most distinguished Egyptologists to speak of  *pa*,  *pu*,  *tu*,  *nu*, and even of  *às*, as verbs,* on the ground that these words occur in places where our modern languages use the verb "to be"!† The enunciation of the major premiss of this argument would at once disclose its fallaciousness. The verb 'to be' in the sense here postulated is a comparatively modern conception. 'To have' and 'to be' have grown to be necessary parts of our present forms of speech. But it was not so from the beginning. There are innumerable languages without these verbs. Semitic languages are to this day without a verb 'to have,' and it was only by loss of their physical signification that היה, or كان, came to mean 'be. Our own 'be' originally signified 'grow,' and was not then serviceable as a copula. All languages at first grew up without feeling the need of a *verb* as copula to connect subject and predicate. "Die Mittelländischen sprachen," says Ewald,‡ "haben für den fall dass die aussage in keinen vollkommern verbum besteht, ziemlich früh das verbum *seyn* seine stelle ersezn und so zur

* Writers who so readily assume the existence of *verbs*, should be compelled to read Schleicher's *Unterscheidung von Nomen und Verbum*.

† One singular consequence of this doctrine is that two Egyptian equivalents of the verb 'to be' ( *às pu*) being put together produce an interrogative pronoun.

‡ *Ausf. heb. Sph.*, § 297.

blossen copula des sazes werden lassen: die Semiten kennen einen solchen gebrauch eigentlich nochnicht, und sind auch hierin viel einfacher geblieben.'

"The Arabic language, like the Hebrew and Syriac," says Professor Wright,* "has no *abstract* or *substantive verb* to unite the predicate to the subject of a nominal sentence."

"Une autre particularité du hongrois," says an authority learned in quite a different family of languages,† "est encore le manque absolu du verbe être (copula) dans les phrases où ce verbe sert à la liaison du sujet et de son attribut, absolument comme dans les langues sémitiques."

The use of the Semitic demonstrative *hu*, as a sort of substitute for a copula, ought at least to have served as a warning not to include among verbs such Egyptian words as *pa*, *pu*, *tu*, *nu*, and *àn*. Demonstratives involve the concept of 'be'‡ quite as much as verbs whose true significations are 'breathe,' 'grow,' 'dwell,' 'turn,' 'fall,' 'fix,' 'stand,' &c.

Let us now examine the phonetic character of the Egyptian Demonstratives.

Every one of the forms on the list is not only monosyllabic but admits of one consonant only in addition to the vowel. A few pronouns in which two consonants appear are compound forms; such as *pe-fa*, *te-fa*, *ne-fa*, *se-n*, *se-t*, in each of which the component elements are easily recognized.

The sounds of these elementary pronouns are noteworthy. The only consonants are *p*, *f*, the liquids *m*, *n*, and *r*, *s*, *k*, and *t*. The table excludes *b*, the three aspirates  *h*,  *ḥ*, and  *χ*, the lingual sibilant  *š*, two of the *k* sounds,  *ḳ*, and  *g*, and two of the *t* sounds,  *ṯ*, and  *ṯ'*.

This shows that  *ṯ'es* with all its personal forms belongs to quite a different formation. It corresponds to our "self," the Gothic *silba*, which is a contraction of *sîn lîp* "his body."

* *Arabic Grammar*, § 122.

† *Ujfalvy*, *Langue Magyare*, p. 37.

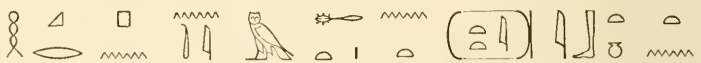
‡ M. de Rougé himself (*Chrest.* § 191, *note*) says of the sense of certain pronouns, "Impliquant, *comme tous les pronoms personnels*, l'idée du verbe *être*. Il en est de même de הוּא, etc., dans toutes les branches des langues sémitiques."

It is interesting to observe the parallel between our table and that drawn up by Grassmann when treating of the primitive prepositions of the Indo-European family, and his observation—*

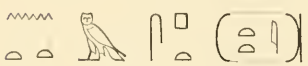
"Es fehlen also die harten aspiraten, die gaum-und zungen laute, von den kehlbuchstaben erscheint nur *k*, es fehlen ausserdem *b*, *l*, *ç*, *š*, *h*, welche sich anderweitig als späteren ursprungs erweisen."

With regard to the vowels it has been noticed that , the long ā, occurs but once,† that the forms in *u* are generally doublets of forms in *a*, and that the suffix *i* is the solitary form in which the vowel *i* occurs. There are no such suffixes as *ki*, *fi*, *ti*. I have long since ‡ expressed my conviction that it is an error to look upon the sign  as phonetically representing the vowel *i*. The sign is ideographic, and was unknown in the first ages of hieroglyphic writing. It was afterwards used for various purposes; that of standing for a vowel (not necessarily *i*) being only one of them. The most ancient texts write—

The following line (61) from the Pyramid of Teta contains the masculine and feminine forms of the relative:



heqer pen entà em χat ent Tetà àbt ten



entàt em sept Tetà.

The three forms consisting of a single vowel,  *à*, *i*,  *u*, can by means of proper names be traced back as suffixes to a period anterior to the most ancient monuments. M. Maspero long ago §

* *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXIII, p. 564.

† In , which, however, is often written simply ; one of the best proofs that is not a consonant foolishly identified with ע; which is a purely Semitic utterance, unpronounceable by Turks, Persians and Hindus who use the Arabic alphabet.

‡ *Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, 1882, p. 68. I have never published the "onslaught" there referred to, which is quite unnecessary after Dr. Stern's onslaught in the *Zeitschrift* of 1884, pp. 58–78.

§ *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, p. 139. Note.

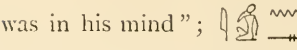
drew attention to the fact that such names as  *ab-a*,  *ap-a*,  *senb-a* and  *mer-a* were variants of  *ab-i*,  *ap-i*,  *senb-i* and *mer-i*, and that these forms in *i* have a grammatical force. The inference which he draws, namely that , and was pronounced *i*, overlooks the no less important co-existence of the forms  *ab-u*,  *ap-u*,  *senb-u* and  *mer-u*. The ancient funereal inscriptions prove that  *amχ-i* and  *amχ-u* were absolutely synonymous. M. de Rougé observes: "Dans les textes antiques surtout, on trouve parfois la voyelle  en variante de  comme finale du participe actif." (In my own theory of the language participles do not exist in Egyptian.)

The real truth is the suffixes *a*, *i*, and *u*, are but three forms of one pronoun *a*. The difference between the forms is purely phonetic. These vowel changes are familiar to students of the Science of Language; *a* is said to be sharpened to *i*, and obscured to *u*. How far these terms of 'weakening,' 'sharpening,' and 'obscuration' express correct philological views matters not to our present purpose. They are technical terms used in the School of Bopp to indicate phenomena which exist as undoubtedly in Egyptian as in other languages.

The three suffixes of which we have been speaking were originally synonymous. But in process of time a differentiation took place; *a* was used almost exclusively as the suffix of the first person; *i* was principally employed in what M. de Rougé calls the participial use, but in some others also, and *u* discharged other functions.* The plurals of masculine nouns and adjectives seem to have been expressed by a repetition or combination of these suffixes, *iu*, *uu*, and perhaps *ui*.

The pronoun *a*, which I do not hesitate to identify with the suffix, occurs perhaps most frequently as a relative in the form  *a*. But the relative sense is derived from the demonstrative, which survives in such expressions as  *a-nef em*

* As I am only discussing a question of morphology it is unnecessary to enter into important details which are not essential to the point.

ḥat-ef, "this was in his mind";  *à-nes ḥer t'eṭ-nef*, "that is what she said to him," and perhaps in the Coptic ⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ, "Peter said."

The suffixes  *tà* and  *tu* stand in the same relation to each other as  *à* and *u*. All the verbal forms which in the ancient texts ended in *tà* are replaced in later texts by forms in *tu*. In some documents both forms are found, but this probably arises in great part, in the Book of the Dead for instance, from following texts of different dates. In the language itself all words did not change their form at once, and two forms of the same word may continue for a long time to exist side by side.

But the vowel was "obscured" at an early period in the pronoun itself as a separate word, *tu*, which is known with varied uses of which I shall presently speak.

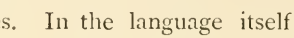
The original identity of *tà* and *tu* is certain. It cannot be proved with the same certainty that  *ta* was another form of the same pronoun, but the analogy of  *pa* *pu** and  *ka* *ku* makes this supposition very probable. In the gradual differentiation of the forms of the same demonstrative, *ta* would be reserved as a demonstrative article, *tà* for suffixes, *tu* for other purposes.

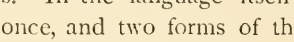
The suffixes assigned in our Grammars to the second and third persons singular are :—

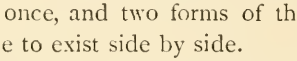
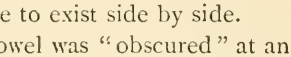
2nd person	 *k* masc.		 *t* femin.
3rd ,,	 ,,		 *s* ,,

These are all apocopated forms belonging to pronouns, none of which are tied to any definite person or gender. The full form  *ku* appears in the texts of the Pyramids.

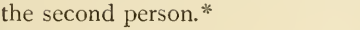
 *ā-ḥā-reku*, rise up, thou, Pepi I, 117.

 *àp-ku Ḥeru*, Horus judgeth thee, *ib.*, 33.

 *χenṭu-ku*, thy throne, *ib.*, 81.

* A very curious, but by no means the only, instance of the identification of these two pronouns is the interrogative form written  *às-pu*, in the Luqsor text of Pentaur, and  *as-pa* in the Karnak text. See de Rougé *Chrest.*, § 231.

In these texts and many later ones  or  *tu* appears for the second person.*

 *àp-ef-tu mā nutàru*, "he reckons thee among the gods."

 *estu-tu àrεχ su estu su àrεχ tu*, "behold thou knowest him, behold he knoweth thee." Unas, 463, etc.

In the pyramid of king Teta (211 and following lines) we read  *es-ku* (= Coptic ICXϵ) instead of *es-tu*, in this very passage, which also serves to show a fact which ought never to have been doubted, that  is the subject as well as the object of a verbal action. It is simply idle to talk of accusative forms in such a language as the Egyptian.

But neither  nor , nor their apocopated and can be considered as bound to the second person. In our grammars or is recognized as one of the forms of the first person, and numerous decisive instances can be quoted in proof. on the other hand was recognized by M. de Rougé in his first great work as an indefinite pronoun. This was however only one of its many uses. *tu*, originally *tà* (perhaps *ta*), is really the dominant Demonstrative, which shows itself everywhere in ancient Egyptian.

Combined with *en* it gives rise to the relatives *entà* and *entu* (later), and with *an* to the negative *atu*. We have in these two words (in Coptic ϵT and ϩT) the nearest approach to flexion which can be quoted from old Egyptian; the nasal letter in the first root of these words being assimilated to the dental of the second.

Combined with the suffixes of the different persons, personal pronouns are formed: or *tu-à*, I, *tu-k*, thou, *tu-f*, he, *tu-n*, we, etc.

* ", , , , ersetzen mitunter das Pronomen der 2ten Person des Singulars." Brugsch, *Gram.*, p. 13.

A second and a third series of personal pronouns are formed by prefixing (1) —*e.g.* *em-tu-à*, *em-tu-k*, etc., or (2) —*e.g.* *en-tu-à*, *en-tu-k* *en-tu-f*, etc.

A fourth series prefixes both and —*e.g.*, *em-en-tu-à*, *em-en-tu-k*, *em-en-tu-f*.

These four series by no means exhaust the list of personal pronouns. The demonstrative compound *mā-ka*, or *mā-ku*, is a base from which by combinations with suffixes a fifth series is formed: *mā-ku-à*, I, *mā-ka-tu*, thou (m.), (also written), , feminine; *mā-ka-n*, we, *mā-ka-se-n*, they.

M. de Rougé,* after quoting several texts in which these pronouns occur, says, "il est aisé de voir que dans tous ces passages le sens personnel est seul applicable." He is quite right in this remark, which has, however, been occasioned by the confusion of the pronominal compound *mā-ka* with the predicative *māk*, signifying 'protection,' which is, etymologically, quite a different word.

The first person singular is also represented by pronouns formed from other bases. We find *en-ne-k*, in which the is the well known *ka* or *ku*, or *nu-à*, and the more common *nu-k*, frequently strengthened by an initial syllable *à-nu-k*. This last word is formed from three perfectly well known primitive demonstratives of the ancient Egyptian language, just as our own pronoun I, or the Greek ἐγώ (originally ἐγών) can be traced like the Sanskrit *aḥam* to a combination of the three demonstratives *a ga ma*.†

* *Chrest.*, § 191.

† "Die Sylbe *ḥa* von *aḥá-m* halte ich jetzt in Übereinstimmung mit Benfey für die mit dem Stamme *a* verwachsene, sonst tonlose Partikel *ḥa* welche, wie das verwandte griech. γε, dor. äol. γα, gern an Pronomina sich anschliesst." Bopp, *Vergl. Gram.* (1870), II, p. 102, note. *Cf.* Fick, *Wörterbuch*, I, 3, and Curtius' *Grundzüge*, 525. To certain readers I recommend Bréal's remark: "La syllabe *ma*, qui designe le moi, fait partie intégrante du thème composé *i-ma*, 'celui-ci.' La syllabe *a*, que Bopp reconnaît avec raison dans le nominatif *a-ha-m*, 'je,' fournit aussi le premier élément de *a-ya-m*, 'ille.'" Bopp, *Gr.* (*French Tr.*), III, xxiv.

It is most interesting to note that M. de Rougé having found authentic proofs of the existence of the plural forms  and , rightly inferred the existence of , but was unable to refer to any instance. The forms  and  might have put him on the right track.  exists and is found under the well-known form of , in which stands for . , *entu*, *τὰ ὄντα*, as opposed to , *atu*, *τὰ μὴ ὄντα*, is not a relative expression. The relative sense of is, like in all similar cases, derived from the demonstrative, and admirably illustrates the doctrine of Apollonios Dyscolos, the 'princeps grammaticorum'; *Πᾶσα ἀντωνυμία ἢ δεικτικὴ ἐστιν ἢ ἀναφορική*, *δεῖξις* being the primitive function of all pronouns;* *ἀναφορά* itself, which has reference to objects already named, being a *δεῖξις τοῦ νοῦ*, as distinguished from the *δεῖξις τῆς ὄψεως*. The Egyptian , , or corresponds to the demonstrative *ὅς* in Homeric Greek (*ὅς ῥὰ δεύτατος ἦλθεν*, *ὃ ῥὰ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων*), or in the Platonic *ἥ δ' ὅς*, as well as to its secondary use as a relative pronoun. The addition of suffixes, however, alone determines the person as I, thou, he, etc.

In tabular form the Egyptian personal pronouns appear as follow :—

1 masc. sing—	*tu-ȧ*,	*em-tu-ȧ*,	*en-tu-ȧ*,	*em-en-tu-ȧ*,	*mā-ku-ȧ*,
2 „ „	*tu-k*,	*em-tu-k*,	*en-tu-k*,	*em-en-tu-k*,	*mā-ka-tu*,
3 „ „	*tu-f*,	*em-tu-f*,	*en-tu-f*,	*em-en-tu-f*,	*etc.*
	etc.	*etc.*	*etc.*	*etc.*	

together with *en-ne-k*, *nu-ȧ*, *nu-k*, *ȧ-nu-k*, for 1st pers. sing.

„ „ *tu* for 2nd person.

„ „ *su*, *set* for 3rd person.

* *See* Windisch's important "Untersuchungen über dem Ursprung des Relativpronomens in den indogermanischen Sprachen," in G. Curtius' *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, II, 201—419. Dr. Windisch has repeatedly occasion to allude to "wie grosse Neigung die Pronomina zu immer neuen und neuen Zusammensetzungen haben, und [wie] die Weiterbildung bald nach vorn, bald nach hinten vor sich geht," p. 276.

Now when it is asserted that the Egyptian pronouns *clearly* belong to the Semitic family, I should say that such an assertion is demonstrably false, and that it could only have been suggested by the striking resemblance of the Hebrew אנכי to *a-nu-k;* a word, however, whose origin, formation, and kinship are as purely Egyptian as any word in the vocabulary.

I do not suppose that any one who has any knowledge, I will not say of the ancient Indo-European languages, but of French or Italian, will set down as characteristic of Semitic origin the possession of *tu* as a pronoun of the second person, and *su* as a pronoun of the third.

The pronouns arranged in series defy all attacks upon their origin. No one has yet ventured to assert that any one pronoun in the first, second, fourth, or fifth series has the slightest resemblance to a Semitic pronoun. It is only some pronouns of the *third* series which are claimed as Semitic. Among the pronouns of the singular number *en-tu-k* is supposed to correspond to the Semitic *enta;* importance, of course, being attached to the suffix *k*, which, as a suffix of nouns in the Semitic languages, represents the second person singular. But the utmost that could be made out in this case, after all, is that the Egyptian *suffixes* are Semitic. The *en-tu* has no necessary connection with the *k* or with a second person singular. It runs through the whole series of which it is the base, and beyond it. To question its purely Egyptian origin is about as reasonable as to doubt the German origin of such a word as *Wahlverwandschaften.**

To turn the tables. The Egyptian has no pronoun of the second person singular like *anta* or *anti*, nor of the third like *hu* or *hi*. No

* Benfey says with reference to the passage of Gesenius quoted in the first note of this paper, "Die bildung in אַתּוֹךְ u.s.w. bei weitem mehr in die Analogie der ägyptischen Pronominalformation eingreift als אַתָּה, u.s.w., z. B. in die Semitischen; wenn also hier jener Grund zu den angeführten Schluss berechtigte, würde man eher geneigt sein müssen, das Umgekehrte anzunehmen." *Ueber das Verhältniss der äg. Sprache*, p. 80. He adds that Gesenius, who always kept pace with science, would not repeat what he wrote in 1817. "Denn Entlehnungen von so wichtigen Elementen, wie die einfachen Personalpronomina sind, finden in keiner Sprache Statt." This book of Benfey's is a very powerful one, and leads to wrong conclusions only by being written upon imperfect knowledge.

first person plural* like *anaḫnu* or *naḫnu* is known, no second person plural like *antum* or *antun*, no third person plural like *hem* or *huma*.

The Assyrian pronoun of the third person, indeed, is *su*, not *hu*: but I have just remarked that *su*, as representing the third person, is not characteristic of Semitic origin. It might as well be claimed as the lost nominative of the Latin *sui*, *sibi*, *se*, corresponding to *tu*, *tui*, *tibi*, *te!*

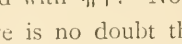
Something remains to be said of the personal suffixes, especially as regards those of the plural number—*n*, *te-n*, *se-n*. These three have *n* as their ending, and they point to a time when the second person singular was represented by *ta* or *tu*, not by *k*—and the third by *su*, not by *f*. Like *tu* and *su* they are of both genders, and they are simply formed by adding *en* or *na* to those pronouns.

The termination  *en* never occurs in plurals except in pronominal forms, and among these it is not characteristic of the plural. The demonstrative  *pa* and  *ta* only acquire additional demonstrative force in  *pen*, and  *ten*, both signifying "this." But that the addition of a demonstrative element to a word may import into the compound a plural or distributive meaning is certain from the history of the Indo-European demonstrative *ka* and its kindred; in such Latin words, for instance, as *quis-que*, *uter-que*, *utrim-que*, *quicun-que*, *ubi-que*. And this, I am told, is the way in which some Dravidian languages form their plurals.

But the resemblance between even the suffixes of the Egyptian and the Semitic languages has been strangely exaggerated. When the first person (ending in *i*) of the Coptic verb was compared with the first person of the Hebrew verb, it might be forgotten that the Hebrew suffix is not *-i* but *-ti*. But the old Egyptian suffix of the first person is  *ȧ* not *i*, and the corresponding Semitic suffix is *tu*, *ti*, or *ku*. The suffix of the third person masculine of the Egyptian verb is  *-ef*, and of the third person feminine  *es*, neither of which exponents have any existence in the Semitic verb.

The nominal suffixes are equally averse to identification. Nominal and verbal suffixes are identical in Egyptian. The Semitic

* The imaginary form  which some Egyptologists have gratuitously supposed, seems to imply that *ȧn* is the stem of , , etc.! But even this spurious *ȧnen* would bring us no nearer to *naḫna*.

nominal suffix of the first person is *i* not *à* like the Egyptian. Even the Assyrian suffix is *i* if the noun ends in a consonant. It is only the presence of another vowel which gives rise to *ā*. The original form was most probably *ya*. The Egyptian  *-ef* used to be identified with הוּא! No one has yet ventured to identify it with *su*; there is no doubt that it comes from  *fa*, and represents the most remote of the three persons; ἐκεῖ-νο-ς in fact.

It would surely be an easy task to discover resemblances between languages as remote as possible from each other, if the likenesses were neither greater nor more numerous than can really be discovered between Egyptian and Semitic. On opening a Tibetan grammar, for instance, it will be found that the personal pronouns are *nga* I, *khyod* thou, *kho* he or she; and that (as the particles follow instead of preceding the word governed) the Tibetans say *kho la*, instead of לָהוּא. The demonstrative pronouns are *hdi* this, *de* that. *Su* has already passed into an interrogative, and so has *tchi*.

Dr. Donner, one of the highest authorities on the Ugro-Finnish languages, speaks of the undeniable agreement between the pronominal system of these languages and that of the Indo-European. It might be granted, he says,* that certain functions were natural to the dental *ta* and to the guttural *ka*, or that chance played its part in the matter, but "whence comes the identity of the Demonstrative stems *sa*, *ma*, and how is it to be explained that the two families of speech agree in using the demonstrative *ta* for the second and *ma* for the first person?" But, he wisely adds, "Verirren wir uns nicht in die dunklen Irrgänge der frühesten Sprachperiode."†

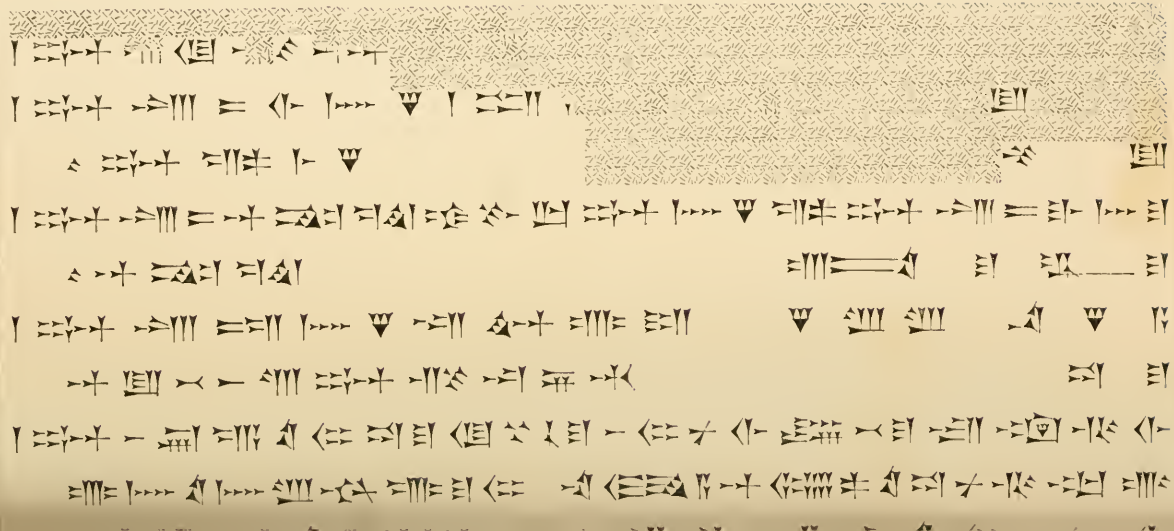
* "Ueber die Wortbildung in der Finnisch-Ugr. Sprachen." in the *Zeits. d. D.M.G.*, XX., 695.

† In the early essay of Bopp already quoted, he says, "Die Pronomina gleichsam zu den vorsündfluthigen Zeiten der Sprache gehören, und in Semitischen über die Periode der Festsetzung des drei consonantischen Wurzelsystems hinausreichen einsylbig sind und selbst formellen Zusammenhang mit Sanskritischen Pronomina zeigen," p. 16. See also the long note to this passage. The doctrine is no doubt unsound, but it has very much more to say for itself than the unscientific talk about the Semitic character of Egyptian grammar.

PLATE I.

A NEW TEXT CONCERNING THE STAR KAK-SI-DI.

K. 2894.—OBVERSE.

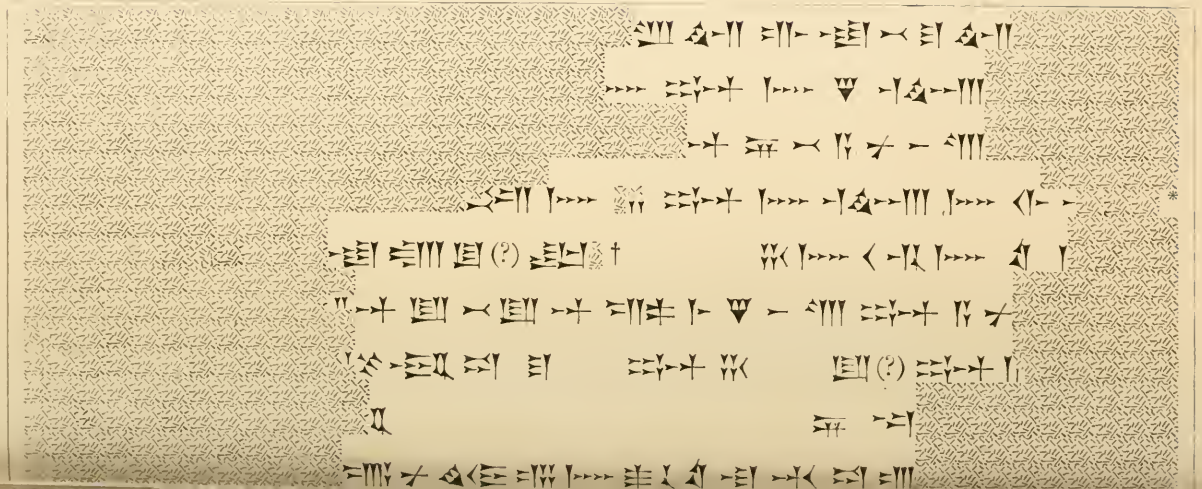


* Restored from the duplicate. † On the duplicate: 𒌋. ‡ Wanting on the duplicate.

PLATE II.

A NEW TEXT CONCERNING THE STAR KAK-SI-DI.

K. 2894.—REVERSE.



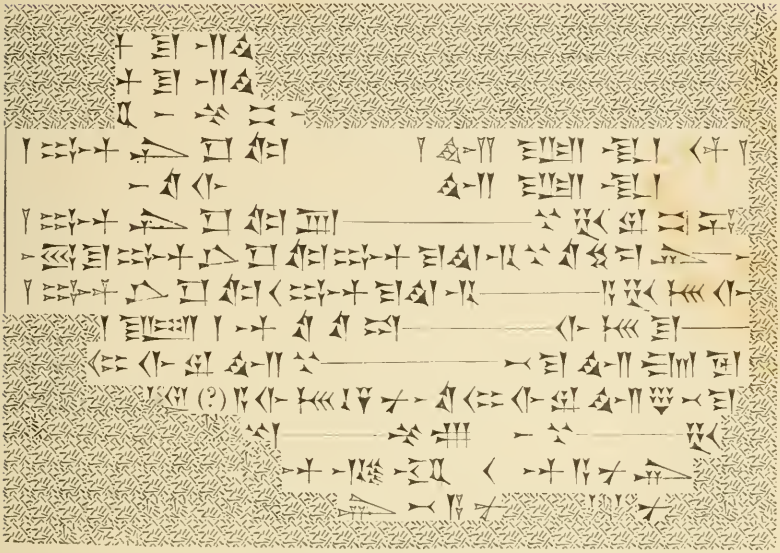
* Some more traces.

† Nothing seems to be wanting.

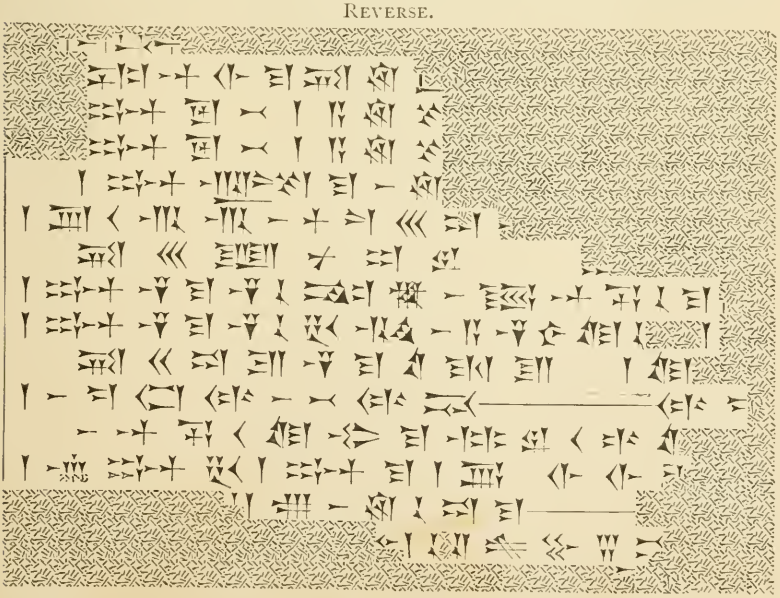
PLATE III.

A NEW TEXT CONCERNING THE STAR KAK-SI-DI.

K. 2310.—OBVERSE.



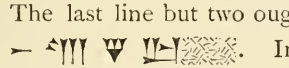
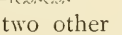
REVERSE.



A NEW TEXT CONCERNING THE STAR KAK-SI-DI.

London, *March 17th*, 1888.

Dear Mr. Rylands,

Since I have written the note published in my *Zeitschrift*, 1887, p. 445 ff., I found out that the tablet K. 2071, mentioned there, p. 445, *footnote*,* is published already in W.A.I. III, pl. 57, No. 8. The last line but two ought to be there: . In going over the K.-Collection again, I came across two other tablets, on which the  occurs, and which turned out to exhibit one and the same text. K. 2894, measuring $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in., has a label on box, saying that the text is an "astrological" one; its Babylonian duplicate, however, K. 2310, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., has no label at all. Not finding any reference to these two texts, I suppose that they are quite new, and give you both, the duplicate containing on reverse a considerable portion of the context which continues that shown by K. 2894. In the latter I have restored some mutilated beginnings of lines according to the duplicate, transcribing the respective Babylonian characters into Assyrian. Mr. Evetts was so kind as to help me in copying the tablets.

I do not venture to give you a translation of this text. It may supply, however, a hint, for answering the question raised by Dr. Jensen in the Vienna *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1887, p. 205.

Yours, etc.,

Ch. Bezold.

* I might have remarked there that also on K. 150 (W.A.I. IV, 59) the star BAN is connected with the KAK-SI-DI.

NOTICE SUR UN NOUVEAU CONTRAT DATÉ D'HAMMOURABI ET SUR LES DONNÉES HISTORIQUES QUE NOUS FOURNISSENT LES CONTRATS DE CE TEMPS.

PAR LE DOCTEUR V. ET LE PROFESSEUR E. REVILLOUT.

Jusqu'ici on ne possédait en fait de contrats datés d'Hammourabi que ceux provenant de Warka qui ont été publiés en copies par M. Strassmaier et traduits par nous les premiers. Nous avons donné l'ensemble de ces anciens contrats, en montrant les relations qui les rattachent les uns aux autres et en retraçant ainsi l'histoire de toute une famille de commerçants, dans l'appendice du *cours sur les obligations en droit Égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité.** Les cessions d'immeubles s'y effectuent par des formules très simples, très claires, mais qui n'avaient pas été comprises avant nous.†

* Nous en avions déjà résumé un grand nombre et traduit entièrement un des plus importants en 1885 dans la "lettre à l'auteur" publiée en tête de la thèse sur "la condition juridique de la femme dans l'ancienne Égypte" soutenue à l'École du Louvre par un de nos élèves, M. Paturet. Le sens des formules finales "*ukursu*" "*numuundapale*" s'y trouve indiqué, p. 29.

† Voici comment M. Strassmaier, à la page 321 des actes du congrès de Berlin, avait compris un de ces actes, le seul d'ailleurs qu'il ait essayé de traduire, celui qui porte au British Museum et dans ses copies le No. 11 :—

"Ein Garten und Haus, Grundbesitz und Eigenthum des Sininana, Eigenthum und Erbe (?) der Söhne der Uber-Sin, ist durch Vertrag zugesichert (?) ; ebenso durch Vertrag das Sinazu mit Minani, dem Sohne der Mikrat-Sin, und Ilanituram (oder Ninituram ?) seine Sohne. Sini Nana, der Sohn der Ilani und Apil-viba sein Bruder schätzen es ab ; 3½ mana Silber als wollständigen Preiss bezahlen sie. Ueber dem bestimmten Tag soll der Zahlungstermin nicht hinausgeschoben werden, und sie sollen den Termin nicht überschreiten. Den Namen seines Königs soll er anrufen (Schwören)."

Ainsi, suivant M. Strassmaier, il aurait été dit dans cet acte que : "un jardin et une maison, fond et propriété de Sininana, propriété et héritage des fils d'Ubarsin, étaient assurés par contrat : de même, par contrat, la maison de Sinazu avec Minanu fils de Mikraatsin et Ilanituram son fils." Mais rien n'eût indiqué à qui étaient assurés de cette manière toutes ces propriétés diverses, dont l'une eût été à la fois l'héritage des fils d'Ubarsin et le fond de Sininana, tandis que l'autre eût appartenu à Sinazu avec Minanu et son fils. L'estimation en eût été faite par Sininana, copropriétaire de la première, ne pouvant jouer, par conséquent, d'après ces données que le rôle de co-vendeur, et par son frère. Le prix eût été payé en entier : et cependant on eût ajouté, "le terme de payement ne sera pas remis au delà du jour fixé et ils ne dépasseront pas ce terme." Tout cela était impossible au point de vue juridique. Nous avons indiqué la signification de cet acte verbalement dès que le volume du congrès de Berlin eût paru et occasionnellement

On commence par indiquer la nature du bien en question, sa contenance, les voisinages. Puis viennent les noms des deux parties, dans une phrase ainsi conçue :

"Avec un tel (le propriétaire), un tel (l'acheteur) l'a mis à prix. Telle somme, pour son prix complet, il a payé."

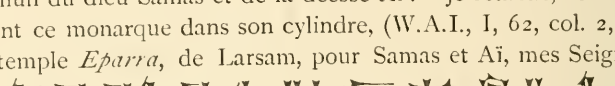
Nous avons eu un instant sous les yeux une nouvelle tablette datée également du règne d'Hammourabi et qui renfermait ces formules dont nous avions donné la clef; mais, point sur lequel nous insistons, cet acte ne nous parait pas provenir de Warka comme ceux du British Museum.

Évidemment le droit est le même qu'à Warka, puisqu'on atteint le même but au moyen des mêmes formules juridiques. Mais le culte local est autre ; car, au lieu d'invoquer, dans le serment qui termine le corps du contrat, en première ligne le dieu Sin sous le nom

dans une courte note écrite à la hâte pour ne pas laisser négliger les souvenirs de nos explications verbales, dont les premières remontaient alors à plus d'un an. Dans cette note, dont le sens général a été conservé, bien que la publication, faite en dehors de nous, laisse à désirer au point de vue de l'exactitude, nous avons montré comment se divisaient cet acte et tous ceux de ce genre. En premier lieu vient l'indication de la contenance du domaine, de sa nature et de ses voisins. C'est ici : "un sar (mesure superficielle) de terrain cultivé ; (avoisinant) d'un coté () le terrain de Sininana ; d'un coté () la proprieté part (héréditaire) () des enfants d'Ubarsin ; à un bout () le chemin () et à un bout () le propriété de Sinazu."

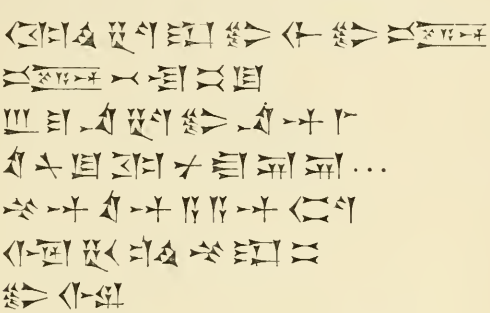
Après cela vient l'indication des propriétaires, avec lesquels les acheteurs, également nommés, fixent le prix, prix qui se trouve spécifié, mais comme entièrement versé. Ici c'est de Minanu, fils de Mikraatsin et d'Ilanituram, son fils, que Sininana, fils d'Ilaniirba, et Apililani, son frère, ont acheté. C'est avec () ce père et ce fils que les deux frères en ont fixé le prix. Ils ont versé (comme acquéreurs) trois mines et demi d'argent pour son prix complet. Là se termine le corps de l'acte proprement dit. Suivent : d'une part, des formules de style destinées à assurer pour l'avenir les effets de la convention, et d'une autre part, l'invocation, faite dans ce même but, du nom des dieux et du nom du roi. Ce ne sont pas seulement les contrats d'aliénation qui se terminent de cette double manière, mais des actes fort différents, telle que la singulière émancipation par desaveu traduite entièrement par nous dans la lettre précédant la thèse de M. Paturet, (avec le rapprochement de deux autres documents également de Warka, de la même époque et d'une nature tout-à-fait semblable, dont l'un se trouvait redigé presque complètement en accadien pur).

Mentionnons encore parmi les textes archaïques de Warka traduits par nous de nombreux actes de partage, des échanges, des revendications de propriété, des contestations judiciaires de divers genres, etc.

d'Uruki, dieu éponyme de la ville de Warka—dans laquelle Samas, le dieu solaire, n'était que le fils du dieu lunaire—on y invoque en première ligne le couple divin Samas et  (Aï), dans lequel le soleil a la lune pour épouse. Cette association de Samas avec Aï, , comme couple divin, dans un même culte et dans un même temple, existait dans plusieurs des villes qui honoraient particulièrement le soleil. Nous citerons Sipara et surtout Larsam. Le temple que Nabuchodonosor le grand fit reconstruire dans cette dernière ville était justement le Sanctuaire commun du dieu Samas et de la déesse Aï: "je rêtablis," dit expressément ce monarque dans son cylindre, (W.A.I., I, 62, col. 2, l. 42), "le temple *Eparra*, de Larsam, pour Samas et Aï, mes Seigneurs." 
Nous aurons à revenir bientôt sur les indications fournies sur la provenance de cette tablette par l'étude des noms divins qui s'y trouvent invoqués, indications corrobées d'ailleurs par d'autres encore, résultant de la manière dont sont formés les noms des parties, etc. Mais nous devons dire auparavant quel était le sujet de ce contrat.

Comme d'ordinaire à cette époque, on commence par indiquer la nature et la situation du bien qu'il s'agit de transmettre: ce bien consiste en une terre cultivée, donnant sur la grande route (), et dont la contenance est évaluée à deux mesures *sar*. De part et d'autre, les voisins sont des femmes; c'est une femme qui achète; et parmi les vendeurs, au nombre de deux, figure une autre femme. Il est probable que le covendeur doit être le mari de celle-ci; car, si c'était un frère vendant avec sa sœur un bien paternel, la filiation serait indiquée par le nom du même père pour ces deux cointeressés; tandis qu'on contraire ou rencontre ici des noms de pères très dissemblables. Notre attention s'étant surtout portée sur le corps de l'acte, dans le très court examen que nous avons pu en faire, un soir, à la hate, il y a plus de trois mois, comptant d'ailleurs le revoir bientôt à loisir, nous nous bornerons à remarquer au sujet de ces quatre noms de femmes (voisines ou parties) qu'un même élément, le groupe , la face du soleil, se rencontre également dans trois sur quatre, bien que ces femmes appartiennent à autant de familles différentes. Quant à celle qui fait exception, c'est une voisine du bien cédé, qui paraît être d'une autre ville, car le nom de son père

 parait être formé sur le nom de Warka ; mais ce nom de ville est écrit cette fois phonétiquement, au lieu d'être exprimé par un idéogramme qui le représente habituellement à Warka même dans les tablettes de la même époque : cette variante scripturale est à noter, car elle suffirait pour montrer que la provenance n'est point Warka. Le corps de l'acte même d'ailleurs présente également des variantes dignes de remarque. Le voici donc, transcrit en caractères Babyloniens modernes pour en permettre l'impression.

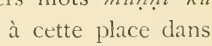


muḫḫi kubabbarra insiinsam
sam tillabisu
sinabi mana kubabbar innaanlal
ukursu du nuummama
mu Par, Ai, Marduk,
-sa Hammourabi
inpa

Comme on le voit par cette transcription, où les seuls noms propres Marduk et Hammourabi ont une physionomie Sémitique, tout le canon des contrats de ce genre, si nous pouvons nous exprimer ainsi, avait été fixé avant que les semites ne vinssent conquérir la Chaldée ; et c'est pourquoi les gens d'affaires qui avaient la spécialité d'écrire les actes employaient toujours les vieilles formules appartenant à la vieille langue sumérienne ou accadienne. A ce point de vue, la tablette que nous examinons rentre absolument dans la même règle que les tablettes similaires de Warka, et, sauf en ce qui touche les noms de dieux, la traduction en est presque identique.

"(Avec les vendeurs, l'acheteuse) en a fixé le prix en argent. Pour son prix complet, $\frac{2}{3}$ de mine elle a versé. (mot-a-mot : *pesé*). Ils (les vendeurs) n'ont plus de réclamation (à faire). Les noms de Samas, d'Aï, de Marduk et d'Hammourabi sont invoqués."

Mais si nous entrons dans les détails du texte lui même, nous avons de suite à constater des différences importantes.

Les premiers mots *muḫḫi kubabbarra*  ne se rencontrent à cette place dans aucun des actes de Warka. On les traduirait en semitique par "*ana eli kaspa*"; mais on serait obligé pour cela d'ajouter une préposition que ne renferme peut être pas le texte sumérien. En effet la syllabe , qui joue souvent comme préposition le même role en sumérien qu'en babylonien sémitique *ana*, nous parait être simplement dans le cas actuel la syllabe de prolongation du substantif *kubabbar*, comme  est la syllabe de prolongation du radical *muh*. L'emploi des syllabes de prolongation peut permettre la suppression de prépositions proprement dites, et nous nous trouvons d'autant plus portés à expliquer ainsi qu'ici la préposition sumérienne la mieux indiquée, s'il en intervenait vraiment une, serait plutôt . Notons d'ailleurs que l'intercalation de ces mots ne modifie en rien le sens, car c'était toujours en argent qu'à Warka même on *fixait le prix* des biens cédés. La forme verbale qui indique cette fixation du prix offre une variante insignifiante *inšiinsam* au lieu d'*insisam* des actes de Warka.

Par rapport aux actes de Warka la phrase qui suit présente une inversion: on y dit en effet "pour son prix complet, $\frac{2}{3}$ de mine d'argent, elle a versé," tandis que dans le style consacré de Warka on dirait. "$\frac{2}{3}$ de mine d'argent, elle a versé, pour son prix complet." On ne constate d'ailleurs aucune différence dans les termes, sauf que le mot *mana* est écrit *plene* avec les deux mêmes syllabes qui le composent habituellement dans les documents les plus modernes. Ceci n'est pas sans importance, car ce mot se trouvait toujours representé par un seul signe dans les actes de Warka datés du règne d'Hammourabi; et si, pour quelques uns de ces actes, tels que le No. 68, le No. 75 du British Museum, etc., le signe *ma*, soit sous une forme archaïque, soit sous une forme plus moderne, était facilement reconnaissable dans les copies de M. Strassmaier, pour quelques autres, tels que le No. 72, le No. 55, le No. 59, etc., la ressemblance était moins nette, et pour quelques autres enfin, tels que les Nos. 66 et le No. 58, (ses No. 39 et 31), M. Strassmaier paraissait avoir assimilé lui même le signe qu'il copiait au signe . Or la comparaison des actes, des contenances données et des natures de bien ne permettait pas de supposer une distinction à faire entre ces signes, de telle sorte que l'un, représentant le sekel, aurait été le 60ème de l'autre, représentant la

mine. Tout prouvait qu'il fallait trouver le même poids d'argent sous ces diverses variantes graphiques. Il s'agissait d'une seule et même mesure pondérale, qui se divisait par moitié, (No. 72 du B. M.—confer Nos. 11, 12, 15 de M. St. etc.) par deux tiers (No. 60 du B. M. No. 33 de M. St.) par tiers (Nos. 53, 64, 66, 75, etc., du B. M.) par sixiémes (No. 58 du B. M., No. 31 de M. St.) peut-être aussi par quarts (No. 22 du B. M. daté du même règne d'Hammourabi, bien que classé par M. Strassmaier, sous le No. 90, parmi les tablettes d'époque incertaine, etc.). Avions nous affaire, en pareil cas, à des tiers de sekel, à des quarts de sekel, et à des sixièmes de sekel, comme M. Strassmaier paraissait l'avoir cru dans ses Nos. 31 et 39? Nous ne l'avions jamais pensé, mais nous sommes heureux de voir que la nouvelle tablette résout cette question d'une façon définitive, en nous présentant le nom de la mine écrit, comme dans les documents les plus récents, par les deux syllabiques *ma* et *na* parfaitement distincts.

Nous en arrivons aux formules qui terminent le corps de l'acte, comme dans les tablettes de Warka. Elles se composent ici de quatre lignes, dont les trois dernières se rapportent à l'invocation du nom des dieux et du nom du roi, invocation qui place le contrat sous la double sauvegarde du droit religieux et de l'autorité seculière.

Dans la tablette que nous étudions les noms divins se succèdent dans l'ordre suivant: En première ligne Samas et son épouse ; en deuxième ligne, Marduk, le dieu de Babylone, qui précède immédiatement Hammourabi, roi de Babylone et d'une dynastie toute babylonienne.

Si nous examinons comparativement les actes de Warka, nous constatons que, pour ceux-ci, il y a lieu de faire une double distinction qui les sépare à ce point de vue en trois groupes.

Un premier acte, daté du règne d'Apil Ramanu, ne porte, en fait de nom divin invoqué, conjointement au nom du roi règnant, que le seul nom d'Urukì, c'est à dire de Sin sous la forme qui en faisait le patron religieux de la ville de Warka.

Après cela vient un groupe, relativement nombreux, de tablettes datées du règne du roi Rimsìn. Dans ces tablettes souvent on associe, toujours en seconde ligne, le nom de Samas au nom d'Urukì, quand on place le contrat sous une sauvegarde divine. Dans ce cas le nom du roi Rimsìn suit immédiatement le nom du dieu Samas. D'autres fois on ne nomme ni Rimsìn, ni Samas, ni Urukì même, se bornant à dire: "ils invoquent le nom du roi."

Le troisième groupe comprend les actes qui portent les noms d'Hammourabi ou de son fils Samsi iluna. Dans ceux ci figure le nom d'un dieu nouveau, le dieu Marduk, le dieu babylonien par excellence. Jamais,—nous insistons vivement sur ce point qui est d'une très grande importance—jamais le nom de Marduk n'apparait dans cette formule avant le règne d'Hammourabi ; tandis que, comme le montre aussi notre nouvelle tablette, sous la domination d'Hammourabi le nom du dieu Marduk accompagne, partout, dans les serments le nom de ce prince. C'est la règle à Warka. C'est également la régle, nous le voyons, dans une ville qui avait pour dieu principal Samas accompagné de son épouse Aï et que nous pensons être Larsam, On sait que le regretté Smith, dont le flair était si merveilleux, avait représenté Hammourabi comme un conquérant étranger qui s'était emparé de Warka en en chassant le roi Rìmsìn. Cette manière de voir était d'ailleurs parfaitement d'accord avec une tablette chronologique que Smith lui même avait publiée. Cette liste comprenait des dynasties d'origines diverses et, entre autres, une dynastie expressément désignée comme babylonienne, vers le milieu de laquelle figuraient Hammourabi, puis Samsiiluna. Or dans cette dynastie babylonienne, comme prédécesseur du roi Hammourabi, la liste de Smith, confirmée par celles qu'a publiée depuis lors Mr. Pinches, ne nomme nullement le roi Rìmsìn, mais au contraire le roi Sinmubalit. Smith faisait remarquer qu'à la fin de son règne le roi Rìmsìn s'était trouvé en guerre avec un ennemi puissant, ainsi que le prouvait la phrase de circonstance datant cette année. Le commencement de cette phrase indiquant que le roi Rìmsìn avait repoussé un ennemi mauvais, se retrouvait, après son règne, sous le règne d'Hammourabi : mais mutilée de telle sorte qu'elle représentait le roi Rìmsìn lui même comme *ennemi mauvais*. L'étude des noms divins confirme donc ces réflexions de Smith, en leur donnant un caractère de certitude presque absolue. Ce n'est point par une succession légitime dans une même famille que Warka est passée des mains de Rìmsìn aux mains d'Hammourabi : c'est par une conquête. Non seulement un roi étranger a pris le pouvoir dans la ville conquise, mais un dieu étranger, le dieu de la ville conquérante, est venu partager avec les dieux locaux le patronage des contrats, de tout le droit public ou privé.

Peut être déjà l'introduction du dieu Samas s'était elle opérée de même par une conquête étrangère. Le nom de ce dieu intervient en même temps que celui de Rìmsìn ; et peut être cette formule

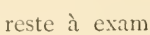
abrégée si fréquente sous Rìmsìn ; "ils invoquent le nom du roi" ou "de leur roi" a-t-elle eu pour cause la répugnance que certains dévots au dieu Urukì avaient à mettre sur la même ligne la dieu d'une ville étrangère. Quelle serait cette ville étrangère qui aurait produit en Rìmsìn le premier conquérant de Warka avant la conquête babylonienne d'Hammourabi ? Peut être Larsam, la ville qui vient de nous fournir notre tablette contemporaine, ville dont le temple principal était nommé "maison du soleil" Eparra (ou *Ebabbarra*), bien que la femme du soleil, Aï, y fut également honorée.

Dans le patronage des villes conquises, comme dans la dénomination de ce temple, on se serait borné à faire figurer le nom de Samas. Il y avait d'ailleurs à Warka une raison particulière pour ne pas y introduire Aï, déesse représentant la lune, puisque la lune s'y trouvait déjà représentée par le dieu Sin ou Uruki, dieu principal de cette ville. Dans la mythologie locale, qui nous a été conservée par un certain nombre d'hymnes bilingues, à Warka comme à Mughéir, le soleil, Samas, avait pour père le dieu Sin, Uruki, c'est à dire la lune ; et il ne jouait par conséquent qu'un rôle secondaire. Tandis qu'il joue un rôle tout-à-fait principal dans d'autres hymnes également bilingues mais de provenance différente. Il fallait bien compter un peu avec les croyances locales dans ces essais de conciliation qu'ont plus tard imités les grecs. Rìmsìn ne pouvait vraiment faire jouer à la lune un double rôle dans les formules officielles de Warka.

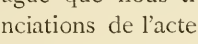
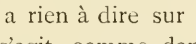
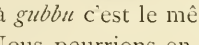
Sous le règne de Rìmsìn nous trouvons une ère dont, suivant Smith, le point de départ a été la conquête d'une ville importante. Cette ère, qui se continue au moins jusqu'à sa 28ème année, cesse avant la fin du regne de Rìmsìn, probablement parceque la ville dont il s'agit avait été reprise sur ce roi. Si nous possédions des contrats de cette ville, les noms des dieux nous fourniraient la preuve de ces deux conquêtes et pourraient peut être nous permettre de savoir si la seconde fut faite par les babyloniens ou par quelque autre peuple.

Une fois introduit dans le culte officiel de Warka, le dieu Samas n'en fut pas expulsé. Les documents historiques nous montrent avec quel soin les anciens respectaient les dieux des peuples qu'ils avaient vaincus. Nous possédons encore la formule par laquelle les Romains priaient ceux des villes qu'ils voulaient détruire et en grossissaient leur panthéon. C'est ainsi que ce vieux "père *Iu*," ce dieu dont le culte eut toujours une solennité beaucoup plus grande que tous les autres, finit par avoir tant de collègues. Le babylonien Hammourabi avait d'ailleurs d'autant moins de tendance à mécon-

tenter le dieu Samas qu'il parait avoir eu pour lui une vénération toute particulière puisqu'il lui consacra une grande construction, nommée de son nom.

Il nous reste à examiner la ligne qui précède l'invocation des dieux et du roi. La formule qu'elle renferme est une des plus simples parmi les formules des contrats de cette époque. D'abord les mots  traduits dans les bilingues par *ina maṭîma* "desormais." Puis seulement . Ces mots se rencontrent à la fin d'actes de tout genre dans la série de Warka ; aussi bien alors qu'il s'agit de partages, comme dans les Nos. 9, 25, 91 de M. Strassmaier, que lorsqu'il s'agit de cessions gratuites, comme dans le No. 86, ou de cessions contre de l'argent, comme dans les Nos. 62, 54, 39, 6, 5, etc. Le plus souvent le mot y reçoit la syllabe de prolongation  qui en fixe la signification. C'est ce dont la prononciation sumérienne est donnée à la pl. 39 de V^e^ vol. de W.A.I. par  et qui signifiait *dababu*, *qabu*, *epis pii*. Cette dernière expression *epis pii* est employée dans le récit de la descente d'Istar aux enfers toutes les fois que le gardien de la porte dit quelque chose et ouvre la bouche pour parler; *qabu* "parole," *dababu* (=דבב, *loqui*) rentrent dans la même série d'idées. Quand au verbe  il a pour correspondant habituel le semitique *sakanu* faire être, placer, faire. Dans ce sens, il était souvent prononcé *ga* en sumérien. Mais la variante graphique  qui remplace ici comme dans le No. 91 et le No. 5 de M. Strassmaier la forme plus habituelle  nous semble indiquer qu'on doit plutôt prononcer *ma:* la lettre de prolongation, quand elle se rencontre, étant habituellement un *a*. *Placer* une parole, introduire une parole à propos d'un acte, c'est réclamer contre cet acte. Aussi trouvons nous  traduit par *iraggumu* à la ligne 26 de la pl. 25 du tome V de W.A.I. Dans notre copie, faite si hâtivement, nous croyons voir à la fin de cette ligne le caractère  qui fixerait la prononciation du mot sémitique *iraggumu:* on trouve en effet souvent un complement phonétique de ce genre, tiré, non point de la vieille langue, mais de la langue nouvelle, dans laquelle les expressions de cette vieille langue jouaient alors le rôle d'idéographiques. Comme dans les actes de Warka de la même époque la règle est toute differente, comme les compléments phonétiques y sont tirés de la vieille langue, et non du sémitique, pour les idéogrammes se rapportant à

cette vieille langue, cela constituerait entre les habitudes des scribes de Larsam et des scribes de Warka une divergence importante : nous l'avons même considérée comme trop importante pour l'admettre, sans revision du texte, d'après un seul coup d'œil. Au fond la formule vague que nous trouvons ici veut dire simplement que toutes les énonciations de l'acte sont exactes, ont été consenties par les intèressés et qu'on ne peut pas réclamer contre une de ces énonciations. C'est pourquoi, à toutes les époques et dans les actes de tout genre, cette formule peut être insérée.

Dans les Nos. 5 et 6 de M. Strassmaier, nous la trouvons associée à une autre formule, d'une interprétation beaucoup plus délicate. Il s'agit de tablettes datées du règne du roi Rímsín ; et avant ces mots "Desormais il n'y a rien à dire sur cet acte," après la mention du prix versé, car il s'agit, comme dans le cas actuel, d'un immeuble cédé pour de l'argent, il est dit à propos de cette cession :  ce qui doit se transcrire ici *duggalla ebisu innagubbu*. Le sens de *duggalla* nous est donné par la planche 40 du second volume de W.A.I., où cette expression est rendue en semitique par *bugurru* à la ligne 27 et par *rugummu* à la ligne 28. Quant à *gubbu* c'est le même verbe qui prend si souvent la forme *gubba*. Nous pourrions en effet prouver par une multitude d'exemples combien souvent la vocalisation varie en accadien, avec conservation de la consonne fondamentale, dans une syllabe de prolongation. Ce verbe est traduit habituellement en semitique, soit par *kaan*, soit par *nazazu*. C'est ainsi qu'à la planche 15 du même volume de W.A.I. il est dit que la porte et le verrou sont fixés :  *ibtaangubbûs*, en Touranien, avec la vocalisation *u* (*bu*) pour la syllabe de prolongation et l'adjonction du pluriel *es* ; et en sémitique *kunnû*. Avec la vocalisation *a* pour la syllabe de prolongation *ganen gubba* et *habaan gubba* sont également traduits *lú kaan* "qu'il se fixe" aux lignes 18 et 39 de la 15ème planche du 4ème volume, etc. Quant à *nazazu*, dans une multitude de passages dont la liste serait trop longue, alors qu'il represente *gubba*, ou *gubbu*, il a certainement un sens très voisin de celui des mots *kunnu*, *kaan*, etc., le sens d' "établir." C'est en ce sens qu'il faut le traduire, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit dans les deux derniers volumes du cours de droit égyptien comparés aux autres droits de l'antiquité, lorsque ce verbe semitique *nazazu* se trouve associé à son dérivé *manzazanu*, et le verbe accadien  *gub* (prolongé en *gubba*) avec son dérivé  *kutagubba*, à propos de cessions d'immeubles et

d'autres biens, dans la 13ème planche du 2ème volume de W.A.I. Il avait d'abord été question dans ce passage, relatif aux coutumes juridiques des vieux peuples de la Chaldée, de cette mise à prix pour argent *kutasam*, qui est la partie fondamentale du contrat que nous venons d'examiner, comme de tous les contrats semblables. L'établissement pour argent, *kutagubba* = *manzazanu* suit cette mise à prix pour argent, *kutasam*. Un peu plus loin, le texte bilingue revient en ces termes sur les opérations qui nous occupent "étant intérêt pour son argent" en semitique *assu tzibat kaśpi su*, "sa maison, son champ, son jardin, sa servante, son esclave il établit en établissement pour argent" en semitique *bita*, *ikla*, *kira*, *arda amta*, *ana manzazani uzziz:* ce qui veut dire que l'emprunteur, voyant que l'argent reçu en prêt par lui, devenu son argent, le ruinerait, par les intérêts à sa charge, met fin au compte de ces intérêts en cédant à son créancier, en antichrèse Chaldéenue, sa maison, ou son champ, ou son jardin ou son esclave. Le créancier jouira de ces biens, comme lui même jouira de l'argent reçu, sans qu'il y ait des comptes d'intèrêts, ou de loyer ou de produits quelconques, de part et d'autre. Pour bien montrer d'ailleurs qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une cession générale de ces biens, mais d'un certain nombre de cessions spéciales, qui peuvent être isolées l'une de l'autre, le texte détaille ces cessions dans une série de phrases, dont chacune n'a pour objet qu'un seul de ces biens "Il compense sa maison contre de l'argent. Il compense son champ contre de l'argent, etc." Puis, prévoyant le cas où ce debiteur aurait déjà payé une partie de la sómme qui lui aurait été prêtée primitivement et où par conséquent il ne s'agirait plus que d'éteindre les intérêts d'un reliquat, il ajoute, dans une phrase dont le texte touranien est en partie brisé, mais qui est intacte en sémitique : "De son écrit (ou de son compte) pour ce qui n'était pas versé, de ce qui restait sur cet écrit (ou sur ce compte) ils ont établi l'équivalence avec de l'argent." Ainsi toute dette est liquidée et représentée désormais par des biens placés en antichrèse, en *manzazanu*, en *kutagubba*. Le texte continue en ces termes "Le jour où il rapportera l'argent il rentrera dans sa maison." Le touranien est ici d'une clarté merveilleuse : et il en est de même du sémitique ainsi conçu : *inu kaspa ubbalu*, *ana bitsu erub*. Tous les mots de cette phrase sont des mots bien connus, qui se rencontrent à chaque pas dans les

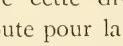
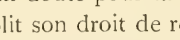
textes. La particule *inu* traduisant le mot 𒉡 de la vieille langue est extrêmement fréquente dans les bilingues et, sous cette forme simple, avec une pareille équivalence, il est impossible qu'on y voie autre chose que ce qu'elle est, une conjonction se rattachant à l'idée de jour, *yum*, comme la conjonction française *le jour où*, *quand*. Ce n'est point un des cas ou cette conjonction prend une forme semblable à celle d'un verbe connu et peut par conséquent se trouver confondue, par exemple, avec un de ces noms qui représentent des noms théophores apocopés. * Quant au verbe *abalu*, dans le sens "apporter," c'est également un mot vulgaire. On ne peut donc point songer à traduire comme on l'a fait "un *hin* (vase) rempli d'argent entre dans sa maison." On le peut d'autant moins que les texte continue : 𒉡 𒌋𒁹 𒀀𒁹 𒄑𒄑𒄑 𒌋𒁹 𒄑𒄑𒄑 𒁹 𒄑𒄑𒄑 𒄑𒄑𒄑 𒉡 𒄑𒁹 𒄑𒁹 𒄑𒁹 "Quand il rapportera son argent, il sera rétabli dans son champ," etc. donnant, tantôt en touranien, tantôt en sémitique, suivant la direction des lacunes, la suite de cette idée : *quand il rapportera son argent*, il sera remis en possession des biens cédés par lui en antichrèse, *kutagubba*, d'après l'équivalence établie entre chacun de ces biens et une somme d'argent, l'appréciation en argent de ce bien, *kutasam*. Nous avons donné ce passage parce qu'il précise l'interprétation que comporte le mot *gubbu* dans la formule reproduite plus haut.

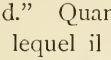
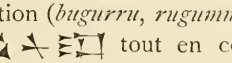
Notons d'abord que cette formule appartient exclusivement aux plus vieux actes de Warka. Elle se rencontre : dans des actes expressement datés du règne du roi Rimsin, qui s'y trouve nommé, (comme dans les Nos. 5 et 6 déjà cités ; dans d'autres actes, qui appartiennent au même règne, mais où le roi n'est pas nommé dans le serment réduit à ces mots : "il invoque le nom de son roi,"—nous citerons notamment les Nos. 11, 16, 29, 32, 33, 35 du British Museum qui sont devenus les Nos. 81, 85, 96, 99, 100 et 101 de M. Strassmaier), Dans tous ces actes les mots 𒁹𒁹 𒁹 𒀀 𒁹𒁹 précédent les formules de style commençant par 𒉡 𒀀 𒁹, en sémitique *ina matema*. On peut donc dire qu'ils font partie du corps de l'acte, que

* Confer *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Numéro du 3 May, 1887, page 174. Il est vraiment curieux de voir un démarqueur célèbre, dont les traductions de contrats babyloniens, quand elles sont bien de lui, sont des séries ininterrompues de contresens, s'appliquer à rechercher des vétilles de ce genre dans un ouvrage qui, bien que gros, est loin de renfermer en son entier, dans plusieurs centaines de traductions d'actes de tout genre, autant d'erreurs, de confusions, de fautes grossières qu'une page prise en hasard dans cet auteur si délicat. V. R.

c'est un développement, un détail ajouté, spécifié, mais rentrant dans le sens général de la convention comme quand, dans notre acte, on trouve avant le mot *sam* "appréciation" le mots *muhhi kubabbarra* "en argent." En effet quoi de plus naturel, dans une constitution d'antichrèse, que de dire: après que le prix a été fixé, payé par le preneur, il (l'autre partie) établit son droit de réclamer (la chose, en la payant bien entendu). *Bugurru*, *rugummu* ont certainement le sens de "réclamation" (droit de réclamer ou chose à réclamer) et quant à *gubbu* nous venons de voir qu'il signifie également établir, fixer, soit qu'on le traduise par *Kunnu*, soit qu'on le traduise par *nazazu*.

Après la conquête effectuée par Hammourabi on trouve encore cette formule dans un contrat, le No. 32 de M. Strassmaier, No. 59 du British Museum. Mais ce contrat doit être de l'année même de la conquête et avoir de très près suivi cette conquête, s'il faut s'en fier aux indications données par la copie de M. Strassmaier. En effet il ne serait daté que par le jour et par le mois, le conquérant n'ayant point encore déterminé la phrase sacramentelle qui devait servir de devise pour l'année. Dans cette tablette d'ailleurs on remarque déjà un déplacement, car les mots  précèdent cette fois. Il en est de même du No. 93 de M. Strassmaier, date mal déterminée. Une autre tablette, le No. 85 de M. Strassmaier (16 de British Museum) nous offre une particularité plus interessante. En effet dans ce contrat, où il s'agit d'une cession de terre cultivée faite par un nommé Sinbelabli à un nommé Imgursin, les deux parties figurent dans la formule qui nous occupe, mais l'une comme sujet du verbe et l'autre comme régime de ce verbe gouverné au moyen de la préposition . Cette préposition est rendue généralement en sémitique par *ana*, voulant dire "à" "pour" et aussi "vers, envers." De cette diversité de sens pour la préposition résulte un certain doute pour la traduction à donner. Faut-il dire: "*Sinbelabli* établit son droit de réclamer sur, envers *Imgursin*" ou au contraire: "*Sinbelabli* établit le droit de réclamer pour *Imgursin*," c'est à dire céde à *Imgursin* tous les droits de propriété pleine et entière?

Nous n'insisterons pas sur les autres formules qui se présentent dans les contrats de cette époque et s'y trouvent parfois associées avec celles de notre tablette. Une des plus fréquentes dans les derniers temps, c'est celle-ci  (les vendeurs)  *duggurra* *banibdede*. Dans cette formule *nib dede*, comme du reste dans les bilingues, où cette

expression se rencontre très fréquemment et où elle est traduite par le sémitique *ippal* (voir W.A.I. IV, 7, 24; IV, 15, 64; IV, 22, 1, etc.), signifie "répond." Quant à *duggarra*, c'est le synonyme exact de *duggalla*, avec lequel il alterne dans les mêmes phrases. Il signifie donc réclamation (*bugurru*, *rugummu*). Nous le trouvons, autrement écrit  tout en comportant exactement la même prononciation, dans W.A.I. II, 27, 49 où il est traduit en sémitique par *dubbubu*, mot vocalisé de même que *bugurru* et *rugummu*, avec un sens tout à fait semblable. C'est une des particularités les plus curieuses de la langue sumérienne, en tant que langue parlée, de pouvoir exprimer une même idée avec une série d'idéogrammes qui rappelaient une lecture possible tout en ayant par eux-mêmes et isolément des origines très différentes. Ainsi la lecture *dug* pour le signe  lui avait été donnée dans le cas où voulait dire *tabu*, "bon," ce qui n'a certainement aucune espèce de rapport avec une réclamation soulevée contre un acte:  veut dire en effet: "le cédant repondra à toute réclamations venant d'autre part." Nous avons montré dans la première leçon de notre volume sur *la propriété en droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité* quelle était la portée juridique de cette formule. D'autres, qui signifient simplement "on ne reviendra pas sur ce contrat," "on ne transgressera pas les termes de ce contrat" n'exigent aucun commentaire.

Un dernier mot sur la tablette que nous avons étudiée aujourd'hui. La date n'en est représentée que par un commencement de phrase "année où le roi Hammourabi" à moins qu'on ne traduise plus simplement "année du roi Hammourabi." Dans ce dernier cas ce serait selon toutes les probabilités l'année même où Hammourabi avait conquis la ville de Larsam, ville dans laquelle ce contrat était rédigé. Dans le cas contraire, on serait fort embarrassé pour préciser la date en terminant la phrase, car ce début se rencontre souvent dans les rédactions d'Hammourabi "année où le roi Hammourabi proclama Tasmit," "année ou le roi Hammourabi éleva la grande construction du Karasamas au bord du Tigre," "année ou le roi Hammourabi rétablit Emiteurris," etc.

Nous avons tenu à insister sur les détails qui mettent ces contrats archaïques dans leur cadre historique.

En effet il ne faut pas oublier qu'en Chaldée comme en Égypte les contrats ont la plus grande importance. Ce sont des contrats, par exemple, qui nous ont appris l'existence de toute une dynastie

égyptienne de race ayant dominé pendant vingt ans en Thébaïde après en avoir expulsé les grecs à la mort de Philopator.

Nous nous rappellerons toujours l'étonnement anxieux que nous avons éprouvé la première fois qu'un contrat du "roi Harmachis, aimé d'Isis, aimé d'Amon ra sonter," nous est tombé sous les yeux, au British Museum, dans le cabinet de notre vénérable ami le Dr. Birch, et quelles suppositions à perte de vue nous avons faites ensemble à ce sujet. Bientôt d'autres contrats du même genre furent vus par nous à Marseille et à Berlin et nous pumes tout préciser. En effet on retrouvait dans ces contrats le notaire écrivant au nom des 5 classes de prêtres, ce qui prouvait qu'ils étaient postérieurs à Évergète 1^er^. Certains passages du papyrus grec 1^er^ de Turin, d'un fragment de Polybe et du décret de Rosette nous revinrent à l'esprit et nous permirent de rétablir l'ordre chronologique de ces rois égyptiens en nous servant surtout de l'histoire des propriétés vendues et des parties qui se les transmettaient.* On peut donc affirmer qu'en cette occasion comme en beaucoup d'autres ce furent les contrats qui nous fournirent la lumière historique sur des faits importants jusqu'alors inconnus.

Il en sera de même, pensons nous, pour les vieux contrats de Warka et de Larsam.

Rien n'est trompeur comme la méthode qui consiste à ne s'appuyer que sur les canons royaux. Les listes de ce genre sont toujours arrangées après coup par ceux qui restent vainqueurs en définitive et qui considérent leurs adversaires comme des princes illégitimes. Les chroniques officielles sont aussi remplies de lacunes voulues, de réunions ou de confusions bizarres et la vérité ne nous apparait que dans les documents contemporains, dont les plus probants, les plus véridiques sont certainement les contrats.

* Les documents hiéroglyphiques sont venus depuis confirmer complétement mes conclusions, que Brugsch aurait bien voulu s'approprier, comme d'ordinaire. Ajoutons que j'ai, dans le dernier No. de ma *Revue Égyptologique* (5ème année No. iii.) signalé une concordance nouvelle : la mention du général Aristonicus indiqué par Polybe, comme ayant été chercher en Grèce des troupes pour chasser, sous Épiphane, les derniers des révoltés et qui, dans le décret de Philée rendu à l'occasion de cette victoire, est expressément nommé comme ayant signalé au roi la nécessité d'en finir avec les insurgés du pays de Thèbes, c'est-à-dire avec la dynastie des Anchmachis et Harmachis. Il faut remarquer du reste que si ces derniers rois possédaient Thèbes, comme Hammourabi possédait Warka et Larsam, ils étaient également des rois d'origine étrangère (voir à ce sujet mon second mémoire sur les Blemmyes). E. R.

THE ACCOUNT OF ST. PAUL AT ATHENS, ILLUSTRATED BY MONUMENTS AND LITERATURE.

By the Rev. James Marshall.

St. Paul at Athens was in the very centre of the literature and philosophy of the time; and accordingly the description of his stay, given in the Acts of the Apostles, is corroborated both in its general outlines and in some minute details by existing books and monuments.

The description of the city as "full of idols" is so well attested, that it is unnecessary to encumber the page with references. One characteristic illustration may be supplied. Apollonius of Tyana is represented by his biographer Philostratus as asking an Athenian ship-owner what his freight was, and being told in reply, that it was a cargo of idols, some of gold and marble and some of gold and ivory, which was being shipped to Ionia to be sold to any one who would buy a statue to dedicate. It may be remarked that Philostratus, whose work, in its mixture of romance and philosophy, bears a considerable resemblance to the Recognitiones of Clement, often throws light on the manners and opinions of his time.

The same Philostratus speaks of altars to "unknown deities" as existing at Athens: Pausanias mentions altars with a similar inscription at Phalerum, a port of Athens, and at Olympia. The fact therefore is sufficiently attested, and the reason of it is not far to seek. Whenever any extraordinary portent occurred, which was attributed to supernatural interference, some expiation was considered necessary; as in the case of the Bidental set up in Italy, where a thunderbolt had fallen; and it is plain from very numerous passages in Livy, that it was a main part of the duty of the Pontifices and religious colleges to determine the name of the god who had made his power felt, and to prescribe the right mode of propitiation. Sometimes, as in the case of Aius Locutius, they named the god from his presumed act: or, being quite at fault, they used the saving clause *sive deo sive deæ*, as the Greeks used the ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ or as Epimenides advised, τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ. On the same principle a woman imprecating curses on her rival appeals thus to the deities of the hot spring: "uti vos aquæ ferventes, sive vos Nimfas (Nymphas) sive alio quo nomine vultis appellari, uti vos eam interimatis." (Inss. Urbis Rom. 141.) And in other cases a similar clause is used, to make sure of including the object of vengeance; as coroners'

juries give a verdict against a person or persons unknown, and indictments state the *aliases* of the accused.

St. Paul would find the physique of the Athenians greatly degenerated from the types preserved in the frieze of the Parthenon. Cotta, one of the interlocutors in Cicero's dialogue on the Nature of the gods, expresses his surprise that, when he was at Athens, out of a whole batch of Ephebi, there would be scarcely one of fine form. But their most strongly-marked mental characteristic, their curiosity and idle desire to hear some new thing, on which their greatest orator had rallied them, and to which St. Luke refers, remained unchanged. According to Menander (Frag. Georg., 9), if you talked to an Athenian slave in the country, he would leave off digging and tell you the exact terms of the last treaty. Plutarch describes the talk of the crowds which pushed their way through the bazaars and harbours. First there was the old question, "What news?" and then the rejoinder, "Why? Were you not at the Agora this morning? Do you think there has been a new constitution within the last three hours?"

St. Paul, according to the Acts of the Apostles, disputed with the Jews in the Synagogue. Among the Attic inscriptions (Inss. Att. Ætatis. Romanæ, 404) is the Septuagint version of the 20th verse of the 118th Psalm. *αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ κυρίου· δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ*: "This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter into it." It is tempting to imagine that St. Paul might have passed under this very stone. The supposition is not absolutely impossible, particularly as another Jewish inscription is found (Inss. Att. 3546), *κυμητήριον* (*sic*) *Θεοδούλας καὶ Μωσέως*, surmounted by a representation of the seven-branched candlestick. But the editor refers to five or six Syrian inscriptions, which repeat the quotation from the Septuagint with very slight variations, and are associated with Christian inscriptions of a date long subsequent to Apostolic times. There are also similar Christian inscriptions at Athens.

The philosophers of Athens are summarised as Stoics and Epicureans. It may excite a momentary surprise that, in the birthplace of Plato and the literary home of Aristotle, no mention should be made of the Academy or the Peripatetics. But in fact this mode of description is one of the minute touches which identify the writer with his times. The sects specified were at the opposite ends of the scale, and so comprehended all intermediate varieties. The Epicureans were practically atheists, though they would have disclaimed the title, whereas the stoic principles were rooted in religion.

It soon became apparent that the point at which the opposing philosophies joined issue was the providence of the gods. This might be called the question of the day, and was, moreover, practically brought into prominence by the Roman state system of auspices and auguries, as may be seen in Cicero's treatises on Divination, the Nature of the Gods, and Fate; and in fact throughout his philosophical writings. In reference to this absorbing question, Plutarch (Mor. p. 420) and Quinctilian (Inst. Or. v, 7, 35; vi, 3, 68) are satisfied with naming the two extreme sects. St. Luke therefore in classifying philosophers as Epicureans and Stoics, adopted the language of contemporary *literati;* and St. Paul, when he made the providence of God the main argument of his speech, was addressing himself to the question which most of all exercised the intellect of his time.

The doctrine of Divine Providence of course pervades both Testaments, but the word *πρόνοια* is not found in that sense in the Christian scriptures. According to Diogenes Laertius it was first used by Plato; it passed into Latin in the form of Providentia—the title of a well-known treatise of Seneca. Providence is one of the words which, like heresy, Christianity has borrowed from ancient philosophy.

There are some very strange relations between these sects and Christianity. The Stoics held an opinion curiously similar to the extreme view of conversion. They asserted that one who had attained wisdom could do no wrong; but that, short of that standard, he could do nothing that was right. The attainment was absolute and instantaneous. The figure which they used, of a man in the water, precluded all possibility of mistake as to their meaning. If his head were ever so little above the level, he was safe; if it were below it, he was in equal danger of death whether he were within a cubit of the surface or sunk five hundred fathoms deep.

The opposite sect is connected in a very unexpected manner with the history of religion. In the Mishna ("Barachoth," 9, 5, De Sola's translation) the following passage occurs: "All the blessings pronounced in the Temple concluded with the set form, Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from eternity. But since the Epicureans perversely taught there is but one state of existence, it was directed that men should close their benedictions with the form, from eternity to eternity. It was moreover directed, that every man should greet his friend by the name of the Lord; as it is said, And behold Boaz came from Bethlehem, and said unto the reapers, The Lord be with you; and they answered him, The Lord bless thee."

So that in the concluding words of the Lord's Prayer, "for ever and ever," and in the familiar form of farewell, "Good-bye" or God be with you, there is a latent protest against the Epicureans of old. And though their name has become obsolete, their philosophy survives in cosmical theories which have now so much vogue.

It is a curiosity of religious history that such irreconciliable antagonists should have been sometimes coupled together both by Jews and Gentiles. According to Buxtorf the Jews in their prayers protested against the Epicureans, meaning thereby the Christians. Lucian again describes the impostor Alexander as warning off Epicureans and Christians from his pretended oracles: the former, because of their unmitigable rigour of investigation, and the latter obviously for a similar reason (Lucian, Alex., 17, 29, 38, 44). This is a strong external evidence that the early Christians were not regarded as credulous and as ready followers of cunningly devised fables, but that they had the credit of acting up to their principle of proving, or testing all things.

The actual speech delivered by St. Paul on Mars' Hill may in two ways move a scruple in the mind of the reader. First, he may have a feeling that the Areopagus was by this time an effete institution; and secondly, the discursive character of the address may seem inconsistent with the proverbially strict procedure of the court.

Both scruples can be completely met from existing evidence. Numerous inscriptions are found at Athens beginning thus: The Council of Areopagus, the Council of the five hundred and the People: Ἡ Βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ ἡ Βουλὴ τῶν πεντακοσίων or ἑξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος. The Athenians adopted this style in their decrees, and were so addressed by the Roman Emperors. This was as much the national designation of the Athenians as the Senatus Populusque Romanus was of the Roman Republic.

The respect in which the court was held is shown by an anecdote to be found in Aulus Gellius and other authors. Some time after the year 67 B.C., a woman of Smyrna was accused before Dolabella of having poisoned her husband and son. She admitted the fact, but pleaded in justification that they had murdered the son whom she had had by a former husband. Dolabella, to relieve his perplexity, remitted the cause to the Areopagus at Athens. The Areopagites pronounced the woman guilty, and ordered her to appear for sentence on the same day a hundred years afterwards. Plutarch, in discussing the question whether an old man should retire from public life,

speaks of the offices of Amphictyon and Areopagite as dignities worthy of any man's ambition. (Plutarch, An Seni, &c., p. 704.) It appears to have been the fashion of the time for men who affected culture and philosophy to withdraw from politics. Plutarch energetically combats such a disposition; but, at the same time, in a most instructive passage (Plutarch, Mor., p. 813), he describes the conditions under which office must be sought and administered. The aspirant is reminded that if he rules, he is at the same time ruled, and that his head is under the heel of the Roman government. It is idle to attempt to fix the limits between Roman and provincial jurisdiction. The Romans did not define the limits, and plainly did not choose that any such definition should be made. Sometimes, as in the case of Dolabella before-mentioned, it was convenient to disembarrass themselves of a troublesome cause by referring it to local courts, but at any hint of interference with matters of high policy, the tortoise was peremptorily warned to keep its head within its shell. Thus Pilate was willing to throw upon the Jews the responsibility of condemning our Saviour, until the alleged assertion of royalty made the matter one of imperial concern. The cry which mainly decided his course, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend,' is illustrated by an inscription found at Kertch in the Crimea: Βασιλεὺς Κότυς φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλορώμαιος King Cotys, friend of Cæsar, friend of the Romans (Boeckh., Corp. Inss. 2168; *see* also 2123).

The second suggested difficulty, the nature of St. Paul's speech, is set at rest by a piece of evidence almost unique in its interest and directiness of application. Five fragments of Hymettian marble have been discovered at Athens containing a long and sadly mutilated inscription (Inss. Atticæ, Vol. III, p. 55). There is not, I believe, a single complete sentence, but that the fragments are parts of a speech, is beyond question. The speach is addressed to a βουλή, afterwards referred to in the words τοῦτε τοῦ συνεδρίου. The editor, Professor Dittenberger of Berlin, who makes no reference to the Acts of the Apostles, pronounces this Council to be that of the Areopagus, and decides that the speech was of an apodeictic character, not a forensic accusation or defence. Neither of these conclusions would probably be disputed by competent scholars.

One passage can be restored with absolute certainty, being a quotation of two well-known lines of Homer:

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀείδαο πύλῃσι,
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ.

"Hateful to me as the gates of Hades is that man who hides one thing in his heart and speaks another."

The speech was, as the editor suggests, probably made by one of the Ephebi at the end of his year of tutelage. The young gentleman and his friends must have considered the speech to be a good and successful one, and well adapted to its audience; or the expense of engraving it on marble would not have been incurred.

The case stands thus: Two speeches before the Areopagus are preserved. Both of these are non-forensic: each contains a quotation from a well-known Greek poet. The correspondence between the two is so close that it seems as if one must have been designed to corroborate and illustrate the other. But it is impossible that two witnesses can be more completely distinct and independent.

To enter into further detail would probably weary the Society. But they are asked to bear in mind that this small portion of a very wide subject is quite insufficiently discussed. The rigorous compression of this most thoughtful speech yet finds room to deal with the most vital and the most hotly discussed questions of philosophy. Pages of quotations might be given in reference to each of the several particulars. A short summary will indicate what is intended. That God made the world, that men are his offspring, touches the Platonic theory of creation, which had become the common property of various sects; that He needs nothing, suggests the philosophic *αὐτάρκεια*, or *αὐτοτέλεια*, the self-sufficiency of the Deity; that God is not far from each one of us, accords with the noblest development of ancient thought, the firm and eloquently expressed conviction of the indwelling of a divine spirit in the heart of man. The belief in a judgment to come, which was the basis of Egyptian religion, and also of the Pythagorean metempsychosis, passed through mythology into the minds of the people of the West, and became a fixed idea, which many philosophers accepted, and with which all had to reckon; and, lastly, repentance is enforced in a Greek Pilgrim's Progress in language that would not be out of place in a modern sermon.

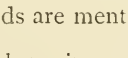
The passage chosen is, as might be expected, particularly rich in allusions; but throughout the New Testament there are points of connection with the thought and history of the period; and unless that connection is taken into account, the full meaning of the text will not be realized.

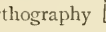
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO THE "NOTES ON THE PEOPLES OF THE SEA," etc.

(*See* "*Proceedings*," *Vol. X*, 1888, *p.* 147.)

By Max Müller.

Having written the notes on the interesting maritime peoples of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, principally about the question of their alleged circumcision, I found afterwards that I might have spared the whole philological discussion with its various indirect references, and proved my explanations of the difficult passages of Mernptaḥ's great inscription in a very simple way. I hope I may be excused for overlooking the following important passage, because it seems to be equally unnoticed by all Egyptologists who have written upon the same subject. Perhaps there are also other passages in the representations of wars with the Libyans, but for the moment I can consult only the sculptures of Medinet Habu, which are published in "Young's Hieroglyphics."

Here we find, on plate 15, the king Rámses III, in his chariot triumphing over the Libyans. Behind him prisoners are led, and officers or scribes are seen arranging the trophies in heaps or noting down their numbers. Here the trophies are both phalli and hands, which may suggest the conjecture that the marked separation of the Libyans and the other peoples in the list of Mernptaḥ may perhaps depend more upon the practical aim to distinguish easily the two great classes of enemies, than upon any religious considerations, for the Libyans might have been mutilated in the same way as their allies. As has already been said, only Libyans sometimes lose their phalli, but also these not regularly; commonly (for example of the *Kahak's**  in the life of *Aâḥmose-pen-nuχbet*, Lepsius, *Auswahl*, 14, LD III, 43*a*, *Zeitschrift f. äg. Sprache*, 1883, 78, line 6), the hands are mentioned.

* Here, I must ask, why always is repeated so obstinately: "the people of *ámu-kahak*"? The above-mentioned officer tells in his life: "I took as booty for him (the king) in the north of (the town of) *Ámu: Kahak's*, three hands." That we have here the name of the Egyptian town is most clearly proved by the lately discovered statue with the orthography  (*sic*) for the  of the other copies. That the name *Kahak* forms no plural is quite regular in the Neo-Empire. This Libyan tribe had, as we see, made irruptions in the Western Delta, and was defeated there and not in its own country.

The inscription, four times repeated, above the scribes, who note the number of slain enemies, is, after some faults have been corrected by comparison of the three texts:



"Bringing the booty before his Majesty from the enemies of Libya, made from 3,000 men, amounting to 3,000 hands, amounting to 3,000 *qa-ra-na-tȧ*."

Nothing can be plainer. *Qarnat* cannot designate anything else than the represented phalli, and all the old explanations by σλοοτε עָרְלָה, &c., are refuted.*

Unfortunately the imperfect drawings and their small size do not enable us to prove also the marks of circumcision. But I hope the appeal to travellers in Egypt will not rest unheard, and that the original monuments will be examined to settle the point.

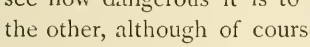
For the word *qarnat* I must add that once (line 55 of Mernptaḥ's text) it is written—



that is קְרָנוֹת. This form shows that *qrnt* is really a Semitic plural with וֹת, as has been supposed by several Egyptologists. As a certain example for the value וֹ, *ô* of  *âu*, it is doubly precious. But, I must add, this value is the best proof of the strange circumstance that the syllabic system formed its rules more after an

s * Also the explanation of Chabas is proved to be not quite correct: the crotum is *not* separated.

arbitrary conventionality than according to the traditional orthography, and that thus it is sometimes quite opposed to the pronunciation in pure Egyptian words. Thus, the Neo-Egyptian pronunciation of  *âu* follows always that of the auxiliary verb *âu*, which was, according to the variants, the same as in Demotic and Coptic: ĕ, ϵ, Ε. In no Egyptian word that of *ô* is proved. We see how dangerous it is to deduce conclusions from one system to the other, although of course they do not always diverge so strongly as in the present instance.

Another addition, which is suggested by the small inscription above mentioned, is the explanation of the strange expression: ,* line 54, "their palms (?) of hand."

 *kp* (כַּף), denotes here a particular hand, certainly the right. We see also in all other inscriptions that one hand only was always counted, and we can easily guess that it was the right hand—the symbol of the warrior's strength. The determinative () is o no great value in this and other cases, and also our representation, in which we find, apparently, partly left and partly right hands; for, apart from the possibility of carelessness of the modern copyists, the Egyptian artist was always in great embarrassment with regard to the hands, the inside or palm of which he was unable to draw. Therefore, here, when he wished to represent irregular heaps, he could not follow only one direction, but dispensed with the superfluous accuracy of drawing only right hands. The above mentioned expression can after all only designate: "*their right* (hands of their) *hands*."

Considering the enormous historical importance of the celebrated inscription of Mernptaḥ, I have considered that it would be useful to communicate even these small additions towards its explanation as quickly as possible, in the hope that the principal thesis of the remarks lately published will soon be examined and discussed by other Egyptologists.

* Dümichen: .

INSCRIPTIONS OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II.

III.—The Cylinder of Mr. Rich.

[*Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, I*, 52, *No.* 4.]

By Rev. C. J. Ball.

	Transcription.	*Translation.*
	D. na-bi-u^{m}-ku-du-ur-ri-u-çu-ur	*Nebuchadrezzar,*
	šar ba-bi-la^{m} *ki*	*the king of Babylon,*
	a-aš-ru ša-aḫ-ti	*the good, the humble,*
	pa-li-iḫ DIMMER-GAL-GAL	*worshipper of the mighty gods,*
5	PA-TE-SI çi-i-ri	*the pontiff supreme,*
	za-ni-in E-SAG-ILLA	*the finisher of Esagilla*
	u E-ZI-DA	*and Ezida,*
	DÛ D. na-bi-u^{m}-IBILA-u-çu-ur	*the son of Nabopalassar,*
	šar ba-bi-la^{m} *ki*	*King of Babylon,*
10	a—na—ku	*am I.*
	ID LI-BI-AL ḪI-GAL	*Libil-ḫegalla,*
	pa-al-ga D. UTU-Ê	*the canal of the sunrising*
	ba-bi-la^{m} *ki*	*of Babylon,*
	ša ul-tu u-um ri-e-ku-tu	*which from days remote*
15	in-na-mu-u-ma	*had gone to decay, and*
	ši-iḫ-ḫa-at IŠ-ḪI-A	*with subsidence of earth*
	iz-za-an-nu-u-ma	*was choked up, and*
	im-lu-u sa-ki-ki	*rubbish filled*
	a-ša-ar-ša	*its bed,*
20	aš-te-'e-e-ma	*I looked to; and*
	ul-tu GÛ ID-UD-KIP-NUN	*from the bank of the river of Sepharvaim,*
	a-di a-a-i-bu-ur-ša-bu-u^{m}	*to Aa-ibur-shabû,*

Notes.

3. *âšru:* contracted from *âširu*, ptcp. I, 1 of *ašâru* = יָשַׁר Heb. (The initial sign is 𒀭, which is to be read *a*: *see* S^{a}. Col. iii, 26. In Phillipps' Cyl. III, 5, which I had no opportunity of correcting in sheet, the first word is a-aš-ra-at: consequently the word "oracle" should be omitted from the translation.)

šaḫti: for *šâḫitu, *šâḫiṭu; ptcp. I, 1 of *šaḫâṭu*, "to sink down," "bow oneself." *Cf.* Heb. שָׁחַח, שָׁחָה, שׁוּחַ, to which שָׁחַט is probably related, as meaning "to strike down," and so "to slaughter."

15. *innamû:* niphal impf. (IV, 1) of *namû*, "to fall," "go to ruin," of buildings; Bors. I, 31; for the qal, see Senk., I, 14.

16. *šiḫḫatu:* R. שׁחח, "to sink down," as in IIeb.

IŠ-ḪI-A: ideogram for SAGAR-MEŠ, *i.e.*, *êpiri*, *êprâti*, (עֲפָרוֹת, Prov. viii, 26), "dust," "earth."

izzannu: impf. IV, 1 of *zanânu*, "to fill." Hence prob. *zâninu*, the pctp. I, 1, is to be explained as "he who fills up what is lacking," "finishes" or "perfects" buildings.

18. *sakiki:* or "rubbish:" *cf.* Arab. سَكَّ, "to close or stop up," "fasten a door." We might also compare Heb. שׁכך, "to sink down." But the term is perhaps more nearly related to *sukku*, "bank," Col. II, 4, which itself is a syn. of *tilu*, "mound." *Sakiki* thus answers to our term "sandbanks."

21. GÛ: *aḫû*, *kišâdu*, "bank," "shore."

Transcription.	*Translation.*
i-na ÊŠIR-Ê-A	*with bitumen*
u ŠIB AL-UR-RA	*and kiln-brick*
ab-na-a	*I rebuilt*
su-uk-ki-ša	*its banks.*
i-na a-a-i-bu-ur-ša-bu-u^{m}	*At Âa-ibur-shâbû,*
su-li-e KA-DIMMER-RA-KI	*the causeway of Babylon,*
a-na ma-aš-ṭa-ḫa	*for the road*
be-ili ra-bi-i^{m} D. mardug	*of the great lord Merodach,*
ti-tu-ur pa-al-ga	*a bridge of the canal*
ak-zu-ur-ma	*I constructed, and*
u-ša-an-ṭi-il	*raised*
ta-al-la-ak-ti	*the way.*
D. mardug be-ili ra-bi-u	*Merodach, great Lord!*
aš-ša at-ta	*for thy part*
na-ap-li-is-ma	*behold thou, and*
ba-la-ṭa^{m} da-er-a	*long life,*
še-bi-e li-it-tu-ti	*enough of children,*
ku-un GIŠ-GU-ZA	*stability of throne,*
u la-ba-ar	*and length*
pa-li-e	*of reign,*
a-na ši-ri-iq-ti	*for a boon*
šu-ur-qa^{m}	*bestow Thou!*

NOTES.

1. ÊSIR-Ê-A: *iddû*, "asphalt;" ἡ ἄσφαλτος, Hdt. I, 179. I have unfortunately written "gypsum" instead of "bitumen" or "asphalt," for the Babylonian *kupru*, in my renderings of the India House Inscr. and Phillipps' Cylinder.

3. *abnâ :* the form taken by the aorist before an accusative of the object.

4. *sukki :* plur. of *sukku*, "fence" or "bank," S^{e} 30 : DÛ  su-uk-ku. *Cf.* Heb. שׂוּךְ, "to hedge in," and סכך hiphil, "to shut in," "enclose."

9. *titur :* stat. constr. of *tîtûru*, Talmudic תיתורא. Tigl. IV, 69, plur. *titurrâti ;* Sarg. Khors. 129, *titurri*. The root is not *târu*, as Haupt suggests, but *atâru*, = **watâru*, יתר. *Cf.* Arab. وتر "to string a bow"; II, *id. ;* and the Heb. יתר, "bowstring," Ps. xi, 2. The word *tîtûru*, therefore, means lit. "span," and refers to the spanning of the water by the bridge. For the Heb. form, *cf.* תירוש from ירש. It is not essentially different from that of תמרוקים, תמרורים, etc.

14. *aššu* = ana ša ; *cf. aššu*. Lit. "in regard to thyself."

22. *šurqa*^{m} *:* the recurring phrase *ana širiqti šurqa*^{m} proves that *šurqamma* is the right transcription in the India House Inscr. I, 72 ; see my note on the passage, *Proceedings*, Dec., 1887.

INSCRIPTIONS OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II.

IV. A cylinder from Babylon.

[1 R. 52, No. 3.]

Transcription.

D. na-bi-u^{m}-ku-du-ur-ri-u-çu-ur šar KA-DIMMER-RA-KI
ru-ba-a-a^{m} na-a-da^{m} i-tu-ut ku-un li-ib-bi D. mardug
ri-e-a-u^{m} ki-i-nu^{m}
mu-uš-te-ši-ir aš-ra-a-ti D. na-bi-u^{m}
mu-ṭi-ib li-ib-bi-šu-un
iš-ša-ak-ku çi-i-ri
ša a-na zi-in-na-a-ti E-SAG-ILLA u E-ZI-DA
u-mi-ša-a^{m} ti-is-mu-ru-u-ma
da-am-ga-a-ti KA-DIMMER-RA-KI u ba-ar-zi-pā-*ki*
iš-te-ni-'u-u ka-a-a-na^{m}
e-im-ga mu-ut-ni-en-nu-u
za-ni-in E-SAG-ILLA u E-ZI-DA
IBILA SAG-KALA ša D. nabiu^{m}-IBILA-u-çu-ur
šar KA-DIMMER-RA-KI a-na-ku
i-nu-u^{m} D. mardug be-ili ra-bi-u i-lu ba-nu-u-a
ki-ni-iš ib-ba-an-ni-ma
da-am-ga-a-ti âli-šu KA-DIMMER-RA-KI
ra-bi-iš u-ma-'i-ir-an-ni
a-na-ku a-na D. mardug be-ili-ia
ka-a-a-na-ak la ba-aṭ-la-ak

ša e-li-ša ṭa-a-bu
ud-da-ak-ku la na-pa-ar-ka-a
i-ta-ma-am li-ib-ba-a^{m}
i-na KUBABBAR GUŠKIN ni-si-iq-ti^{m} NA NA šu-ku-ru-u-ti^{m}
e-ra-a GIŠ MIS-MA-KAN-NA GIŠ erini^{m}
mi-im-ma šu-um-šu šu-ku-ru šu-un-ṭu-la^{m}
la ba-ša-a ḫi-ši-iḫ-ti^{m}
E-SAG-ILLA az-nu-un-ma
ša-aš-ši-iš u-ša-pa-a ša-ru-ru-u-šu

Translation.

Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon,
The prince exalted, the called of the trueheartedness of Merodach,
The faithful shepherd,
That ordereth aright the holy-places of Nebo,
That rejoiceth their heart;
The pontiff supreme,
Who for the finishings of Esagilla and Ezida
Daily was careful, and
The good of Babylon and Borsippa
Seeketh after steadfastly:
The sage, the self-humbling,
The finisher of Esagilla and Ezida,
The chiefest son of Nabopalassar
King of Babylon, am I.
When Merodach, great lord, the god my maker,
Had faithfully called me, and
With the good of his city Babylon
Greatly had charged me,
I to Merodach my lord
Was faithful, I was not idle;
What to it (? him) was pleasing
Day by day without ceasing
The heart prescribed.
With silver, gold, glitter (?) of precious stones,
Bronze, palm-wood, cedar,
Whatever is precious (and) esteemed,
—There was no lack—
Esagilla I finished, and
Like the sun I made its brightness to shine.

NOTES.

7. *zinnâti:* I now regard this word as derived from *zanânu*, "to fill," "fulfil," "finish."

9. *damgâti:* "good things *for* Babylon," or "good deeds *towards* Babylon:" an objective genitive.

18. *uma'iranni:* impf. II, 1 (pael): c. suff. 1 pers., from *mâru*, *ma'âru*, מהר; "to send," and "commission," "charge," "order."

20. *baṭlak:* perf. I, 1 of *baṭâlu*, "to leave off," "be idle," בטל (Aram.).

23. *itamam: i.e., itama*^{m}, from *tamû*, "to say," "bid." If the final *m* were radical, the term might be pres. I, 2 (Iphteal) of *amâmu;* for **yahtámmam; cf.* ثَمَّ versavit rem apud animum, de eo cogitavit sollicito animo; also Heb. הָמָה.

27. *ḫišiḫti*^{m}: *cf. ḫušaḫḫa*, "want," Tigl. VIII, 85; *ḫašâḫu*, "to desire;" Syr. ܒܥܐ "use," "need."

29. *šaššiš:* This term has long been a puzzle. It is an adverbial form from *šanšu* = *šamšu*, "the sun." Both Nabopalassar and Nebuchadrezzar use the form *šaššu* for šamšu, and Sanherib has the phrase šalam šan-ši, "the setting of the sun." Thus we have the regular transition: *šamšu*, *šanšu*, *šaššu*, adv. *šaššiš;* cf. *kakkabiš*, "like the stars;" *nannâriš* "like the moon."

ušapa: impf. shaphel (III, 1) of *apû* = יפה; *cf.* יפע.

Transcription.

E-ZI-DA u-ša-ak-li-il-ma
ki-ma ši-di-ir-ti^{m} ša-ma-mi AN-nim
im-gu-ur D-EN-LIL u ni-mi-it-ti^{m} D. EN-LIL
BADA BADA GAL GAL ša KA-DIMMER-RA-KI uš-te-ši-ir-ma
ka-a-ri ḫi-ri-ti-šu i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri
ša-da-ni-iš ab-ni-ma
ERI-KI a-na ki-da-a-ni^{m} u-ša-aš-ḫi-ir
ri-i-mu e-ri-i e-iq-du-u-ti^{m}
u ÇIR-RUŠ ÇIR-RUŠ še-zu-zu-u-ti^{m}
i-na KA-GAL KA-GAL-šu u-uš-zi-iz-ma
ERI-KI KA-DIMMER-RA-KI a-na ta-ab-ra-a-ti^{m} u-še-e-bi
ni-çi-ir-ti^{m} E-SAG-ILLA u KA-DIMMER-RA-KI aš-te-ḫi-e-ma
i-na tu-ur-ri e-li-i ša KA-GAL D. iš-ta-ar
iš-tu kišâdi nâri UD-KIP-NUN-KI a-di mi-ḫi-ra-at KA-GAL
i-ta-a-at ERI-KI a-na ki-da-a-ni^{m}
ḫa-al-çi ra-bi-ti^{m}
i-na ÊŠIR-Ê-A u ŠIB AL-UR-RA ab-ni-ma
i-ši-is-sa mi-ḫi-ra-at ap-si-i
i-na šu-pu-ul mi-e bi-e-ru-ti^{m} u-ša-ar-ši-id

ri-e-ši-šu ša-da-ni-iš u-za-ak-ki-ir
ma-aç-ça-ar-ti^{m} na-ak-li-iš u-da-an-ni-in-ma
ERI-KI KA-DIMMER-RA-KI a-na ni-çi-ir-ti^{m} aš-ku-un
D. mardug be-ili ra-bi-u
li-bi-it ga-ti-ia
a-na da-mi-iq-ti^{m} ḫa-di-iš na-ap-li-is-ma
da-am-ga-a-tu-u-a li-iš-ša-ak-na ša-ap-tu-uk-ka
i-na pi-i-ka el-lu ša la na-ka-ri
i-bi a-ra-ku u-mi-ia
ki-bi li-it-tu-u-ti
i-na ki-bi-ti-ka çi-ir-ti^{m} ša la šu-bi-e-lu
a-a i-ši na-ki-ri mu-ga-al-li-tu a-a ar-ša-am.

Translation.

Ezida I completed, and
Like the host of the heavens of Anu
Imgurbel and Nimittibel
The great ramparts of Babylon I put in order, and
The walls of its moat with bitumen and kiln-brick
Like mountains I built, and
The capital for defence I carried them round.
Massy bulls of bronze,
And serpents huge, erect,
In its gates I set up, and
The capital Babylon for gazings I made splendid.
The fortifications of Esagilla and Babylon I looked to, and
At the high tower (?) of the gate of Ishtar,
From the bank of the River of Sepharvaim to the front of the gate,
On the flanks of the capital, for cover,
A mighty bulwark
With bitumen and kiln-brick I built, and
Its foundation, confronting the depth,
At the bottom of the clear waters I laid.
Its top like the mountains I reared.
The defence cunningly I strengthened, and
The capital Babylon I made a stronghold.
Merodach, great lord,
The work of my hands
For good joyfully behold thou, and

May good things for me be brought to pass by thy command!
With thy glorious mouth, which is irresistible,
Announce the lengthening of my days,
Command offspring!
By thy supreme command, which cannot be overcome,
May I own not a foe, adversary may I have none!

NOTES.

2. *šidirtu: cf.* שִׁדְרָה "rank" of soldiers; 2 Kings viii, 15 (plur.). Perhaps rather *šiṭirtu; cf.* Ar. *saṭr*, "a line," "row" (of trees, or buildings).

13. *turru: cf.* תּוּר, טָר "to go round." I only conjecture the meaning of the word.

16. *ḫalṣu: see* Sanherib, Taylor Cyl. Col. iii, 21, where the term is used of siege-works. *Cf.* חָלוּץ "armed;" Deut. iii, 18; Isa. xv, 4.

18. *išissa* = *išidsa* = išid + ša.

apsû: the well-known equivalent of Sumerian AB-ZU, the abyss of ocean, the Απασων of Damascius.

19. *berû:* "bright," "translucent," "transparent:" *cf.* בָּהִיר "bright," Job xxxvii, 21; Syr. ܒܗܰܪ "to shine."

25. *Cf.* Nehemiah's frequent prayer: "Remember me, O my God, for good!" (ch. xiii, 14, 31).

26. Or, "May my good deeds become thy talk!" *Šaptu*, "lip," may mean either "speech" (Gen. xi, 1) or "command."

27. *šâ lâ nakâri:* "which it is not (for any) to oppose:" like *lâ šanânu*, "unrivalled," *lâ dahê*, "unapproachable." So in l. 30 *infra*, ša lâ *šûbêlu* (infin. shaphel of *bêlu*, בעל), "which it is not (for any) to master."

30. *ina kibitika çirti*^{m}: This shows that in the India House Inscr. Col. X, 1 we should read ki-bi-tu-uk-ka, "By thy command:" see my note (*Proc.*, Dec., 1887).

31. *aršî*^{m}: 1 R. has *limtalli*. The character *ša* is nearly obliterated on the cylinder. For the phrase, see Ind. House Inscr. X, 16, *mugalliti aa aršî*.

V.—THE CYLINDERS FROM SENKEREH.

[1 R. 51. No. 2.]

Transcription.

1 D. na-bi-u^{m}-ku-du-ur-ri-u-çu-ur šar KA-DIMMER-RA-KI (*v. l.* D. nabiu^{m}-ku-dur-ri-u-çur)
aš-ri ka-an-šu mu-ut-ni-en-nu-u
pa-li-iḫ EN EN-EN
za-ni-in (*v. l.* nin) E-SAG-ILLA u E-ZI-DA

IBILA ki-i-ni ša D. nabiu^{m}-IBILA-u-çur
šar KA-DIMMER-RA-KI a-na-ku
i-nu(-u^{m}) D. mardug EN ra-bu-u
ŠI-GAL DIMMER-MEŠ mu-uš-ta-ar-ḫu (*v. l.* muš-tar-ḫu)
ma-a-ti u ni-ši^{m} (*v. l.* UKU-MEŠ)
a-na ri-'u-u-ti id-di-na
i-na (*v. l.* nu)-u-mi-šu E-BAR-RA
E DIMMER-UTU ša ki-ri-ib UTU-UNU-KI
ša iš-tu u-mu (*v. l.* mi, um) ru-qu-u-ti
i-mu-u ti-la-ni-iš
ki-ir (*v. l.* kir)-bu-uš-šu ba-az-za (*v. l.* çi) iš-ša-ap (*v. l.* šap)-ku-ma
la (u)-ud-da-a u-çu-ra-a-ti
i-na pa-li-e-a EN ra-bu-u D. mardug
a-na E šu-a-ti
(i)-ir-ta-šu sa-li-mu
IM IV-ba u-ša-at-(*v. l.* šat)-ba-am-ma
SAĠAR-MEŠ ki-ir (*v. l.* kir)-bi-šu is-su-uḫ-ma
in-nam-ra u-çu-ra-a-ti
ia-a-ti D. nabiu^{m}-ku-dur-ri-u-çur šar KA-DIMMER-RA-KI
ri-e-šu pa-li-iḫ-šu
a-na e-bi-šu (*v. l.* biš) E šu-a-ti

Translation.

Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon,
The good, the submissive, the pious,
The worshipper of the lord of lords,
The finisher of Esagilla and Ezida,
True son of Nabopalassar
King of Babylon, am I.
When Merodach the great lord,
The gracious one of the gods, the mighty,
Country and people
For shepherding had given;
At that time, Ebarra,
The house of Shamash, that is within Ellasar,
Which from days remote
Had fallen down in heaps,
Within which the rubbish was piled (lit. *poured out) and*
Showed not the walls;
In my reign, the great lord Merodach

To that house
Shewed himself friendly ;
The four winds he caused to come, and
The earth within it he tore away, and
The walls were seen.
Me, Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon,
The servant, his worshipper,
To make that house

NOTES.

10. *iddina :* this confirms the explanation of *itina*[m], Phillipps I, 10.

14. *îmû :* for *immû, *inmû ; impf. I, 1 of *namû*. The root is obscure, but the sense certain : *see* Lotz, Tigl., p. 175.

15. *baççu : cf.* the Heb. roots בצין and בצע.

iššapku : niphal impf. (IV, 1) of *šapâku ;* for **iššapiku*.

16. *uddâ :* pael impf. (II, 1) of *idu*, ידע. The ruins concealed the outline of the building ; *cf.* line 22.

uçurâti : plur. of *uçurtu :* R. עצר, "to shut in."

19. *irtašû :* impf. (I, 2) of *rašû*, *cf.* Ethiop. ረሸየ: reddidit, exhibuit, 2 Cor. vi, 4.

20. *ušatbâ :* shaphel impf. (III, 1) of *tebû ; cf.* נבע.

22. *innamra :* niphal impf. (IV, 1) of *amâru*, "to see" : 3 plur. fem.

24. *rêšu : see* 5 R. 52, col. 4, 34. I do not think this is the same word as *rêšu*, "head," but would rather compare the root *rašû*, "to possess" ; so that *rêšu*, "servant," "chattel," answers to the Greek κτῆμα. *Cf.* 5 R. 34, col. I, 7 : *ibbušu ana rêšûšun*, "(whom) they called to their service."

COL. II.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
ra-bi-iš u-ma-'i-ir-an-ni	*greatly he urged me.*
te-me-en-šu la-bi-ri	*Its old record*
a-ḫi-iṭ ab-ri-e-ma	*I saw, inspected, and*
e-li te-me-en-ni-šu la-bi-ri	*over its old record*
iš-ḪI-A el-lu-ti am-ku-uk-ma	*fine soil I shook, and*
u-ki-in li-ib-na-as-sa	*fixed the bricks of it.*
E-BAR-RA E ki-i-ni	*Ebarra, the eternal house,*
šu-ba-at (*v.l.* bat) D. UTU be-ili-ia	*the seat of Shamash my lord,*
a-na D. UTU a-ši-ib E-BAR-RA	*for Shamash, who dwelleth in Ebarra,*
ša ki-ri-ib UTU-UNU-KI	*which is within Ellasar,*
EN ra-bu-u EN-ia lu e-bu-uš	*the great lord, my lord, I rebuilt.*
D. UTU EN ra-bu-u	*Shamash, great lord !*

a-na E-BAR-RA šu-bat be-lu-ti-ka *into Ebarra, the seat of thy lordship,*
i-na ḫi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti *with rejoicings and revels*
i-na e-ri-bi-ka *when thou enterest in,*
li-bi(*v.l.* pi)-it ga-(*v.l.* qa)-ti-i-a dam-ga($^{v.\,l.}_{qa}$)-a-ti^{m}(*v.l.* ti) *the work of my pure hands*
ḫa-di-iš na-ap-li-is-ma *with gladness behold thou, and*
ba-la-aṭ (*v.l.* ṭu) u-meš (*v.l.*mi) ru-qu-u-ti *a life of far days,*
ku-un-nu GIŠ-GU-ZA *stability of throne,*
la-ba-ar (*v.l.* ri) pa-li-e-a *length (lit. oldness) of my reign,*
li-iš-ša-ki-in (*v.l.* kin) ša-ap-(*v.l.* šap)-tu-uk-(*v.l.* tuk)-ka *be brought to pass (by) thy word* lit., *lip*)!
si-ip-pi (*v.l.* pa) ši-ga-ri mi-ṭi-lu (*v.l.* li). GIŠ-GAL-MEŠ *May the lintels, bars and bolt(s) of the gates*
ša E-BAR-RA *of Ebarra,*
dam-ga-(*v.l.* qa)-tu-u-a *my good deeds*
la na-pa-ar-(*v.l.* par)-ka-a *without ceasing*
li-iz-ku-ru ma-ḫa-ar-ka *mention before thee!*

Notes.

5. *amkuk:* impf. 1, 1 of *maqâqu; cf.* Heb. and Chald. מקק.

6. *libnassa:* for **libnâtsa*, *libnâtiša*. *Libnâti* is plur. of *libittu* (= * libintu).

16. *lipittu:* elsewhere the phrase is *epšît gâtîa*. With the root *lapâtu*, "to apply oneself to," "turn to," a matter, *cf.* Heb. לפת.

17. *naplis:* niphal imperative (IV, 1) of *palâsu*.

21. *lišśakin:* niphal precative of *śakânu*. That *śaptukka* is a modal accusative, like חרבך in Ps. xvii, 13, appears from the parallel phrase, Bors. II, 30, *lišśakin ina pîka*.

22. He asks that the silent witness of the embellishments he has wrought in the temple, may be accepted in his favour.

ERRATA.

Professor Oppert has called my attention to a translation by himself of the Phillipps' Cylinder, published so far back as 1863, in his *Expéd. en Mesopotamie*, a work which I had not seen.

I append some corrections of my last paper (*Proceedings*, Feb., 1888).

Col. I, 19: nûna^{m} iççuru D.P. šummu pîlâ simat appari^{m}; "fish, fowl, garlick, *pîlû*, the ornament of the canal." (So II, 29; III, 13.) 𒄩𒀀𒀀𒄩 is the determinative of plants and herbs; *šummu*, the Heb. שׁוּמִים. Whatever *pîlâ* may be, it is probably a kind of fruit-bearing plant, which grew by the water, perhaps the

water-melon. That *apparî*m means "ditch," "canal," appears from an inscription of Hammurabi. *Cf.* also the plur. in the phrase *nâr* agammê u apparâte, "swamps and canals." The root is חפר, حفر, "to dig." *šizbu*, "milk," is perhaps to be written *šiçpu*, and compared with שֶׁצֶף "outpouring," "overflow." If, however, *šizbu* be right, the term may be connected with Ar. وزب "to flow," from which root (זוב = יזב) the Chaldee שיזיב is said to come.

I, 49 sq.: zarâti kibri ša BADA DALUM ša kima satum la uttaššu; "The cabins of the edges of the great wall, which like a mountain cannot be scaled." The cabins are, I think, the *οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα* of Herodotus.

In II, 40, 42, *for* E-U(R)-RA, *read* E-PAR-RA.

C. J. BALL.

The Next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 1st May, 1888, at 8 p.m.

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VOL. X. EIGHTEENTH SESSION.

PART 6.

[APRIL. NO MEETING.]

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LE CAIRE, 10 *Janvier*, 1888.

CHER MONSIEUR LE SECRÉTAIRE.

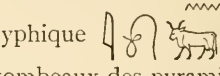
Pendant mon séjour en Égypte cet hiver j'ai étudié les stèles égyptiennes du Musée de Boulaq. Permettez moi de vous envoyer quelques notices de ces études.

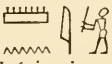
I. Stèle no. 163. Cette stèle a été dédiée á Ptah-nofer qui porte le titre.

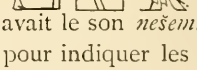
 *mena aū n ptah.*

Le mot  a plusieurs significations d'après les différents déterminatifs. Prenant une des significations connues on pourrait traduire notre titre par: "l'immolateur, le sacrificateur de taureaux du dieu Ptah." Mais je ne crois pas cette traduction correcte; car le déterminatif ne porte pas un homme avec un couteau , mais avec un bâton dans la main . Il faut donc chercher une autre, une nouvelle signification.

Il existe dans le dictionnaire copte un mot, dont on n'a pas encore retrouvé le prototype dans la langue hiéroglyphique. C'est le

mot ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ *pascere, mener le bétail au pâturage*, que je rapproche de notre mot hiéroglyphique *mena* avec le déterminatif: un homme tenant un bâton dans la main, puisqu'il est d'accord avec le déterminatif, et qu'il donne un sens bien convenable. Je traduis donc le titre, dont il s'agit ici, par: "Celui qui mène le bétail de Ptah au pâturage," c'est-à-dire *le pasteur du bétail de Ptah.* Ce titre correspond ainsi tant quant au son que quant au sens entièrement au mot composé copte ⲙⲛⲧⲣ ⲡⲟⲩ *boum pastor;* car ⲙⲛⲧⲣ, une forme de ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ, est le mot hiéroglyphique  *mena*, *pasteur*, et ⲡⲟⲩ est le mot hiéroglyphique  *aū*, *taureau*, qui se trouve tant de fois dans les tombeaux des pyramides.

Par ce mot nous pourrons aussi expliquer le nom de peuple des monuments égyptiens  *men-ti;* car *ti* est une terminaison, qui indique la personne, qui fait ce que la verbe signifie; *men-ti* veux donc dire "le peuple pasteur," *les Nomades.* Je crois ainsi, qu'on peut inscrire  *mena*, copte ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ, *mener le bétail au pâturage*, sans hésitation comme un nouveau mot dans le dictionnaire hiéroglyphique.

II. La stèle no. 623 donne presque les mêmes personnes que la stèle no. 215, dont j'ai copié les noms il y a dix-huit ans. Ce qui est curieux et que je veux relever ici, c'est que le nom, qui dans l'une des stèles est toujours écrit  *titi* avec la barque, est constamment écrit dans l'autre stèle  *titi-nešem*, d'où resulte que la barque dans ce nom avait le son *nešem.* Dans la langue égyptienne il y a plusieurs mots pour indiquer les différentes espèces de barques; nešem signifie la barque sacrée d'Abydos. Cette barque était employée dans les cérémonies religieuses, et elle était l'objet d'un culte spécial; car j'ai trouvé dans notre musée le titre d'un prêtre en second de la barque nešem.

III. Une stèle en grès, achetée il y a deux ans à Louxor pour le musée. Dans le régistre supérieur on voit la reine Aah-hotep et derrière elle et l'embrassant la reine Sebekemsas. Cette disposition des personnes indique généralement une parenté intime. Dans le texte au-dessous, où la reine Aah-hotep est nommée la mère d'Ahmès, premier roi de la XVIII[ème] dynastie, le défunt Jouf, fils d'Arit, raconte les événements de sa vie. Il nomme les différentes fonc-

tions qui lui ont été conférées par la reine Aah-hotep et ci-après par la reine Aahmès, femme royale d'Amenhotep I. Parmi les événements du temps de la reine Aah-hotep il raconte ce fait intéressant: "J'ai renouvelé ce tombeau de la reine Sebekemsas, après qu'il a été trouvé allant à la ruine."

Ce qui fait l'intérêt tout particulier de cette stèle, c'est qu'elle démontre une relation intime entre la reine Aah-hotep, mère du fondateur de la XVIII^{ème} dynastie, et la reine Sebekemsas, , qui sans aucun doute appartenait à la famille des rois de la XIII^{ème} dynastie. On ne pourrait pas nier cette relation; car elle est clairement démontrée et par la manière, dont les deux reines sont assises l'une auprès de l'autre, et par le fait, que la reine Aah-hotep a fait restaurer le tombeau de la reine Sebekemsas, lequel avait souffert probablement pendant la guerre longue et acharnée entre les Hyksos et les rois thébains de la XVII^{ème} dynastie.

Mais cette relation acceptée, on ne peut pas admettre une chronologie égyptienne, qui sépare la XIII^{ème} dynastie de la XVIII^{ème} par un temps de sept ou cinq cents ans, comme quelques savants distingués l'ont établie, tandis qu'elle milite fortement en faveur de mon opinion, émise depuis longtemps déjà, que la fin de la XIII^{ème} dynastie n'est séparée du commencement de la XVIII^{ème} que par cent soixante-six ans. D'après ma chronologie Ahmès I est mort en 1490 a. J.-C., qui est l'an du commencement de la XVIII^{ème} dynastie; car quoiqu'il fût le fondateur de cette dynastie, ses années de règne sont comptées dans celles de la XVII^{ème} dynastie. Comme il est probable, qu'il est mort vieux, âgé au moins de 60—70 ans, Aah-hotep, sa mère est née environ 100 ans auparavant, c'est-à-dire à peu près en 1600 a. J.-C. La reine Sebekemsas, qui était sa parente, la mère ou la grand-mère ou quelque chose de pareil, pourrait donc fort bien être la fille d'un Sebekemsaf, le dernier roi ou un des derniers rois de la XIII^{ème} dynastie, qui d'après ma chronologie fut dépossédée par les Hyksos en 1656 a. J.-C.

4. La stèle No. 765 indique comme la stèle précédente la connexion de la XIII^{ème} dynastie avec la XVIII^{ème}. Elle nomme Ju, fonctionnaire d'un grade inférieur, sa mère Hunt, sa femme la fille royale Hatas-tu, sa fille Neb-hes-ent et la femme royale Nefert, qui était la mère de sa femme. Mariette croyait que cette stèle appartenait à

la XIII^{ème} dynastie, et il a sans doute raison, en tant que les femmes nommées appartenaient d'après toute vraisemblance à la famille des derniers rois de la XIII^{ème} dynastie. Car Hunt est le nom d'une princesse de cette dynastie, de même que le nom Hes-neb-nes, qui n'est probablement qu'une variante du nom Neb-hes-ent de notre stèle. Aussi une autre considération parle en faveur de l'opinion de Mariette. Les princesses de la dite stèle sont l'une la femme, l'autre la belle-mère d'un fonctionnaire inférieur. Mais cette mésalliance comment était-elle possible? Parceque ces femmes vivaient après que le dernier roi de la XIII^{ème} dynastie avait été détroné par les Hyksos, de sorte qu'elles gardaient encore les titres, mais non pas la puissance et la splendeur royales.

La connexion de nos personnes avec la XIII^{ème} dynastie ainsi établie, nous allons voir, qu'elles étaient également en relation avec la XVIII^{ème}. La grande régente Hatasu de cette dynastie portait le même nom que la princesse de notre stèle, probablement parcequ'elle appartenait à la même famille, et que les rois de la XVIII^{ème} dynastie ont fait valoir leur descendance de l'ancienne XIII^{ème} dynastie pour démontrer leur légitimité.

Les personnes de notre stèle, étant en rapport d'un côté avec la XIII^{ème} dynastie et de l'autre avec la XVIII^{ème}, ont donc vécu pendant les cent soixante six ans qui séparent ces deux dynasties, et ici de nouveau il est bien invraisemblable que la XIII^{ème} et la XVIII^{ème} dynasties puissent être séparées par plusieurs dynasties successives et légitimes et par un temps de sept ou cinq cents ans.

Votre très dévoué,

J. LIEBLEIN,

Professeur à l'Université de Christiana, Norvège.

ASSYRIAN LETTERS. IV.

By S. Alden Smith.

It has been the aim of the notes accompanying the translations given in this series of *Letters*, to discuss in the shortest manner possible only such words as have not been elsewhere sufficiently explained. This study has brought before the reader 35 new documents, containing a variety of forms and words which will be instructive and interesting to the student of Semitic philology. As many more inscriptions of this class will be found translated and explained in my *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, *Heft* II and III. In this work a glossary of words is appended to aid the student. In the absence of one here, I have thought it proper to call attention, in a short space, to the most important new words and forms in the foregoing documents.

1. Words that have been with some probability explained. The word *par-šu-ma-a-te*, K. 482 (*cf.* K. 492, l. 19, *Proc.*, Jan., 1888, and K. 183, 16, *Heft* III, p. 23). *u-šu-tu-u-ni*, K. 483, 11, *uš-še*, *ka-ra-ri*, *kar-mat*, S. 1034. *u-šaḫ-ma-ṣu-u*, *ni-ḳut-ṭu*, K. 82. *a-da-nu*, *i-bak-ku-an-ni*, K. 83. *di-lil-šu-nu*, *is-su-ri* (*cf.* K. 525, *Asurb.*, *Heft* III, p. 31), *pi-laḳ-ḳu* (the question is, what this word means in this connection), *šu-u-tu* (*cf.* K. 525), K. 691. All the above texts will be found in the *Proceedings* for June, 1887. *ma-ṣu*, K. 21, *taḳ-pi-ir-ti*. (I do not feel at all satisfied with the explanation given by me above.) *mu-uk*, K. 80, *i-šag-gan-ga*, K. 81, *ki-ir-si*, K. 89. I do not now believe that the explanation and meaning given to this word are correct, for they do not seem to suit the other passages where the word occurs. *Cf.* K. 113 and K. 511, *Proceed.* for Jan., 1888. It is altogether uncertain what the word really does mean. *Proceed.* for Nov., 1887. *ki-ik-ki-si*, K. 113. *pa-ni-a-te*, *u-na mu-šu*, K. 146. *iṣ-bi*, *sa-me*, K. 174. *nakisê-ia*, *a-kan-na im-mu-u-a*, K. 479. *am-mu-te*, *a-ra-me-ma* (or *ḫa-ra-me-ma*), *gam-rat*, K. 492. *am. asû*, *muš-ša-ra-ni-i*, *di-e-ḳi*, K. 504. *mar-kas*, *i-zu-ku-pu*, *ri-it-bu*, K. 506. *a-bi-te*, K. 507. *im-mat-at*, K. 508. *Proceed.* for Jan., 1888.

2. Words for which no explanation has been found. *am. lu-šuḫ-ḫa-ni*, K. 483. *am. kal-lu-u.* (Perhaps this root has been correctly

explained in the *Proceed.* for Jan., 1888, p. 164, l. 21.) *am. si-ru-bu-tu*, K. 82. *ḫa-ma-ku-u*, K. 83. *da-at-tu*, *pag-lu*, K. 80. *am. rab Mu*, K. 81. *ilu La-as*, K. 478. (How the name "Merodach" slipped into the translation of this letter above, I am unable to say. I had no intention of translating the name in this way.) *u-ra-a-te*, *pi-ir-ra-a-ni*, *as-ṭi-e-ri*, K. 493. *i-ṣir*(?)*-tu-u*, K. 522. *am-ma-ka*, *am. Šu-u-i*, K. 113. *pur-ba-a-ni*, K. 146. (I do not regard the explanation of this word as of any value.) *ur-ki-te*, K. 502. *ki-e-tu* (*cf.* K. 525, 35, *Asurb.*, *Heft* III, p. 31). *am. ip-tu-gu-tu-ra*, K. 506. *at-ta-la-aḫ*, K. 507. *aš-šu-ud*, *am. da-i-ka-ni-e*, *am. ḫi-in-ṭar-a-a*, *am. ra-si-tu*, *pi-ta*, K. 508. *gul-gul-la-te*, *ku-zip-pi* (*cf.* K. 183, *Asurb.*, *Heft* III, p. 23), K. 511.

The lack of a proper collection of Assyrian ideographs has been a constant impediment in translating these texts. It is a vast task to prepare such a list, and I had never found time to make mine complete. This work has now been done by Dr. R. E. Brünnow. The publisher of the book is E. J. Brill, of Leyden. The part that has now appeared is only about one-third of the whole, and when it is complete it will be one of the most valuable contributions to the library of the Assyriologist. The arrangement is clear and methodical, and its execution faultless. It is quite likely that this work will enable us to read some of the unknown ideographs that occur in Assyrian report-documents. Such a sign-list marks an epoch in our study of the Assyrian literature, and it will certainly do much toward making our knowledge of the language more accurate.

Some of the following documents are not so well preserved as most of those that I have given, but although that is true, they are none the less important to our collection. Only one care is needed, *i.e.*, not to spend too much strength in trying to explain words and forms where their very existence is not quite certain. The author hopes that what he has thus far done may help to awaken a desire in some of the members of the *Society* of studying this portion of the Assyrian literature.

K. 154.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
1 A-na šarri mâtâtê bêli-ia	*To the king of countries, my lord,*
ardu-ka Ku-dur-ru	*thy servant, Kudurru.*
Ašûr Šamaš u Marduk	*May Asur, Samas and Merodach*
a-na šarri be-li-ia	*to the king, my lord*

5	lik-ru-bu-ub ul-tu šarru bêli	*be gracious. As the king, my lord.*
	a-na Mi-ṣir il-lil-lik	*to Egypt went;*
	i-na araḫ Dûzu atalû iš-kun-nu	*in the month Tammuz an eclipse took place.*
	ṣâbê-ia a-na ba-la-ṭu ša Aššûr	*My troops for the preservation of Assyria*
	ina lib-bi-šu-nu ia-a-nu ana u šumêli	*in their midst were not; to the right and to the left*
10	il-tap-par a-du-u	*he sent. Now*
	am. apil šip-ri a-ta-ti-šu-nu	*the messenger together with (?) them*
	šarru li-iš-al-u šip-ti	*may the king ask. As I the conjurations*
	ša atalî ša araḫ Dûzu ki-i aš-ša-a	*of the eclipse of the month Tammuz brought,*
	a-na pa-ni šarri iḫ-te-liḳ	*to the king he fled.*
15	mad-da-giš ina araḫ Nisannu	 *in the month Nisan*
	 Šu-ma-a apil-šu ša	 *thus the son of*
	 ti-ia	 *my*
	 be-li-ia	 *my*
	 li	
20	 en-na	
	ṭi (?)-e-mu ul iš-kun-an ni	*command and he has not given to me*
	 kaš-šap-pa-a-ta	
	ma-da-a- ta	*many*
	a-na šarri be-li-ia	*to the king, my lord*
25	al-tap-par šarru lu-ba-a	*I sent, may the king come.*
	Nabû-šum-êšir apil aḫî-šu	*Nabû-šum-êšir, the son of the brother*
	ša Za-kir-ru am. maš-šu-u	*of Zakirru, the* Maššû
	bît ri-me-ki bît gal-kur-ra	*of Bit-Rimeki, Bit-Galkurra*
	u ma-me-i-ti u pa-ša-a-ri	*and the oaths and*
30	a-na Bêl-naṣir am. ša-ku	*to Bêl-naṣir, the officer*
	i-pu-ub-uš	*has made*
	ul-lu šarri be-li	*Now (? ?) the king, my lord*
	ṭi-e- mu	*command*
	iš-kun-an-ni	*has given me*
35	am-ma ina šani	*Indeed (?) in the year*
	II šanîtu a-na pa-ni-ia	*twice before me*
	il-ka	*he came.*

Remarks.

This tablet is unedited, but is cited many times by Strassmaier in his *Alphabet. Verz.* *See* Bezold, *Literaturges*, p. 246. A large part of the letter cannot be read, and several other passages are not clear to me.

Line 5. The form *lik-ru-bu-ub* I have never met before. This scribe seemed to be fond of unusual forms.

Line 6, *il-lil-lik*. This word appears to have too many letters, either *illik* or *lillik* make regular forms. There are, however, other such forms as this to be found. *Cf.* the form *ak-ki-kis*, *Asurbanipal-texte*, *Heft* III, p. 2, line 26.

Line 11, *a-ta-ti-šu-nu*. This word is quite new to me, and I am not able to explain it with any certainty. It is possible that it is to be derived from the root אתה, "to designate, determine," the Hebrew אות.

Line 12, *šip-ti*. This is probably the correct transcription. The stem of the word may be אשק, or ושק; the latter seems to me the more probable; the meaning is "conjuration."

Line 14, *iḫ-te-liḳ*. The root is חלק, "to go to destruction, to flee."

Line 15. For the word *mad-da-giš*, cf. *Asurbanipaltexte*, *Heft* III, p. 35, l. 17.

Line 22. The character at the beginning of the line may be the determinative for "woman," though this is not at all certain.

Line 25, *lu-ba-a*. I derive this word from בוא, "to come." It is the Hebrew בוא.

Line 27, *am. maš-šu-u*. This is quite certainly the correct transcription. The title is unknown to me in the texts, but there are several passages in the vocabularies that may be compared. W.A.I. II, 47, 14—15, *maš-šu-u kak-ku* and *maš-šu-u a-ša-ri-da*. *Cf.* also the other passages, AV No. 5227.

Line 30, *am. ša-ku*. This text seems to be correct, and not as Strassmaier, AV No. 1194, gives.

Line 31. The form *i-pu-ub-uš* is another of those unusual forms that occur in this document. It is probably the same as *ipuš*.

Line 35, *am-ma*. Strassmaier, AV No. 452 compares the Arabic أما, quidem, autem quod attinet. My translation is based upon this.

K. 523.

	Transcription.	*Translation.*
	A-na ummi šarri bêlti-ia	*To the mother of the king, my lady,*
	ardu-ka Apla-a	*thy servant, Aplâ'.*
	Bêl u Nabû a-na ummi šarri	*May Bel and Nebo to the mother of the king,*
	bêlti-ia lik-ru-bu	*my lady be gracious.*
5	a-du-u û-mu-us-su	*Now daily* (?)
	Nabû u Na-na-a	*to Nebo and Nanâ*
	a-na ba-la-ṭa	*for the preservation*
	nap-ša-a-ti	*of the life*
	u a-ra-ka û-mu	*and length of the days*
10	ša šarri mâtâtê bêli-ia	*of the king of countries, my lord,*
	u ummi šarri bêlti-ia	*and of the mother of the king, my lady,*
	u-ṣal-la	*I pray.*
	ummu šarri bêlti-a	*May the mother of the king, my lady*
	lu-u-ḫa-ma-ti	*be joyful* (?).
15	am. apil šip-ri ša du-un-ḳu	*A messenger of the grace*
	ša Bêl u Nabû	*of Bel and Nebo*
	it-ti šarri mâtâtê	*with the king of countries,*
	be-li-ia	*my lord*
	it-ta-lak	*shall go.*

Remarks.

Pater Strassmaier has given most of this letter in AV. The passages are noted in Bezold's *Literaturges*, p. 264. Strassmaier's copy differs from mine only in line 14, where he gives 𒀀𒈬 𒀀𒈬 𒀀𒈬 𒀀𒈬. *Cf.* AV No. 2499. Neither of these words can I explain with certainty. My translation is what the connection seems to demand. One might compare the Hebrew חֲמַד or חָמָה, but this would be mere speculation.

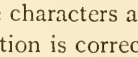
K. 572.

Transcription.	*Translation.*
A-na šarri bêli-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Ištar-šum-ere-eš	*thy servant, Istar-sum-eres.*
lu šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia	*Peace to the king, my lord.*
Nabû u Marduk	*May Nebo and Merodach*

a-na šarri bêli-ia lik-ru-bu	*to the king, my lord, be gracious.*
am. a-ba^{pl} am. šêbûte (?)	*The magicians (?), the conjurers,*
am. bar-bar^{pl}	*the astrologers (?),*
am. bârê	*the seers*
am. da-kil-ḫu^{pl}	*the* Dakilḫu,
man-za-az êkalli	*who have the palace in charge,*
a-ši-ib âli	*who dwell in the city,*
araḫ Nisannu ûmu XVI^{ka}	*in the month Nisan, on the 16th day*
ina libbi a-di-e	*into the agreements*
ir-ru-bu	*entered.*
u-ma-a	*Now*
iš-ši-a-ri	*in the morning (?)*
a-di-e liš-ku-nu	*may the agreements be made.*

Remarks.

Strassmaier also quotes part of this text in *Alphabet Verz.* These quotations agree with my copy. It is also cited by Sayce, ZK II, 4, No. 1. Bezold has copied it: *cf. Literaturges*, p. 267. The tablet is somewhat broken, but most of it can be quite certainly restored.

Line 6, *am. a-ba*^{pl}. This is certainly not a Semitic word, but an ideograph, the pronunciation of which we do not know. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, in his mania for explaining everything as Semitic, calls this word also "gutsemitisch." I have called attention to this in my pamphlet entitled, *Why that "Assyrisches Wörterbuch" ought never to have been published. Cf.* also the excellent remarks of Prof. Sayce, ZA II, p. 342 ff. For passages where this title occurs, *see Asurbanipaltexte, Heft* II, p. 32, line 15. The connection here seems to demand an entirely different meaning for this word from that which I previously gave to it.— . It is not certain how these characters are to be pronounced. I have no proof that my transcription is correct.

Line 7, *am. bar-bar*^{pl}. This is another unknown title. It would seem that the four titles occurring here together should have kindred meanings, but this necessitates us to translate these characters different from heretofore. *Cf.* my remarks ZA I, p. 425 ff.

Line 9. The text here may not be altogether certain.

Line 10, *man-za-az.* The root is נצז, "to stand."

Line 13, *a-di-e. Cf. Proceedings*, June 1887, p. 253.

Line 16. I am not certain how this line is to be read and explained. Strassmaier reads *iš-ši a-ri*, and derives *iš-ši* from נשׂא, "to carry" (*cf.* AV No. 3915); but this leaves *a-ri* unexplained, and does not seem to suit the connection. We should naturally expect an adverb here. The writer has just told us that the agreements had been entered into on the sixteenth, and then asks that these agreements be fixed or perhaps signed. I regard this as another form of *ši-a-ri*, "morning," and hence my translation.

K. 1122.

	Transcription.	*Translation.*
		
		
	Ašûr Sâmaš u Marduk	*May Asur, Samas and Merodach*
	a-ra-ku ûmê ṭu-ub libbi	*length of days, joy of heart*
	u ṭu-ub šêri ša bêl šarrâni	*and health of body of the lord of kings,*
	bêli-ia liḳ-bu-u	*my lord command.*
5	a-du-u '-id-ru	*Now 'Idru,*
	am. mu-ri-ib-ba-nu	*the* Muribbanu
	ša Ḫu-un-da-ru	*of Ḫundaru*
	man-da-at-ti ša Dilmun	*the tribute of Dilmun*
	i-na ḳâta-šu na-ša-'	*in his hands has brought,*
10	a-na êkalli	*to the palace*
	al-tap-ra ki-i	*I send* (*it*). *When*
	pa-an šarri bêli-ia maḫ-ru	*in the presence of the king, my lord he is received,*
	riḳḳê siparru u	*spices, copper and*
	eṣû Ḫu-ṣa-bi-šu-nu	Ḫuṣabisunu *wood*
15	ša am. damḳarê	*from the servants*
	ša bît na-a-a-lu	*of Bit-nâlu*
	ša šarri bêli-a id-di-na	*of the king, my lord he will give.*
	it-ti-su-nu	*With them*
	lid-bu-bu-ma	*may he speak and*
		

Remarks.

Strassmaier, AV No. 8915, quotes from line 5 to the end. *Cf.* Bezold, *Lit.*, p. 278. The usual commencement of the letter seems to be alone wanting at the beginning.

Line 6, *am. mu-ri-ib-ba-nu.* This seems to me to be the correct transcription. The title is unknown to me elsewhere.

Line 12, *maḫ-ru.* The root is מחר, "to receive."

Line 14, *eṣû Ḫu-ṣa-bi-šu-nu.* This group of signs is entirely new to me, and I am unable to give any explanation.

Line 15, *am. damkarê.* The form of this word is not certain. *Cf.* my note, *Asurbanipalttexte, Heft* III, p. 21, line 31.

Line 16, *bît na-a-a-lu.* This group probably forms a name.

80-7-19, 17.

	Transcription.	*Translation.*
	A-na šarri aḫî-ia	*To the king, my brother*
	duppu Šamaš-šum-ukîn	*letter of Šamaš-šum-ukîn.*
	lu-u šul-mu a-na aḫî-ia	*Peace to my brother.*
	a-dan-niš Bêl bêlit parṣi	*Constantly may Bel, the lady of command,*
5	Nabû Tas-me-tu u Na-na-a	*Nebo, Tasmet and Nanâ*
	a-na aḫî-ia lik-ru-bu	*to my brother be gracious*
	Sin-bala-su-iḳ-bi	*Sin-balasu-iḳbi,*
	ḫa-an-na-ka ina pa-an aḫî-ia	*honoured* (?) *before my brother*
	di-ib-bi i-ba-aš-ši	*has backbitten.*
10	ina muḫ-ḫi-šu a-si-me	*About it I have heard.*
	aḫu-u-a li-ik-liš	*May my brother imprison him*
	a-du a-ḫur-ra-ṣa-ni	*until I shall come* (?).
	mi-i-nu ša ši-ti-ni	*The number of the* Šitini
	a-na aḫî-ia	*to my brother*
15	a-šap-par-an-ni	*I have sent.*

Remarks.

This letter from Saosduchin to Asurbanipal really belongs to my work on the *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipal*, but belongs equally well to this series of letters. The text of it has been given by Strassmaier, AV No. 6702. He has done it well, for the writing on the tablet is partly rubbed out, so that the text is not everywhere absolutely certain. *Cf.* Lehmann-Winckler in Bezold's *Literaturges*, p. 347. The translation and explanation of some lines is also very difficult.

Line 2, *duppu.* I should like to read *êgirtu* "letter," since it makes, according to our ideas, much better sense, but I cannot prove that the character  has that value. The value *duppu*

is well known. *Cf.* S^{c} 291, and Pinches' note, *Asurbanipaltexte, Heft* II, p. 77.

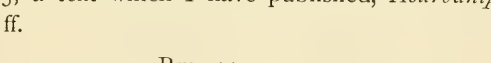
Line 4, *bêlit parṣi.* Pater Strassmaier has not copied the three lower wedges in  ; they cannot be exactly reproduced in type, but they are certainly there in the original. For this expression as well as the character just mentioned, *cf.* my note in the *Proceedings*, June, 1887, p. 244, line 9, and lines 9 and 14 of the text, K. 482, there published.

Line 8, *ḫa-an-na-ka.* This word is quite new to me. It may be from חנן, and mean favourite, but this is not at all certain.

Line 10, *a-si-me.* I have derived this word from the root שמע, "to hear," but it is possible to explain it otherwise.

Line 11, *li-ik-liš.* This word seems to me to come from כלא, "to shut up, to imprison."

Line 12, *a-du* is the same word as *adi*, "until."—*a-ḫur-ra-ṣa-ni.* This is the correct text, not as Strassmaier gives it. I cannot explain the word.

Line 13, *ši-ti-ni.* This is doubtless the correct transcription. The word is to be found elsewhere. *Cf.* S. 456, line 35,  *mi-i-nu ša ši-ti-i-ni šarru be-li liš-pu-ra.* "The number of the *Šitini*, may the king, my lord send." This word is probably the same as *ši-i-te*, K. 525, line 35, a text which I have published, *Asurbanipaltexte, Heft* III, p. 31 ff.

Rm. 77.

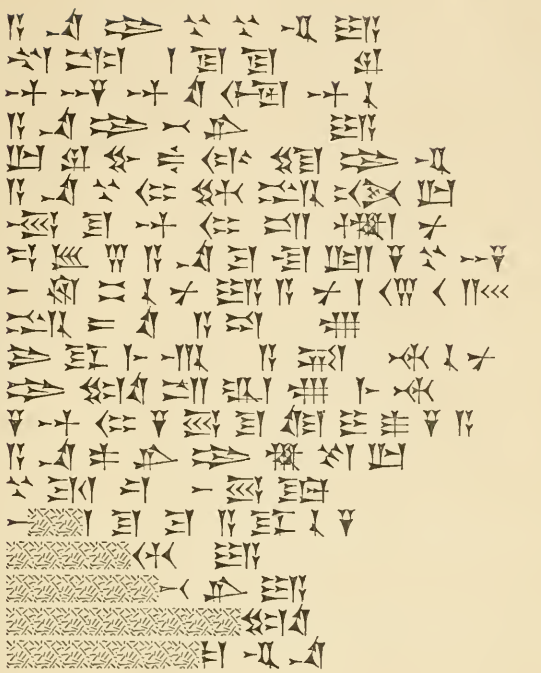
Transcription.	*Translation.*
a-na šarri bêli-ia	*To the king, my lord,*
ardu-ka Bêl-liḳ-bi	*thy servant, Bel-liḳbi.*
lu šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-ia	*Peace to the king my lord.*
Ḫi-e-sa ina bit mar-di-ti-e	*Ḫêsa in Bît-Mardite*
5 nišê ina lib-bi la-aš-šu	*the people were not there,*
am. rab kal-li-e am. rab rak-si	*the chief of the servants, the chief of defence*
u-di-šu-nu ina lib-bi la-a i-ḫa-ri-du	*know them, there they did not tremble.*
u-ma-a a-na-ku XXX bîtâtê	*Now may I* 30 *houses*
lu-ša-bi-ša ina lib-bi la-aš-šu-nu	*build; there are none there.*

10	ûmê ša Nabû-ṣal-la am. šak-nu	*In the days of Nabû-ṣalla, the governor,*
	am. apil ki te-e ešte-en	*the son one*
	am. ki-ṣir ina lib-bi Ḫi-e-sa	*the chief of the forces in Ḫêsa*
	kam-mu-su lu-še-ṣi-šu-nu	*bound cause them to go forth,*
	ina lib-bi Ar-gi-te	*in Argite*
15	lu-še-šib-šu-nu êḳlê kirêtu	*cause them to dwell, fields, parks*
	li-di-na-aš-šu-nu	*give to them.*
	šum-ma ma-ḫi-ir pa-an šarri	*If there be opposition to the king,*
	e-gir-tu ina êlî Nabû-ṣal-la	*may a letter to Nabû-ṣalla,*
	am. šak-ni liš-pa-ru-u-ni	*the governor be sent.*
20	Ia-'-i-ru am. II-u	*Ia'iru, the second officer*
	a-na am. rab Me-te	*to the chief officer of Mete*
	ina lib-bi la ap-kid	*there I have not appointed*
	u Sin-iddi-na	*and Sin-iddina,*
	am. rab bîti ša Rammânu-ḫa-ti	*the master of the house of Rammânu-ḫati*
25	ina Sa-za-na-a la ap-kid	*in Sazanâ I have not appointed.*
	ba-si bît mar-[di]-te an-nu-te	*In (?) Bit-Mardite these*
	i-ḫa-ri-du šarri	*trembled of the king*
	i-pa-lu-ḫu am. ar-ba-a-a	*feared, the captain of* 40
	a-ki-ša ti-ma-li ša šu-me	*as yesterday*
30	e-ru-bu u-ṣu-u šul-mu a-dan-niš	*entered, went out peacefully. Constantly*
	A-mi-li-'-ti apil A-me-ri	*Amili'ti, the son of Ameri*
	ina Ṣu-pi-te ina muḫ-ḫi-ia	*in Ṣupite to me*
	i-tal-ka ṭe-ma-te a-sa-'-al-šu	*came, the news I asked him.*
	šul-mu a-dan-niš apil A-šur-pi	*Peacefully, constantly the son of Ašurpi*
35	a-na Ma-ni-' ša il-ku-u-ni	*to Mani' whither he came,*
	u-di-ni ṭe-en-šu la-a ir-ša-me	*judged, his command they do not obey (?).*

Remarks.

This is a thoroughly new text; it is not mentioned by Bezold, *Lit.* It is very difficult to copy, since the writing has become so worn away. The tablet is marked "P.S." to show that it comes from the Palace of Sennacherib. In my absence from London Mr. Pinches kindly sent me his copy, which has been of use to me in arriving at a correct

K 154.



Reverse.

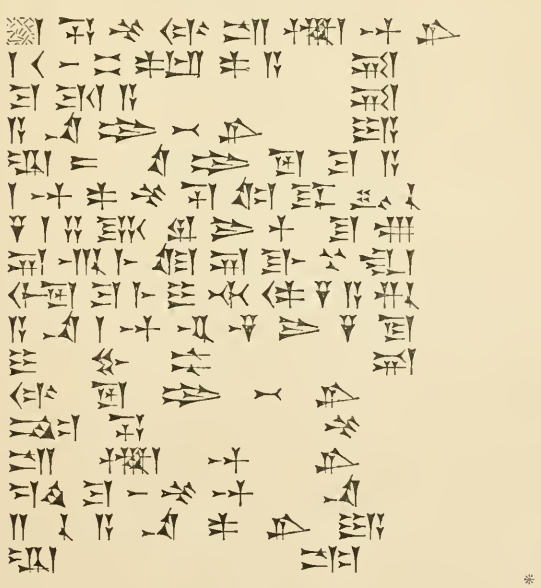
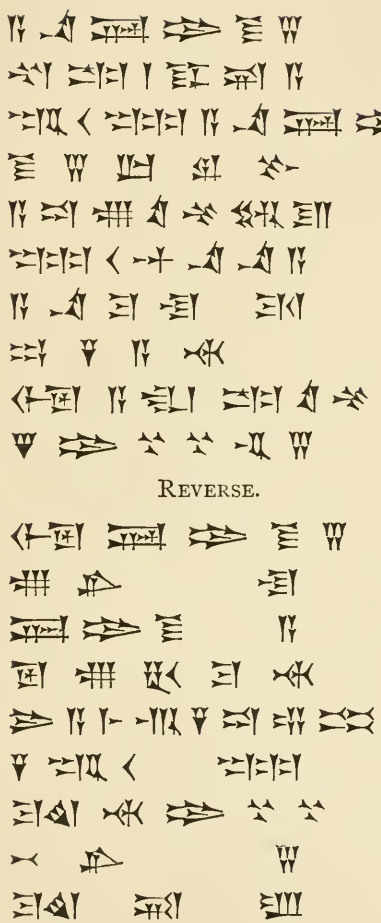


PLATE II.

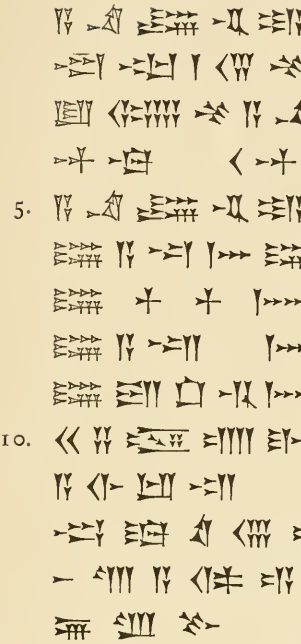
K 523.



REVERSE.

PLATE III.

K 572.



REVERSE.

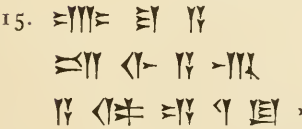


PLATE IV.

K 1122.

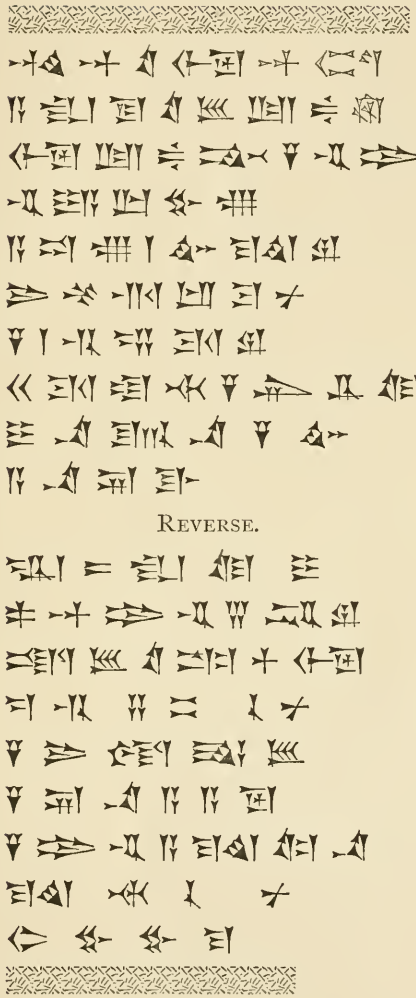
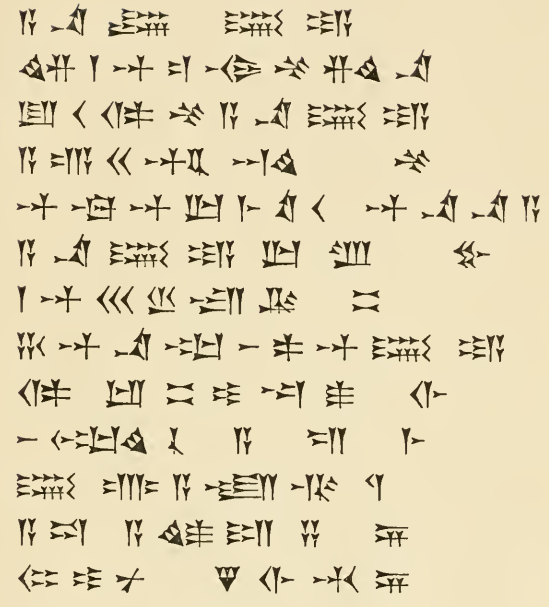


Plate V.

80-7-19, 17.



Reverse.

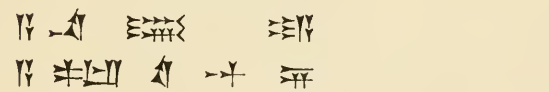


PLATE VI.

Rm. 77.

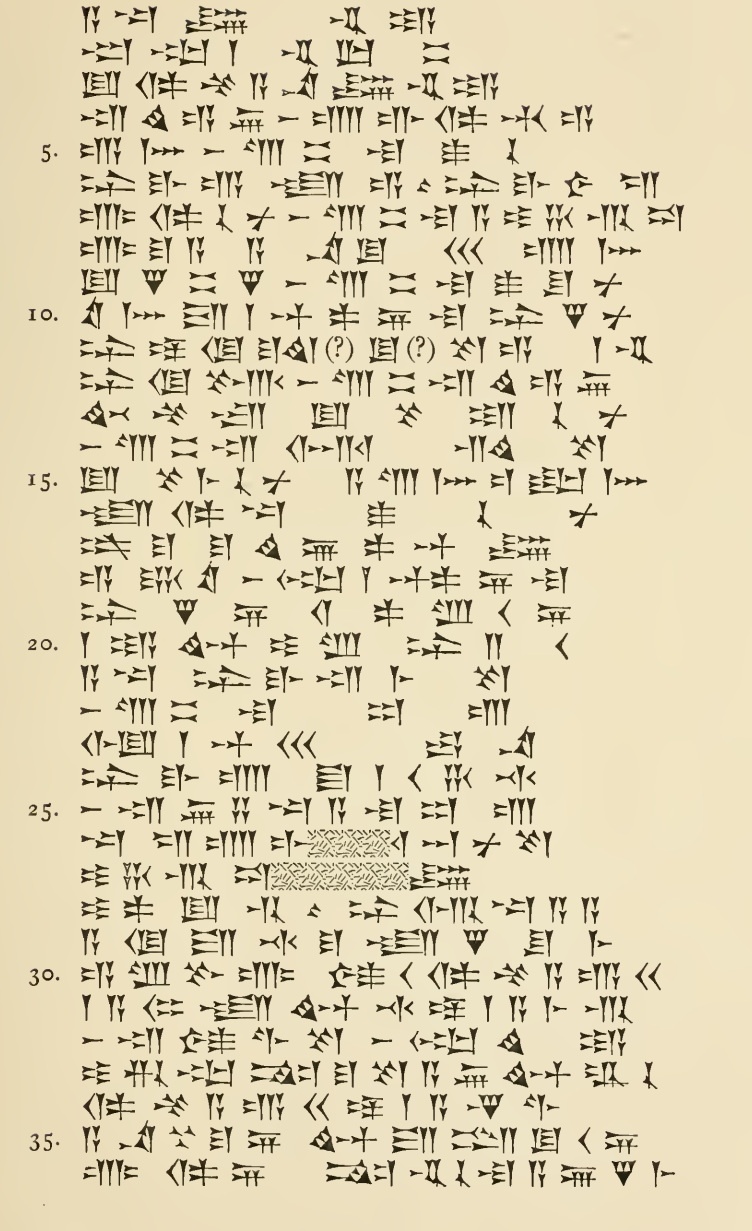
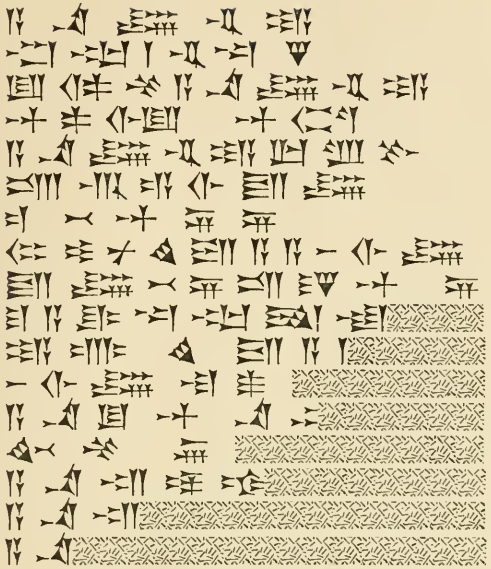
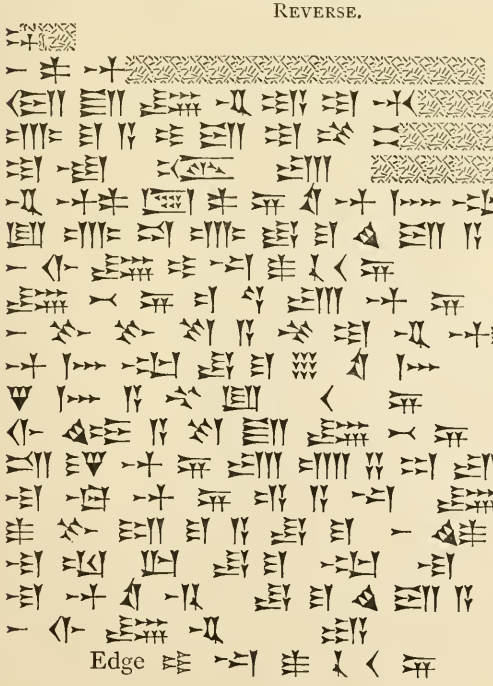


PLATE VII.

S. 1046.



REVERSE.



Edge

PLATE VIII.

82-7-4, 37.

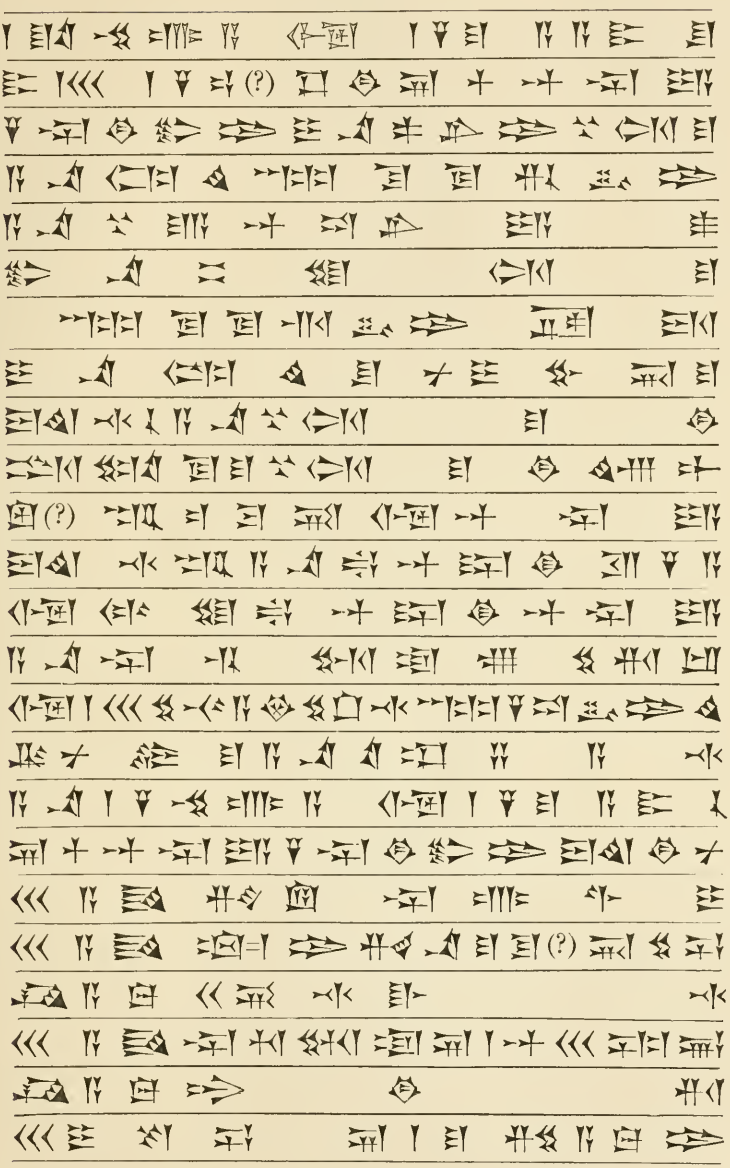
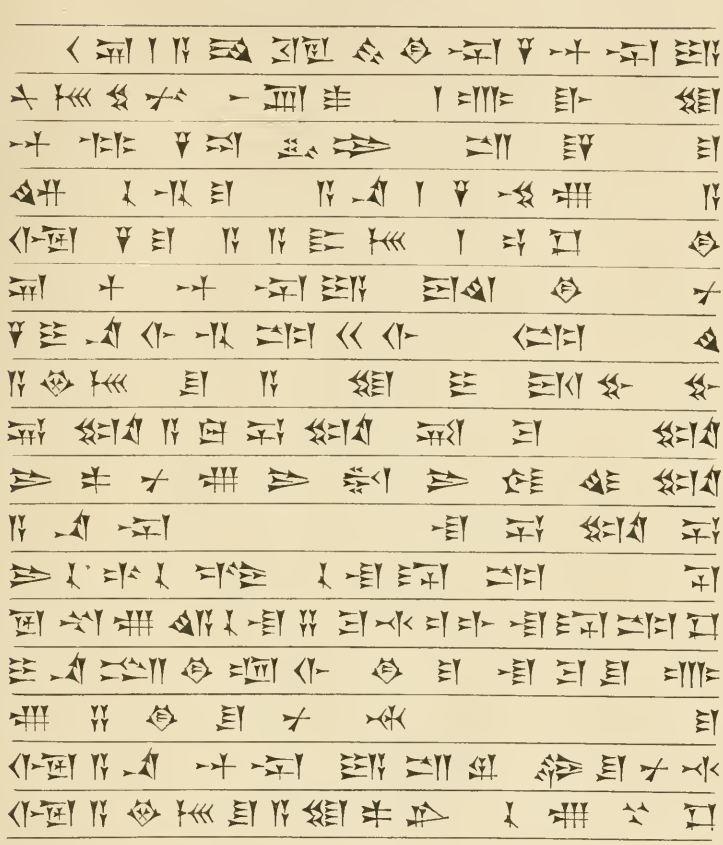


PLATE IX.

82-7-4, 37—*continued.*



text. I have since re-examined the original with both copies before me, so that I hope I have succeeded in obtaining as good a copy as it is possible, in the damaged state of the tablet, to get. The explanation of some of the words is also very difficult.

Line 6, *am. rab kal-li-e*. *Cf. am. kal-lu-u*, K. 82, lines 9, 31, 36, in the *Proceeedings*, June, 1887, and *am. ḳa-al-la-a*, K. 479, line 21, etc., *Proceedings*, January, 1888, p. 164.—*am. rab rak-si*. This latter word probably comes from the root רכס, "to bind." I am not certain that my translation is the proper one.

Line 7, *i-ḫa-ri-du*. For the meaning and explanation of this word, compare the Hebrew חָרַד, "to tremble." The Hebrew word has also the meaning of "haste."

Line 9, *lu-ša-bi-ša*. Perhaps this word comes from בשה, "to be, to have." III, 1, "to make." The meaning, at least, is what the context demands.

Line 11. The characters that I have here given are very doubtful.

Line 13, *kam-mu-su*. The root is כמס, "to bow oneself."

Line 24. This is the most probable reading of this line, although by no means certain.

Line 26, *ba-si*. I have no idea how this word is to be explained.

Line 29. The last part of this line I do not understand. The text is also very doubtful.

Line 33, *ṭe-ma-te*. I am inclined to regard this as plural from *ṭemu*.

Line 36, *u-di-ni* is probably from דין, "to judge."—*ir-ša-me*. I do not know whence this word is to be derived.

The two following texts may be regarded as an appendix, and I leave them for the present untranslated. The contract tablet will be of interest on account of the style of writing, which I have tried to reproduce, as well as for other reasons.

THE ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS OF LEMNOS.

By Robert Brown, Junr., F.S.A.

I.

In the *Bulletin de Correspondence hellenique*, X, is given an account of the discovery by MM. Cousin & Durbach at the village of Kaminia, in the island of Lemno, of the stone bearing the Figure and Inscriptions, copies of which are annexed. Etruscologists at once perceived that the language was a dialect of Etruscan; and Prof. Bugge of Christiania, in a pamphlet entitled *Der Ursprung der Etrucker durch zwei lemnische Inschriften erläutert*, 1886, has given a rendering of the Inscriptions on Aryanistic principles; whilst Dr. Carl Pauli of Leipzic, in a pamphlet entitled *Eine Vorgriechische Inschrift von Lemnos*, 1886, has discussed the matter with his usual learning and ability, and shown what is the correct order of the words, but makes no attempt at their translation. Since Prof. Bugge has adopted a wrong order of the words, but translates the Inscriptions just as well notwithstanding, it would, as Prof. Sayce (*The Etruscans in Lemnos;* in *The Academy*, July 24, 1886) observes, be waste of time to consider his views (which are absolutely rejected by Pauli) in detail. But further, since 200 years of patient effort, including the labours in our own time of such great savants as Corssen, Deecke, and Bugge, have utterly failed to prove to the learned world that Etruscan is an Aryan dialect, we must needs regard such proof as being impossible to furnish, and the Indo-European theory of Etruscan as baseless. Since no one now regards Etruscan as a Semitic dialect, it must be either a language *sui generis* (which I hold to be improbable), or, as our eminent member Canon Isaac Taylor has long held, belong to the Ugro-Altaic family of speech. (*Vide* Taylor, *Etruscan Researches*, 1874; *The Etruscan Language*, 1876; R. B., Jr., *Ugro-Altaic Numerals: One-Five*, in the *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Feb., 1888; *Etruscan Letters;* in *The Academy*, Nov. 27, 1886; May 21, Aug. 20, Nov. 12, 1887; Jan. 14, March 10, 1888.) The following tentative and undogmatic translation of the first Lemnos Inscription

INSCRIPTIONS FROM LEMNOS.

is based upon this supposition, and the great mass of evidence which can be adduced in support of it. No Etruscan inscription not being mortuary and containing more than about half a dozen words, has yet been translated to the general satisfaction of the learned; but, at all events, the following effort will, I trust, tend to direct attention to a most interesting and important enquiry.

II.

I. Transcription.

Inscription A.

(Above and at the back of the head of the warrior.)

evisθo ⋮ *zeronaiθ* | *sialψveiz* : *aviz* | : *maraz* ⋮ *mav* |
holaie ⋮ *z* ⋮ *naφoθ ziazi* :

Inscription B.

(On "la face latérale" of the Stone.)

holaiezi : *φokiasiale* ⋮ *zeroṇaiθ* : *evisθo* : *toveroma*

Inscription C.

(Between the spear and the head.)

va · *malasial* ⋮ *zeronai morinail* |
aker : *tavarzio* | *zivai*

Inscription D.

(On "la face latérale" of the Stone: written inversely to Ins. B.)

rom : *haralio* : *zivai* : *ep*[*a*] : *ezio* : *arai* ⋮ *tiz* : *φoke* : |
zivai : *aviz* : *sialψviz* : *marazm* : *aviz* : *aomai*

Variant Readings.

According to Bréal:—

σιαλχϝει—αϝι : ζ—ϝαμαλασιαλ—ταϝ[:]αρζιο—ζερονζαιθ—
επ[τ]εζιο—τιφ—μαραψμ.

According to Bugge:—

sialχvei[:]*z*—*avi* : *z*—*vamalasial*—*tav*[:]*arzio*—*ho*[*l*]*aiv*[*z*]*i*
zerozaiθ—*ep*[*t*-]*ezio*—*ti**—*sialχviz*—*mar***m*.

According to Pauli:—

ma[⋮]*av*[*iz*]—*vamalasial*—*epṭezio*—*φokeḷṣ* (od.—*ṇṣ*).

The reader will judge for himself. The proposed readings *tav*[:]*arzio*, *m*[:]*av*[*iz*], *ep*[*t*]*ezio*, and *φokeḷṣ*, appear to me to be baseless. The three savants agree in reading *vamalasial*, but the Inscription certainly shows *va · m · alasial;* and it is very improbable that both the points should be pointless. Strictly following the original, I have given *holaie* : *z*, but this is so clearly one word, that Pauli (I think quite correctly) reads *holaie*(:)*z*. Inscriptions, like other writings, must not be construed too strictly; and we find at least one undoubted error in these Inscriptions, *i.e.*, in the spelling of *sialψveiz*.

II. Verbal Comparison.

1. Words.

aviz (3).	*zeronai.* *zeronai0* (2).	*maraz.* *marazm.*	*sialψveiz.* *sialψviz.*
evis0o (2).	*zivai* (3).	*rom.* (*tove-*)*roma.*	*φoke.* *φokiasiale.*
(*ao-*)*mai.* *mav.*	*holaie-z.* *holaiezi.*		

2. Endings.

avi-z. *mara-z.* *sialψvei-z.* *sialψvi-z.* *ti-z.*	*evi-s-(0o).* *zia-zi.* *holaie-z (i).* *holaie-zi.* *mala-si-al.* *φokia-si-ale.*	*morina-il.* *malasi-al.* *φokiasi-ale.*
zeronai-0. *naφo-0.*		*ez-io.* *haral-io.* *tavarz-io*
ma-v. *ro-m.* (*tove-*)*ro-ma*	*aom-ai* *ar-ai.* *zeron-ai.* *ziv-ai.*	

3. Variation in Word and Word-order.

sialψveiz—sialψviz.	*evis0o zeronai0.* *zeronai0 evis0o.*	*sialψveiz aviz.* *aviz sialψviz.*

Similar variations appear in Etruscan Inscriptions; *e.g.*, the numeral sometimes precedes, and sometimes follows the word with which it is specially connected.

4. Etruscan Word-comparison.

The following list is by no means exhaustive :—

Lem. *aviz.* *Cf.* Et. *avle, avile, aviles, aule,* etc.

Lem. *aker.* *Cf.* Et. *akrs'.* (Fabretti, *Corpus Inscript. Ital.*, No. 451.)

Lem. *arai.* *Cf.* Et. *aras'.* (Fab., No. 1914, A 6. The famous "Cippus Perusinus.")

Lem. *ep*[*a*]. *Cf.* Et. *Epan.* (Fab., No. 2506), *Epana.* (*Ib.*, No. 2404.)

Lem. *zeronaiθ, zeronai.* *Cf.* Et. *zeriuna.* (Fab., No. 1914, B. 18.) Pauli reads the passage in the Cippus Perusinus Ins.,—*zeriuna cχ | a.* The original, however, stands thus,—*zeriunacχ | a* (*vide inf.* in voc. *Zeronaiθ*).

Lem. *zivai.* *Cf.* Et. *zivas.* (Fab., No. 2335.)

Lem. *ziazi.* *Cf.* Et. *zia.* (Fab., No. 1914, A 19.)

Lem. *maraz.* *Cf.* Et. *maris'.* (Fab., No. 480, 2094.)

Lem. *tiz.* *Cf.* Et. *tez.* (Fab., No. 1052.)

O occurs in North Etruscan, as in the Abu Simbel and Thera Inscriptions. In ordinary Etruscan the Gk. *o* is variously represented by *a, e, u* or *v; e.g.*, Gk. Atropos = Et. Aθrpa, Gk. Admêtos = Et. Atmite, Gk. Odusseus = Et. Uθuse, Gk. Oïliadês = Et. Vilatas.

5. Some Etruscan Case-endings.

Nominative.— *-θ.* *E.g.*, Lein-*θ*, Van-*θ*, Amin-*θ*, Arun-*θ*, Snena-*θ*, lar-*θ*.

-s. A very common ending (*vide* Schaefer, *Die Nominativ-Bildung im Etruskischen.* In Pauli's *Altital. Stud.*, Pt. II), as in Hittite.

-r. (*E.g.*, Aχvist-*r*, la-*r*, tula-*r*.)

-a. A very common ending.

Cf. Lem. *ep*[*-a*], *zeronai-θ, ake-r, sialψvei-z.*

Genitive.— *-al, -sial* (Deecke).

-ial, -iale, -ali, -ai, si (Pauli).

-ial, -ai (Schaefer).

-si, -sial, -siale, -il (Bugge).

Cf. Lem. *holaie-zi, zia-zi; ar-ai, aom-ai, zeron-ai, ziv-ai; morina-il, mala-si-al, φokia-si-ale.*

Locative.— *-θi*, *0* (Deecke), *-θ* (Bugge), *(e-)-θi*, *u* (Pauli).
Cf. Lem. *evi-s (i)-θo.*
Dative.— *-e*, *-i*, *-ie* (Deecke).
Cf. Lem. *ez-io*, *haral-io*, *tavarz-io.*
Accusative.— *-a* (Deecke); *-m* (Bugge).
Cf. Lem. *tovero-m-a.*

III.

Translation and Notes (Inscription A).

The Argument.

Harpagos, the General of Kyros, having conquered Phôkaia, the inhabitants retired to Alalia (=Aleria) in Kyrnos (Corsica), an ancient station of the Phœnicians, and where some Phokaians had already established themselves. Five years afterwards the combined Etruscan and Karthaginian fleets attacked the Phokaian fleet at Alalia; the Phokaians won "a Kadmeian victory," 40 of their 60 ships being destroyed in the fight, and the remainining 20 so damaged as to be useless in war. They therefore abandoned Alalia (*Vide* Herod. I, 165-6), which was thereupon re-occupied by the allies. The Phoiniko-Etruscan chief Zerônai*θ* (=Latin Serranus) determines on a retaliatory expedition into eastern waters. Landing at Lemnos, he takes possession of the town of Myrina; and, after the manner of Hittite, Euphratean, and other kings and conquerors, he carves his likeness, accompanied by a suitable inscription (Ins. A) on a στήλη. A second Inscription (Ins. B) is placed on one side of the Stone under his direction; and in both these Inscriptions he refers to himself in a marked manner, and with special emphasis as the conqueror of Alalia. Encouraged by his success, he next sails to Phôkaia, in further pursuit of his revenge. Here, however, the expedition appears to have met with a reverse, and Zerônai*θ* himself to have lost his life. There are various reasons for believing that a certain connexion existed between the Etruscans and Phœnicia. The Phœnician Dionysos,* son of 'Samlath,† (Et. Semla,

* *Vide* R. B. Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth.*
† *Vide* Sayce, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, 54.

Gk. Semelê), and a divinity worshipped at Gebal (Byblos), is found in Etruria as the 'Byblian' god, the god of the *βύβλινος οἶνος*,—

Greek—	*β–ύ–β–λ–ι–ν–ο–ς*
Earlier Et.—	*P–u–p–l–u–n–u*
	Φ–u–φ–l–u–n–u
Later Et.—	*F–u–f–l–u–n–u*

And that the famous wine came from Gebal appears by a verse of Archestratos (*ap.* Athenaios, I, p. 28):—

Τὸν δ' ἀπὸ Φοινίκης ἱρᾶς, τὸν βύβλινον, αἰνῶ.

It is, therefore, less surprising to find the two members of the divine Diad of Gebal—Tammuz and Baalath—mentioned in Ins. C. Ins. A and B are either actually by Zerônai*θ* himself, or written under his immediate direction. Ins. C and D have been added after his death, and are perhaps by the same hand. Ins. C breathes a spirit of pious resignation, and Ins. D, which I have called "The Dirge over Zerônai*θ*," is marked by a simple and touching pathos which should ensure it a high place amongst such compositions. In the melancholy play upon words involved in the names *Alalia—Harali* we are reminded of an exact parallel supplied by the desponding Viola:—

"*Viola.*—What country, friends, is this?

Captain. Illyria, lady.

Viola.—And what should I do in *Illyria*?
My brother he is in *Elysium.*"—(*Twelfth Night*, A. i, S. 2.)

Verbal pleasantry is not the particular property of any one race or family of mankind. Ins. C at once recalls that fine passage in the Babylonian Epic of Gisdhubar, in which the hero laments his deceased friend Heabani:—

"The destruction of the Earth has seized thee.
Ninazu, of darkness the mother, of darkness, of darkness,
Her illustrious stature as his mantle covers him, and
Her feet like a deep well darken him."

The following are the dates generally given for the respective events:—First colonization of Alalia by the Phokaians, B.C. 572; capture of Phôkaia by Harpagos, *cir.* 542; battle of Alalia, *cir.* 536. I know of no historical or epigraphic considerations which prevent

us from dating the expedition and *Stêlê* of Zerônai*θ*, *cir.* B.C. 535. The Stone presents a remarkable parallel to the Hittite sculptures of Karabel (First and Second Pseudo-Sesostris), each of which depicts a spear-holding figure. One "figure is also accompanied by an inscription in Hittite hieroglyphics placed between the face of the figure and the top of the spear" (Sayce, *Herod.*, 181), as in the present instance. The Hittite inscriptions are similarly *Βουστροφηδόν*. (*Vide* Ins. A and D.)

Inscription A.

evis0o ⋮	*zeronai0* \|	*sialψveiz* :
With-his-tongue	Serranus	Sulpicius (says, 'I am)
aviz \| : *maraz* ⋮	*mav* \|	*holic-z*
Aulus, the-young-chief	the land	of-Alalia (who rules').
naφo0	*ziazi*	
(As) a-Sun-god	his-likeness (is.)	

Notes.

Evis0o. = *evi* (= *eme*) + *s*(*i*) + *0u*, = noun + pronominal affix + Locative-ending, = 'tongue' + 'his' + 'from-the-place-of.' *Cf.* the Hittite ideograph at the beginning of the Hamath Inscriptions—a head and arm with hand to mouth, below which, strokes, read by Prof. Sayce as *me*, *ve* (*Vide* Wright, *Empire of the Hittites*, 177). *Cf.*, grammatically, such forms as the Ak. 3rd pers. sing. of the noun in the Loc. case, *e.g.*, *ad* (the noun) *-bi* (pronominal affix) *-ta* (Locative-ending). As regards style, *cf.* the "Spake I with my tongue" of the Psalmist. *Sir Hugh Evans* considers the "He hears with ears" of Ancient *Pistol* as 'affectations.'

Evi. *Cf.* Ak. *e*, 'to speak'; *emi*, 'tongue,' 'language'; *eme*, *me*, 'voice,' 'to call'; *emes*, 'mouth.' ⊢ (*eme*) was originally a drawing of a tongue, just as ⊤ was the "tongue of a balance." So the Samoied *ĉ*, *a-ng*, *ca-ng*, *oa-ng*, 'mouth'; *nj-âmi*, 'tongue'; *âmita'ama*, 'to say'; Yenissei *ei*, 'tongue'; Buriatic *ama*, *ama-n*, *ama-ng*, 'mouth'; Tungusic *am-nga*, 'mouth'; North-Ostiak *unni-l*, 'mouth.' (Note. *V* and *m* at times interchange in Et., *e.g.*, *le-m-rena* = *le-v-recna*, *ra-m-0u* = *ra-v-n-0u.*)

-S(*i*). = the Ugric pronominal suffix *-s*, *-si*, *-se*, 'he,' 'his'; *cf.* Lapponic *atzja-s*, 'his father'; Turkic *ata-si*, 'his father'; Zyrianian *sy*, 'his,' etc. (*Vide* Taylor, *Etruscan Researches*, 205). It is generally called by Etruscologists a Genitive-form, but it is more

strictly speaking a Possessive case, like the Magyar *-nak*, and it exactly corresponds with the English Possessive. So the Et. *Usils* = 'Sun' + 'his' = 'the Sun's'; Et. *avils* = 'year' + 'his.' It is joined to the root, as in Akkadian or Magyar; *e.g.*, Mag. *kalap-om-nak* = 'hat' + 'my' + 'of.'

-θo. = *θu.* So *m-o-rina(-il)* = *M-u-rina* (Ins. C). *Cf.* the following Locative cases or terminations:—Ak. *-ta* ("which expresses the idea of an internal or external locative, that is to say, both the inessive 'into' and the elative or ablative 'from, from within.'" Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 273. This is exactly illustrated by *evisθo*, "from within his mouth.") Buriatic *-da*, *-de*, *-do*, *-ta*, *-te*, *-to* (also a Dative); Tungusic *-du*, *-tu* (also a Dative); Koibal *-da*, *-ta;* Turkic *-da*, Mongolic *-dur*, Mantchu *-de*, Magyar *-tt.*

Zeronaiθ. = the old Rom. name Serranus = (originally) "a man of Tzur" (Tyre, Assyrian Zurra), a very interesting indication of the mixed (Phoiniko-Etruscan) character of the nationality of these sea-rovers. In Ins. B we have (as it stands) the erroneous (*vide* Pauli, *Ins. Lem.* 7–8) reading *zerozaiθ* (*cf. zeronai*, Ins. C). A final *θ* in Et. often = *s*, *e.g. larθ*, ('lord') = *lars.* A good example occurs in Fab., No. 2581, where we find the Et. name *Arunθ* (=Lat. *Aruns*) standing alone. That the Et. final *θ* = *s* is also fully admitted by Bugge, who, thinking he has got hold of an undoubted Aryan word, renders *naφoθ* (*vide inf.*) by *nepos;* whereas the Etruscans borrowed the Lat. *nepos*, and reproduced it in the form *nefts.* In this Tyrian connexion we find the Et. mirror-goddess Zirna (= Tzur + Et. *na*, 'of' or 'belonging to'), who with high-dressed hair and the half-moon of the Tyrian Astartê hanging from her necklace, appears in company with Turan (the Phœnician Aphroditê) and Atunis (Adônis), as the personification of the great city herself, in attendance on her favourite divinities, the Homeric Tyrô (*Od.* xi, 235), which name, when it comes to the Etruscans through the Greeks, appears in the form Turia (*vide* Fab., No. 1069). Zerônaiθ is thus a son of Zirna. According to Bugge, the Inscription speaks of a Tyrrhenian goddess Zerona, who is the Et. Zirna, and the Ζειρήνη· Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ of Hêsychios. But there is not the slightest reason to suppose that any letter has been omitted from the name Zirna, or that she is an Aryan divinity; and Zeirênê is only a Makedonian goddess as clad in the Thrakian garment ζειρά, and therefore has nothing to do with the Et. Zirna or the Et. Zerônaiθ. Having thus obtained an imaginary goddess

Zerona, Bugge next, apparently forgetting that *-θ* is a specially favourite ending for the names (Nominatives) of Et. goddesses, explains Zerônai*θ* as a Locative, with the meaning 'Zerona-Heiligtume.' The true Locative in the Inscription ends, as it should do, with a vowel; but Bugge, by an altogether arbitrary and undoubtedly erroneous* word-division of the Inscription Fab., No. 2404, obtains another imaginary word *θipurenaieθ*, which he renders "im Heiligtume der Juno Tiburna," and brings forward in support of his Loc. *zeronaiθ*.

If, in the Cippus Perusinus, we should read *zeriunacχ* (*vide sup.*, p. 319), we shall have here another and an exact illustration of the name Zerônai*θ*-Serranus in its original national signification as "a Tyrian"; and may compare the corresponding Et. forms *Rumaχ* ("a Roman") and *Velznaχ* ("a Volscian"). Prof. Sayce is of opinion that the Et. *-θ* is an "abstract suffix," and quotes the goddess names *Lein-θ* and *Van-θ* in illustration; in this case such a meaning as 'Tyrian' would not be inappropriate to a *θ*-ending name. (For further illustration of the *θ-s* change, *vide* Deecke, *Et. Fors. und Stud.*, Pt. ii, p. 46.) But as Deecke (*Ibid.*, p. 45) shows, in Et. *θ* at times = χ, (*e.g.*, Et. *me-θ-l* = *me-χ-l*), and *cχ* = *θ*; so that the name-derivation is as follows:—*Tzur*, *Tzor (Tyre)*, *Tzur-na* (= *Zirna*) = "Tyre + belonging-to"; *Tzoreei* ('Tyrian'), *Tzoreei-na-aχ* ("*-aχ* in Ethnicis," Deecke, in K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, ii, p. 437; *vide sup.*, *Velznak*, etc.) = (lit.) "Of-Tyre-belonging-to-man" (As Prof. Sayce notes, a Bilingual Inscription shows that the Et. *na* = "belonging-to.") = 'Tyrian' = Et. *Zeriunaχ* = Et. Lem. *Zerônaiθ* = Old Lat. *Serrânus* = "A-man-of-Tyre."

Sialψveiz. = *Sulpicius.* The Sulpicia Gens was of unknown antiquity. Thus Servius Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus was consul B.C. 500. The dialect of the Lemnos Inscriptions exhibits in an accentuated degree the customary Et. love of a *z*-sound. *S*(*z*), as noticed, is a common Et. noun-ending, and frequently appears even in loan-words; *e.g.*, Lat. *nepos* = Et. *nefts*; Lat. *pronepos* = Et. *prum*(*f*)*ts*;

* *Vide* Fab., p. 208. The following is an illustrative specimen of the extremities to which Prof. Bugge is reduced, in order, on his lines, to make anything like sense out of the Inscriptions. Having wrongly read the word *tavarzio* as *tav arzio*, and explained *tav* as the "gr. *τήν*," he opines that *arzio* must stand for (an imaginary) *aramzio*. Then, of course, all is clear; "**aram* = lat. *aram* wurde mit *zio* = lat. *deum*," and so we provide the goddess 'Zerona' with an 'altar.' Just so; but "first catch your hare."

Gk. Οἰλιάδης = Et. *Vilatas*; Gk. Ἄδωνις = Et. *Atuns*; Gk. Αἴας = Et. *Eivas*, etc. (*Vide inf.* in voc. *Aviz.*) An Et. *v* before *e* and *i*, often = *u* (*vide* Deecke, in *Die Etrusker*, ii, p. 383), and the Gen. forms $\begin{cases} u\text{–}i\text{–}a\text{–}l \\ u\text{——}a\text{–}l \end{cases}$ illustrate the identity of the names $\begin{cases} S\text{–}ia\text{–}l\text{–}\ \psi\ \text{–}vei\text{–}s. \\ S\text{–}u\ \text{–}l\text{–}p(i)c\text{–}iu\text{–}s. \end{cases}$

Aviz. = Aulus. As Pauli shows (*Ins. Lem.*, 32) the Et. *l* had a very soft sound, and often disappeared before consonants in the 'Inlaut,' *e.g.*, *ve-l-si* = *vesi*. So, similarly (as he agrees) *aviz* = *avi-l-z*. *Avle*, *avile*, *aule*, are variant forms of the well-known Et. name; and we also meet with the form *aviles* as a Nominative, *e.g.*, in an Orvieto burying-place containing 17 tombs, each of which bears the inscription *Mi* ("I am." = Ak. *Mu*, "'Moi.' Employé pour dire 'je suis.'" Lenormant.) + a name, many of these names, *e.g.*, *araθia*, *larθia*, being undoubtedly nominatives. (Fab., *Terzo Sup.*, Nos. 293—305.) Pauli makes *aviz* (and most other words in the Inscriptions) a Genitive, with the result that his Genitive cases come together by fours and fives, which is impossible. (As to Nom. *s*-endings, *vide sup.* in *voc. Sialψveiz.*)

Maraz. = Et. *Mariś*. The Et. mirrors give representations of a *deus puer*, a 'Götterjüngling,' not necessarily a 'child' (*vide* Corssen, *Spra. der Et.*, 265), called Maris. The name is really *Mari* or *Maru*, as the *–s* = 'the' (*vide* Sayce, *Etruscan Notes*, in *The Academy*, Sept. 7, 1878; *The Suffix s in Et.*, in Pauli's *Alital. Stud.*, Pt. ii); *e.g.*, Et. *Trui-al-s* = "Troy-belonging-to-the" = "the Trojan." Similarly, *-s* = the definite article in Mordvin (*vide* Taylor, *Et. Researches*, 110). Some of the connexions of the Et. *maru* are shown in the following list. Bugge well points out that in Et. *s* at times becomes *r*, *e.g.*, *E-s-us* = *E-r-us*, and the Turanian letter-changes *r-s*, *r-l*, *b-p*, *s-j-g*, *m-n* (as to Et. *m-u* change, *vide* Deecke, in *Die Etrusker*, ii, 434), will be familiar to students of Schott and his successors:—

Akkadian.—	*m–a–s–*	= 'son,' 'offspring,' 'warrior-spirit.'
	m–a–s—i	= 'hero,' 'first-born,' 'leader.'
Cf. Hittite.—	*m–e–s—i*	= a proper name (Sayce, in Wright, *Emp. of the Hittites*, 195).
Buriat.—	*b –a–s—a*	= 'child.'
Akkadian.—	*b –a–r—a*	= 'son,' 'offspring.'
Etruscan.—	*m–a–r—i* *m–a–r—u*	= *deus puer*, 'young warrior.' *Cf.* Lat. *Maro*.

North Ostiak. — *ń-au-r—a* = 'child.'
Lapponic.— *p-a-r*—dne = 'son.'
Samoied.— *m-a-j—e*
Magyar.— *m-a-gz-at* } = 'child.'
Koibal.— *b-a-l—a*

Mav. 'Land,' 'country.' *Ma* is the common Turanian word for 'country'; *e.g.*, Ak. *ma*, *mamu*; Samoied *mou*, *mamaru*; Finnic *maa*, Zyrianian *mu*, North Ostiak *mu*, *mi*, *miv* (*cf.* Lem. *mav*); Ostiak *me-g*, *me-x*; Lapponic el-*me*, *ma*-d-der; Finnic *ma*-n-ner, Ersa-Mordvin *mo*-da (*cf. ma-da* = Gk. Mêdia, *i.e.*, '*The* Land'). So, we find the Earth-goddesses:—the Finnic and Lapponic *Maan-emo* (*emo* = Ak. *n-ene*, Tungusic, Ostiak, Asiatic Turkic, and Osmanli *ana*, 'mother,' etc.), "Earth-mother"; the Esthonian Earth-goddess *Maa-emona*; the Finnic Underworld-goddess *Manala* (= Finnic *maan ala*, "das unter der Erde befindliche": Castrén); and, lastly, the Et. Underworld-goddess *Mani*, *Mana*, Lat. *Mania* (*cf. Tina*, *Tinia*). *Mav* = *mam*, is probably an Accusative-form (*vide. sup.*, p. 322); *cf.* the following Accusative-forms; Ak. *-d-a*, Tungusic *-wa*, *-ma*, *-ja*; Samoied and Tcheremiss *-m*, Lapponic *-b*, *-eb*, *-v*; Mantchu *-be*, Mongolic *-be-n*.

Holaie-z. = *Holailezi* = 'Of-Alalia.' The form *holaiezi* occurs in Ins. B. The second *l* has dropped out, as in *vesi*, *aviz* (*vide sup.* in *voc. Aviz*). A Gk. α is sometimes aspirated in Et., *e.g.*, Gk. Ἀμφιάραος = Et. *Hamφiare*. So in Ak. the *a*- sound = '*a* and *ha*.

Naφo0. = *naφ-o0* = Et. *nep-os* (not the Lat. *nepos*, borrowed by the Etruscans in the form *nefts*), which Festus states meant *luxuriosus*, and with which Canon Isaac Taylor compares the Albanian *nepes*, 'glutton.' *Naφ* (the Et. φ often = *p*; *cf.* the numeral-forms *cez-pa*, *sem-φa*) = the great Turanian god-name, Ak. *An-nab*, *Nap* ('Heaven'), *Enum* ('heaven'), *Num*, *Nu* ('top'); Samoied *Num*, Ostiak-Sam. *Nome*, Lapponic *Jumal*, Finnic *Jumala*, etc. Strahlenberg gives the forms: "Samojedes *Numi*, Morduini *Jumis*, Permecki *Jahn*, Tomskoi, Ostiaks and Kanskoi *Num*, Oby Ostiaks *Nopp* (= Et. *Naþ*), 'God'; Taugi *Noae* and Samojedi-Manzela *Nae*, 'Heaven'; Tangubti *Namm*, 'God.' *Cf.* the Ostiak *núm*, *nôm* ("the upper"), *nûmen*, *nômen* ('over,' 'above'), the Et. *Noven*-siles, heaven-gods; *Numa*, the legendary king of Rome, favourite of the gods and establisher of religion (*vide.* R. B., Jr., in the *Academy*, Nov. 12, 1887, p. 323). Lastly, in the

Magyar *nap*, 'sun,' 'day,' we have the exact Et. word, applied to the Sun-god as the god κατ' ἐξοχήν.

Oθ. This word is best illustrated by the following list:—

As. Turkic—	*u–d–u–n*	= 'day.'
Mongolic—	*e–d–ü–r*	= 'day.'
	u–d	= 'sun.'
Akkadian—	*u–d*	= 'dawn,' 'sun,' 'eye,' 'to rise.'
	u–t–u	
Ostiak—	*x–a–t*	= 'sun.'
	k–a–tj	
Akkadian—	*u–t*	= 'dawn,' 'sun,' 'eye,' 'to rise.'
	*u**	
Yenissei-Ostiak—	*i*	= 'sun.'
	ê–ga	
Kamacintzi—	*e–gae*	
Arintzi—	*ei–ga*	
Etruscan—	*u–sil*	= 'rising sun.'
Sabine—	*au–sel*	= 'sun' (Festus. A loan-word).
Hêsychios—	*αὐ–κήλ–ως*	= ἕως, ὑπὸ Τυῤῥηνῶν.
Et. Lem.—	*o–θ* (= Ak. *ud*)	= 'sun.'

Sun-gods and other divinities, including Underworld-gods, are often, from their burning power, or their cult, or on account of natural analogies connected with them, regarded as Devourers, Gapers, Gluttons, etc., like Zeus Laphystios (Herod., vii, 197), or (in the latest phase of the fancy) the gluttonous solar Hêraklês of Greek Comedy.

Zia-zi. = "Likeness + his." *Zi* = *si* (*cf. Evisθo, Holaiezi*). The following list illustrates the meaning of *zia*:—

Akkadian—	*z–u*	= 'face,' 'form,' 'mouth.'
Samoied—	*s–a*	= 'face.'
	s–ê	
	s–e–a	
Finnic—	*s–u–i*	= 'mouth.'
Etruscan—	*z–i–a*	(Cippus Perusinus, A 19.)
Et. Lemnos—	*z–i–a–zi*	= 'face,' 'form.'
Turko-Tatar—	*s–u–r*	= 'likeness.'

* Vide Lenormant, *Étude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes*, 33.

North Ostiak—iś–*x*–*o*–*r* = 'form,' 'phantom.'

Magyar— *sz*–*a*–*j* = 'mouth.'
h–*a*–*z*–onlat = 'likeness."

Turko Tatar— *c*–*i*–*z*–gi = 'line.'

Akkadian— *ś*–*i*–*ś*–*i* = 'face' + ? (Sayce, Syl. No. 39c).

Samoied— *s*–*e*–*r*–*o*

Koibal— *s*–*è*–*r*–*a*–*i*
s–*o*–*r*–*ä*–*i*

Buriat— *ś*–*e*–*r*–*ä*–*i*
s–*a*–*r*–*a*–*i*
ć–*a*–*r*–*a*–*i* } = 'face.'

Tungusic— *d*–*a*–*r*–*a*

Possibly the second *z* in *ziazi* is connected with such forms as the Ak. *śiśi*, the Magyar *haz*-onlat, and the Turko-Tatar *ciz*-gi.

The Next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 1st May, 1888, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read.

Rev. A. Löwy: Old Jewish Legends on Biblical Topics. No. II. Legendary description of Hell.

ERRATA.

Proceedings, 6th March, 1888.

Page 261, line 13, *for* νοῦ *read* νοῦν.
Page 261, line 16, *for* ὃς *read* ὃς, and *for* ὁ *read* ὃ.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
———— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
———— 2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
———— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
DE ROUGÉ, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862–1873.
——— Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
———Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
E. GAYET, Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.
LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
NOS. 1, 2, 3, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Français au Caire.
SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.
LEFÈBURE, Les Hypogées Royaux de Thebes.
SAINTE MARIE, Mission à Carthage.
GUIMET, Annales du Musée Gumiet. Mémoires d'Égyptologie.
LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2nd partie. "Osiris."
LEPSIUS, Les Métaux dans les Inscriptions Égyptiennes, avec notes par W. Berend.
D. G. LYON, An Assyrian Manual.
A. AMIAUD AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
ERMAN, Aegypten u. Agyptisches Leben im Altertum.
2 PARTS, Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer.
ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
———— Recherches sur le Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
POGNON, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.

NOTICES.

Subscriptions to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1*s.* at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. Bosanquet, Esq., 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

Papers proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having New Members to propose are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

Vol. IX, Part 2, of the "Transactions" of the Society is in the press. Only a few complete sets of the "Transactions" of the Society now remain; they may be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The Library of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, for the general business of the Society.

As a new list of Members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VIII, Part 3.

Members are recommended to carefully preserve their copies of the "Proceedings," as they will not be reprinted at the end of the Volume of "Transactions," and if lost can only be supplied at a charge for each Part, or for the Volumes.

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Society of Biblical Archæology.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. X. EIGHTEENTH SESSION.

Sixth Meeting, 1st May, 1888.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. X. EIGHTEENTH SESSION, 1887-88.

Sixth Meeting, 1*st May*, 1888.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author :—Les Obligations en Droit Égyptien. Comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité. Par Prof. Eugène Revillout. 8vo. Paris. 1886.

From the Author :—Linguistic Philosophy. By G. Taidan. 8vo. Cairo. 1888. (In Arabic.)

From Rev. H. G. Tomkins :—Report of the Committee appointed for the purpose of procuring Racial Photographs from the Ancient Egyptian Pictures and Sculptures. Drawn up by W. N. Flinders Petrie, with remarks on Mr. Petrie's collection of Ethnographic types in Egypt. By Rev. H. G. Tomkins.

British Association. Section H. Manchester Meeting, 1887.

From the Author :—Notizie e Documenti sulla storia della Farmacia e dell' Empirismo in Roma. By Sig. Cav. Antonino Bertolotti. 8vo. 1888.

Estratto dal "Monitoire dei Farmacisti."

From the Author:—A Newly Discovered Key to Biblical Chronology. By J. Schwartz. 8vo. January, 1888.

Reprinted from the Bibliotheca Sacra.

From the Author:—The Prayer of Navajo Shaman. By Dr. Washington Matthews, U.S.A. Army Medical Museum. 4to. January, 1888. Washington, U.S.A.

From W. H. Rylands:—Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses gehalten in Wien im Jahre 1886. Arische Section. 8vo. Vien. 1888.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on June 5th, 1888:—

Rev. Frederic Howlett, M.A., F.R.A.S., East Tisted Rectory, Alton, Hants.
Miss Kenedy, 4, West Cedar Street, Boston, U.S.A.
Rev. J. H. Champion McGill, M.A., Thornton Heath, Surrey.
The Hon. Miss Plunkett, 61, Wynnstay Gardens, Kensington, W.

The following were submitted for election, and elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on March 6th, 1888:—

Mrs. W. D. Paine, Cockshot Hill, Reigate.
Rev. C. M. Cobern, M.A., PhD., Cass Avenue M. E. Church, Detroit, Mich., U.S.A.

Rev. A. Löwy, continuing his series of Old Jewish Legends on Biblical Topics, read a Paper entitled "Legendary Description of Hell."

Remarks were added by Canon Beechey, Dr. Gaster, Dr. S. Louis, Rev. J. Marshall, Sir Philip Magnus, Mr. W. St. C. Boscawen, Dr. Friedlander, Rev. a Löwy, and the President.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

OLD JEWISH LEGENDS ON BIBLICAL TOPICS.

II.—LEGENDARY DESCRIPTION OF HELL.

By Rev. A. Löwy.

The ancient Jewish legends are now received as the ordinary outcome of popular folk-lore, and therefore are no longer subject to derision and hostile criticism. Arising from the infantine state of the people, they carry within their core interesting fragments of ethnical history, and the primitive efforts to solve speculative problems. They contain a goodly amount of world-wisdom put forth in sober earnestness, and are mixed up with humorous condemnation now of quackery, now of cowardly conduct towards fellow-creatures. Home-truths have in this way come down to us in allegorical disguises, the sense of which can be easily divined by the reader.

I propose to submit to this Society my studies on the subject of Hell in two lectures. The first embraces the references to the nether-world as mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures and in the earlier Hebraic writings of the Jews after the close of the Bible; and my second lecture, to be given during the next session of our Society, will be devoted to an inquiry into the comparative mythology of Hell.

When we deduct all allusions which a candid mind may discover in the Hebrew Scriptures concerning doctrinal theology, there remains a neutral residue of interesting references to popular opinions regarding the state of those who depart from the sphere of mortals. These references to an after-state are scattered over the entire collection of the Hebrew Scriptures. Very frequently they are to be found in that poetic imagery which, in a great many instances, owes its origin to primeval traditions and to ancient idiomatic expressions which characterise the language of the people. I shall confine my remarks to the vestiges of Hebraic folklore as traceable in the books of prose and poetry of the ancient Jews, and shall conform to the wise rule of our Society, by forbearing from encroaching wittingly on the province of Jewish or of Christian theology.

In the Anglican version of the Old Testament the word "hell" occurs in thirty different passages, and this word has been defined as being synonymous with the grave, or with the resting place of the departed. In no instance does it mean *a place for punishment of sinners*. The revisers of the "Authorised Version," apprehending perhaps that the word "hell" might be interpreted in a different and a peculiarly doctrinal sense, have in most instances expunged this rendering and replaced it by the word *sheol*, or by one of the synonyms of *sheol*. It has been generally supposed that *sheol* means a pit. This may originally have been the case; but there can be no doubt that *sheol* implied something extremely mysterious.

According to a common impression, which the Mosaic law sought to remove from the minds of the people, the denizens of the nether-world could be approached by the consulter of *oboth*, which the English version, for want of a better term, renders by "familiar spirits." A person anxious to lift the veil of coming events would betake himself to the professional communicant with the departed, who would then pretend to bring up the dead, or would cause a voice to arise from the earth and afford the desired oracular information* (Isaiah viii; see also 1 Samuel xxviii, 7, *et seq.*). The expulsion of wizards from the land of the Israelites appears likewise to have been connected with the forbidden practice of exorcism.

It may here also be noticed that *oboth*, the plural of *ob*, is mentioned in the Pentateuch as the proper name of a place (Numbers xxi, 11, and xxxiii, 43 and 44). In these instances *oboth* is recorded together with other names of localities which were connected with idolatrous sanctuaries and deities. It may therefore be assumed that *Oboth*, as a proper name, signifies a place where the dead could be consulted.

Returning to the Hebrew term designating the nether-world, we find that the people were reproached for making a compact with *sheol*;† and although an objection may be raised that this is a mere poetical figure, it cannot be denied that, in most cases, such a figure derives its significance from being based on widely spread proverbial

* The Hebrew word *jidoni*, which the English version renders "wizard," may be a compound of the words *jadă*, "to know," and *ŏneh*, "the answer, or the answerer." The final *i* is employed to denote not only patronymics and gentilitial terms, but shows also that persons indicated by this termination belong to some particularised class of the people.

† Isaiah xxviii, 15.

or popular sayings, out of which the poet fashions his most fascinating and enduring creations.

In the Hebrew Bible the word *sheol* is employed in two totally different ways. In the first place *sheol* is regarded as a huge and insatiable monster* whose belly can never be filled; it takes a long and deep breath before it swallows up entire multitudes of those who pass from this earth into the realms of complete isolation;† it refuses to release from its clutches those who have become its prey,‡ and in its cruelty it rivals the fierceness of human jealousy.§ In regard to its insatiability it is equal to the *Abadon*, a name which is supposed to signify perdition, but only in the sense of showing that persons had been lost to the companionship of their mortal surroundings, without a chance of recall.

Generally, however, *sheol* is not personified, but is treated as a local habitation. According to the ancient propagators of folk-lore, it was situated in the depths of the earth, or below the earth.‖ Its profundity could not be fathomed by man. No mortal, whether good or bad, could escape from its power. Those who had to undergo sorrows in this life, took down into *sheol* the inextinguishable remembrance of unrelieved anxieties (see, for example, Genesis xxxvii, 35). Men who misused the opportunities of their lives, and became, through misdeeds, weary of their existence, were speedily hurled down from the abode of their evil doings, and were drawn into *sheol* by snares, cords and pitfalls. The gates which lead into the nether-world are mentioned several times with reference to the departure of the dying. At a future time I shall have to advert to the important part which the several references to the gates of the nether-world play in international folk-lore. In the interior of *sheol* there were various gradations of depth, and there were special recesses which were called the "chambers of death" (Proverbs vii, 27). Here also were housed the *Rephaim*, whose remembrance is enshrouded in ancient myths of the Hebrews and the Phœnicians. Once objects of terror on earth, they now served as a representation

* Prov. xxvii, 20.

† Isaiah v, 14; Habakkuk ii, 14.

‡ Hosea xiii, 14.

§ Song of Solomon viii, 7.

‖ It seems useless to consider the passage (Psl. xlix, 14) where, according to the English version, the Hebrew word *sheol* is connected with the doom of sheep. This verse, like other passages in the Psalm, is capable of other interpretations; and the Hebrew text altogether is well known to contain doubtful readings.

of irrecoverable feebleness. The ancients who handed down to posterity the traditions of *sheol* undoubtedly were guided by a consideration of the structure of sepulchres as existing in their own lands.* Persons, though of low degree, who had attained to opulence, were found desirous of perpetuating their memory by the erection of chambered tombs hewn in the rocks, as may be gathered from a scathing rebuke which Shebna, an unworthy upstart, received in the time of Isaiah for his vain attempt to immortalise himself in his own grave (Isaiah xxii, 16–18).

The nether-world is also designated *zalmaveth*, which is described as being entered by terrifying gates. The term *zalmaveth* is considered to be divisible into two words: *zel* (shadow), *maveth* (death). It is more likely that this word was pronounced *zalmuth*, and that although the current rendering is widely accepted and rests on a large number of lexical authorities, the original word meant nothing else but "impenetrable darkness." In this signification it is frequently associated with the word *chosherh*, which means a comparatively lesser degree of gloom. *Zalmuth* would then convey the idea that the departed repose in a region of such impenetrable obscurity as could not be dispelled by any glare of light.

The several pictures of a nether-world which I have here arranged side by side were sufficient for the further developement of legends, which were gradually extended in Palestine and Babylonia, and on being associated with foreign folk-lore were multiplied to an enormous extent after the destruction of the Second Temple. Passages in the Bible which allude to fire consuming the sinners (*f.e.* Isaiah lxvi, 24; Malachi iii, 19) were also quoted in connection with Jewish legends, and such passages form a new basis for the traditions concerning the departure from this world, and the existence of hell.

The experiences which the dying and the dead have to undergo in arriving at the grave have been described in paraphrases of the Bible, in the Talmud and the Midrash, and in old monographs of

* It is now well known, through the investigations instituted by various explorers, especially by those of the Palestine Exploration Fund, that in the regions which have been searched, tombs have been laid open which contained rock-hewn chambers for the reception of the dead. The forms of the chambers for the dead are reflected in the folk-lore and the consequent poetic metaphors of the ancient Israelites.

various ages.* Of these several accounts I will give the essential outlines.

Four angels wait upon man at the hour of his departure from this world. When the soul is on the point of quitting its temporary tenement, a cry issues forth, saying "Oh earth, oh earth, on which I wandered, do thou save me from the sentence of death." Answereth the first angel, "The earth with the fulness thereof belongeth to the Lord." Crieth the voice for the second time, "Oh my brethren, my kinsfolk, my family endeared unto me, arise and deliver me from the sentence of death." The second angel answereth and sayeth, "No man can rescue his brother man, nor can he offer a ransom for him." The voice crieth for the third time, "My Mammon, oh my Mammon, so dear unto me, save me from the sentence of death." Sayeth the third angel, "The earth with the fulness thereof belongeth to the Lord." For the fourth time the voice cryeth, saying, "Oh my good deeds, oh my good deeds, save me from the sentence of death." The fourth angel respondeth, and sayeth, "Now thou hast said what is right and fair. Come forth, follow me, for unto thee applies the ancient promise, 'thy righteous deeds shall go before thee.'" This poetical piece, which may be termed a psalm of death, has found its way into mediæval collections of Oriental and European tales and parables, many of which have been published abroad and also in this country.†

But the course of folk-lore concerning death does not always run as smoothly as in the foregoing appeal of the dying man. The old traditions are copiously stored with descriptions of severe trials, even before the portals of Gehinnom (Gehenna) are reached. Here it may be noticed as highly suggestive that the sins of man are engraven on his bones, whilst the good acts of man are written on his right hand; but the merits and demerits of man are only recognisable at the time of his departure from this world. After death comes the "*chibut ha-keber*," or sepulchral suffering. An authority upon this subject being asked what is the process of sepulchral suffering answered: When man is deposited in his resting place, there comes the angel of death to the grave, and strikes the dead, saying, stand up and tell me thy name. The dead replies,

* See especially "Massecheth Gehinnom," which contains a fair but not a complete assemblage of notes on Hell.

† See for example *Gesta Romanorum*.

my name is known unto Him who spake and the world came into being, but I no longer remember how I was called. The soul then returns unto its former frame, and man is arraigned and subjected to trial. The punishing angel consists partly of fire and bears a fiery head-covering. In his hand he holds an iron chain, with which he strikes the dead, and the limbs fall asunder; a second blow is dealt, and the skeleton falls to pieces. The attending angels then gather up the bones, and arrange them as they were before. A third blow, and the man is tried and treated according to his deserts. The same acts are performed on the second day. On the third day the departed is treated with increased rigour. Blows are struck on his eyes because he would not see, on his ears because he would not hear, on his lips because they uttered profanities, on his tongue because it bore false testimony against his neighbour, on his feet because they ran toward evil-doing. The afflictions of the grave are more general than the torments of hell. The latter may come upon mature adults, but the miseries of the grave are also apportioned unto the righteous, unto babes taken away from the breast of their mother; and even to those whose life was extinct ere they were brought into the world. A question was asked, what shall man do to escape the impending sufferings? Man shall attach himself to pious deeds, submit to rebuke, perform acts of charity, be hospitable unto strangers, be devout in religious services. Such a man, even if he die beyond the confines of the Holy Land on a Sabbath day, undergoes neither the sufferings of the grave nor the severities of hell. The trials man has to endure are threefold: they are those in the grave, in hell, and in heaven. If he be not guilty of grievous sin, his acquittal is granted unto him forthwith, otherwise his punishment grows into doleful length, and he is committed to hell.

In Jewish writings "hell" was termed *Gehinnom* (Gehenna). This name, as is generally supposed, has been derived from notices of the Valley of Hinnom which occur in various historical and prophetic books of the Bible (for example, in II Kings, xxiii, 15), as originally designating a locality where the adorers of the idol Moloch burnt their children, or "made their children pass through the fire." The Valley of Hinnom formed an immense burial place (Jeremiah, xix, 2) and was contiguous to the Holy City. Commencing at the west of the Jaffa Gate, it passed along the N.W. of Jerusalem,

reached the Tombs of the Kings, and with a precipitous descent of nearly 700 feet below its starting point, it joined in the south the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and terminated at the Well of Job. In this Valley of Hinnom the Moloch temple seems to have occupied a spot called *Tofeth*, which is explained as signifying a place for the burning of human remains. *Sheol*, or the nether-world, received therefore as a synonym the word *Tofeth*, which was also pronounced *Tofteh* (Isaiah xxx, 33). Such a locality was well adapted to serve as a new basis for the legends of hell.

The situation of Gehinnom is a subject upon which the popular traditions differ very conspicuously. Some find its site beneath the earth or within the bowels of the earth; some place it above the firmament; others are of opinion that it is beyond the "dark mountains." The "dark mountains" form a special cycle of folk-lore, and it seems possible to note the region in which they were an object of terror. In ancient Jewish traditions it is stated that when Alexander the Great invaded Africa, his march was impeded by the thick impenetrable darkness of these mythical mountains. The old fathers of folk-lore were therefore well justified in placing Gehinnom in a region which was inaccessible to man's exploration. Allusions to these dark mountains occur not only in the Talmud (see for instance Tamid, fol. 32 b), but also in other literatures, for example in the poetic folk-lore of the Syrians.

There are seven habitations in Hell. Their names are *Sheol*, *Abadon*, *Zalmaveth*, *Erez-tachtith* (lowermost earth), *Neshijah*, (oblivion), *Gehinnom* (Gehenna) and *Dumah* (silence). Dumah is held to be a synonymous substitute for Chazar-maveth (court of death). It received this designation as indicating the enclosure where the spirits of the departed assemble. The idea that rivers of terror passed through hell was not alien to the folk-lore of the ancients, for we find that in connection with *sheol* there are mentioned the rivers of *belial*, which were remembered with horror by those who were to be tied down by the cords of death (II Samuel xxii, 5—7; Psalms xviii, 5, *et seq.*)

Out of hell there rise pillars of fire mountain-high; burning surfaces which resemble the Dead Sea, and burning embers which are like huge blocks of stone. Hell contains rivers of pitch and brimstone, which roll along and render red hot one beam after another of the mysterious *rothem*-tree. Here the sinner is struck on the face by the angel of destruction; other angels drive him into

the fire which swallows him altogether. He is only released if he can show some redeeming act of goodness. In such case he escapes the dreaded judgment, for it is said, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil: Thy rod and Thy staff will comfort me."

One of the ancient inquirers into the nature of Gehenna met the prophet Elijah, who took him to the gate of hell. Here he saw men drawn up by their hands, by their nostrils, by their tongues, by their feet, and by other parts of the body. There, in true Dantesque style, women were suspended by their breasts, men suspended by the sockets of their eyes; men devouring each other; men devouring glowing embers; living men eaten up by worms. Others were devouring sand until their teeth were broken, because in their lifetime they feasted on plunder which seemed sweet unto their tastes. Men were seen there who were thrust from fire into snow and from snow into fire. An angel was appointed for the infliction of various tortures, and the sinner ran the gauntlet of successive punishments, until all the wrongs he had done on earth were expiated.

In this plight the sufferer is compared to a debtor in the hands of his creditors, who divide his possessions among themselves. Man in hell is committed to the charge of angels of destruction. Among persons subject to the torments of hell are mentioned husbands who allow themselves to be guided by the weaker sex; also the wealthy men of Babylon, they being notorious for their uncharitable treatment of the poor. The severest fate awaited the members of the medical profession. A proverb was current: "The best of physicians are fit for hell." Such was the opinion of Talmudists in the early centuries of the common era. The long continuance of this opinion is proved by the fact that 500 years after the close of the Babylonian Talmud, its famous commentator, Rashi, observed: "The physician dreads no illness while he feasts of the richest viands; he never thinks of God, and expedites many souls out of this world. He has good opportunities for curing the poor, but he does not use them conscientiously."

There are some who go down to hell in despair of rising again. Such are those who desecrate domestic purity; who bring a thrill of shame upon their fellow men; who invoke the name of the Deity when uttering a lie, and who enkindle matrimonial strife. On the

eve of Sabbath they are lodged between mountains of snow, and on the going out of Sabbath they are brought back into hell fire.

After the lapse of twelve months the sinners are turned into ashes, which the wind scatters to be trodden down under the feet of the righteous. At the close of twelve months their souls are restored unto their frames, and as they go out of hell their faces are blackened like soot adhering to a cauldron. They then acknowledge the justice of their sentence, and declare that the judgment passed upon them was meted out according to their past actions. Idolaters have to pass through seven regions of fire, and in each sphere they spend twelve months. A stream of fire issues forth from the Mercy Seat of Divine Glory; it descends upon them, and passes from one of the worlds unto the other.

Three gates lead into hell: one is in the desert, one at the bottom of the sea, one amongst the habitations of man. The entrance to hell is even in Jerusalem, an idea which probably owes its origin to the tradition current about the Valley of Hinnom, as has been previously explained. There are seven habitations or regions in hell. The general name for these seven divisions is the Aramaic term *medura* (מדורא). This word literally means a dwelling, and has, in its origin, wide ramifications through the Semitic languages. *Medura* is derived from *dur* (in Hebrew *gur*) to dwell. The phrase in Genesis xxxii, 5, "I have dwelt with Laban," is in Hebrew *Im Laban garti*, and in Aramaic *Im Laban darith.* We all are familiar with derivatives of this verb which have crept into well-known names. The town in Turkish Kurdistan with the meaning "*dwelling of Bekir*" is called Diarbekir. Our daily papers speaking continually of the troubles of Egyptian taxes make us acquainted with the daira or the domain of the Khedif. This word *dur* is employed when folk-lorists allude to the seven habitations, the seven *meduras* of hell. Now I will show why this word has become a favourite term with those who give us an insight into the legends of hell. In Isaiah xxx, 30, *medurah* occurs in an ambiguous signification. It there means a pile of fire or may be a *habitation.* And as the entire verse in its magnificent poetry supplied the framers of legends of hell with powerful suggestions, the word *medurah* came to be employed both as a habitation, and as a pile of fire in hell. The verse in Isaiah fully bears out this explanation of the double use of *medurah:* "Since yesterday Tofteh (the burning station) has been prepared. It is ready even for the king

(of Assyria). He has deepened, he has widened its *medurah* (habitation or flame). Fire and wood abound. The blast of the Lord is like a stream of liquid brimstone glowing therein." Each of the seven habitations of hell has 2,000 houses; in each house there are seven windows, and in each window are 2,000 cruses filled with the substance of gall, and in these habitations the delinquents of various conditions serve their sentences of torture. According to another version of this legend there are in each of the seven regions 6,000 houses, in each house 6,000 windows, in each window 6,000 cruses of gall. Regarding the dimensions of each region of hell there are various legends. According to one legend, each region is 100 miles in length and 50 miles in breadth. According to another legend, hell has a length which would require 300 years to walk through. The same number of years would be occupied in travelling through its breadth, consequently it would consume 2,100 years to pass from one end to another. Another legend arrives at the following estimate of the extent of hell. "Egypt has 400 square parasangs; Ethiopia is sixty times larger than Egypt, the 'Garden' is sixty times larger than Ethiopia, Eden is sixty times larger than the 'Garden,' and Gehenna is sixty times larger than Eden. The whole world appears like a lid covering the cauldron of hell." (Pesachim 94a.) Fiery lions are in some legends described as lurking in numerous pits. They fall upon the doomed sinner and devour him. He is re-fashioned, to be re-devoured, so that he passes from fire to fire. At length the sinner is pardoned; the Judge above "does not contend for ever, nor is He always wroth with the afflicted spirit and with the quailing soul."

In reviewing this subject at a future time from a different standpoint, I will show the connection which exists between this species of folk-lore and the kindred traditions of Asiatic and European nations. I shall then have an opportunity of pointing out the marked influence which old Jewish legends, in common with other legends, have exercised upon subsequent productions of literature.

SUR L'ÂGE DE LA GROTTE DITE SPÉOS ARTÉMIDOS.

Par Karl Piehl.

En remontant le Nil au mois de Décembre dernier, je me suis arrêté à plusieurs lieux et entre autre à Beni-Hassan, d'où j'ai fait une excursion à Stabel Antar* ou, comme on l'appelle aussi, Spéos Artémidos.

En examinant d'une manière hâtive les inscriptions de cette ancienne carrière, je suis arrivé à un résultat qui me fait envisager l'origine de ce spéos sous un autre jour que celui des savants qui avant moi ont visité cet endroit. À partir de Champollion, qui le premier† a décrit notre monument, jusqu'à M. Maspero, qui tout dernièrement‡ en a parlé, tout le monde semble regarder le roi Thotmès III comme fondateur de Spéos Artémidos, ou au moins comme celui qui en a commencé la décoration. La grande inscription, conçue au nom de la reine Hatasu que M. Golenischeff a copiée et publiée d'une façon si consciencieuse§ d'après l'original, tracé au dessus de l'entrée de la grotte, aurait peut-être dû porter la pensée à un autre pharaon que Thotmès III, comme fondateur de notre monument. Toutefois, l'endroit où cette dernière inscrip tion a été mise ne semble pas bien choisi par rapport à la disposition des colonnes qui forment la galérie d'entrée du sanctuaire. C'est que les 42 lignes verticales dont consiste le texte de Hatasu, occupent une partie du mur au-dessus des deux colonnes occidentales, tandisque la surface de mur qui s'étend au-dessus des deux colonnes orientales de l'entrée est restée tout-à-fait libre de textes et de décorations. On a donc, jusqu'à un certain degré, été autorisé à regarder Stabel Antar et l'inscription, tracée au-dessus de l'ouverture qui y mène, comme indépendants l'un de l'autre.

* Il paraît qu'on confond quelquefois ce Stabel Antar avec d'autres localités du même nom, dont il y a plusieurs en Égypte, p. ex. près de Siout, etc.

† Champollion, *Notices*, II, page 322 et suiv.

‡ Maspero, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, page 42.

§ *Recueil de* Vieweg, VI, page 20 et planche ; *Recueil de* Vieweg, III, pages 1—3.

Les observations que j'ai faites sur le lieu même m'amènent pourtant à affirmer déjà maintenant que les deux sont étroitement liés, l'un à l'autre, et par conséquent que Stabel Antar est une œuvre du règne de la reine Hatasu. En effet, le vide laissé sur le mur, au-dessus des deux colonnes orientales de l'entrée, peut fort bien s'expliquer comme non intentionel. Peut-être avait-on déjà composé une représentation ou un texte, destinés à remplir la lacune, lorsqu'un accident quelconque, p. ex. la mort de Hatasu, est venu interrompre le travail.

Les inscriptions qu'on a regardées jusqu'à présent comme les plus anciennes de l'intérieur de Spéos Artémidos, se trouvent sur les piliers de la galerie et portent, comme nous l'avons dit, le nom de Thotmès III. Partout ailleurs, on ne voit que les cartouches de Séti I. En étudiant de très-près les textes qui occupent la paroi sud-est de la galérie, à gauche de la porte qui mène au spéos, proprement dit, on peut constater que les cartouches de Séti I, qui s'y trouvent, sont d'une date postérieure au corps même des textes. C'est que le nom du roi a été gravé en *creux*, tandisque le reste de l'inscription *paraît* avoir été sculpté en relief. En regardant avec beaucoup de soin, on en arrive à modifier un peu cette observation. Voici le résultat définitif auquel alors on parvient. Le nom de Séti I ainsi que le signe , marque de la seconde personne du pronom personnel du masculin, à quelques passages près, où il ne renvoie pas au nom de Séti, ont été tracés en creux, le reste est en relief. Il faut donc qu'il y ait ici une usurpation de Séti, qui a substitué ses cartouches à ceux d'un autre pharaon. Ce dernier pharaon a dû être une femme, car autrement on ne sait pas comment expliquer les surcharges fréquentes du signe . Cette dernière supposition est appuyée par le fait que dans certains endroits de nos textes, où l'on devait s'attendre à un , on trouve au lieu de celui-là, ou , ou bien . De même, le mot "fils" , qualification par laquelle les dieux saluent le roi, a-t-elle quelquefois la forme de "fille." Ces circonstances réunies, nous amènent avec necessité à supposer que l'inscription dont nous parlons, a été originairement faite par Hatasu, la seule reine qui ait régné dans des conditions, qui nous permettent de chercher son nom ici. Thotmès III et Séti I, au témoignage des monuments, sont les pharaons qui surtout se sont distingués comme persécuteurs de la mémoire de Hatasu, et dans le cas présent il ne serait point impossible que le second ait accompli ce que le premier a commencé.

Le resultat de nos observations est donc le suivant : La grotte connue sous le nom de Spéos Artémidos a probablement été faite par la reine Hatasu qui—ceci peut-être affirmé avec certitude—en a commencé la décoration, tant à l'extérieur, qu'à l'intérieur.

Jusqu'à quel point les rois Thotmès III et Séti I ont usurpé sur les droits de la reine célèbre, à cette question je ne puis répondre, une maladie sérieuse m'ayant défendu de m'arrêter à Stabel Antar, lorsque cette fois j'ai descendu le Nil. J'espère qu'un autre, plus heureux que moi, pourra trouver la solution de ce problème intéressant.*

Le Caire, 17 *Avril*, 1881.

* Les textes qui nous occupent se voient chez CHAMPOLLION (*Notices* II, pages 328—332) dont la copie à quelques points près est exacte.

THE ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS OF LEMNOS (*continued*).

By Robert Brown, Junr., F.S.A.

I.

Inscription B.

holaiezi :	*φokiasiale* :	*zeronaiθ* :	*evisθo* :
'Of-Alalia	that-belonged-to-Phôkaia,'	Serranus	says,

toveroma
('my) spear-point (is').

Notes.

The words *holaiezi*, *zeronaiθ*, and *evisθo* have been explained in the Notes on Ins. A (vide *sup.* pps. 322—6). *Evisθo*, lit. "With-his-tongue (says"), is here the equivalent of the verb.

Φokiasiale. = *Φώκαια-si-ale* = 'Phôkaia' + 'its' + 'of' = 'of Phokaia's,' *i.e.*, (when speaking of a past event) "That-belonged-to-Phôkaia." The pronominal suffix *-si* has been already explained (vide *sup.* in voc. *Evisθo*).

-ale. = the Genitive-ending *-ali*, *-al*, the *e* being, according to Pauli, a weakened *i*.* In a Bilingual Inscription (Fab. No. 792) the Et. Cain-*al* is rendered by the Lat. *Cainnia natus;* hence *al* = 'of,' ('born) of,' and a statue of Apollo, found at Picenum, is inscribed "Jupetr-*ul* Epure," = "Epure (son) of Jupiter." Hence *ul* also = 'of,' ('born) of,' ('son) of,' etc. In connexion with descent, *al* is used as a matronymic, *ul* as a patronymic; but, more generally, *al* and *ul* signify 'of' in a possessive sense, *i.e.*, "belonging to;" and, as Prof. Sayce observes, "the suffix *-l*, *-la*, or *-le* is ascertained to have pretty much the same meaning as *-na* or *-ne* (*-ni*) by a bilingual," and "*-na* or *-ni* we learn from the bilingual inscriptions signified 'belonging to.'"† Now, in Akkadian the suffix "*-na* designates the genitive; the formation of the genitive by means of the suffix *-na*, *-niu*, *-in*, *-ni*, is common to all the Turanian or

* *Vide* Pauli, *Die etruskischen Zahlwörter*, 83. Pauli well compares the Et. *larθi-ale*, *slic-ale*, and *aprinθv-ale*, when treating of this case-ending.

† *Etruscan Notes.* In the *Academy*, Sept. 7, 1878. "In Finnic grammar the desinence *na* signifies 'belonging to.'" (Taylor, *Etruscan Researches*, 275).

Altaic languages without exception, in the Ugro-Finnic, the Samoyedic, the Turko-Tataric, the Mongolic, the Tungusic, and the Corea-Japanese groups." * And, further, "besides the casual suffixes of the first formation, there exists in Akkadian a second series formed by taking attributive roots from the vocabulary of the language. Thus:

The sign of the dative, *-ra*, *-r*, is the root *ra*, 'to bear towards.

The sign of the possessive, *-lal*, is the root *lal*, 'to take.'

This grammatical process is essentially Turanian, and is entirely foreign to the other families of languages. We find numerous instances of it in the Magyar." † And I venture to think that we find an instance of it here in the Etruscan. Thus, the Ak. noun *ennun* forms the Gen. *ennun-na*, and the Possessive *ennun-lal*, with an "état emphatique" *ennun-na-lal*, which combines the Gen. form.

But, as a rule, in case-possessing languages, the Genitive, the case expressing the *genus* or kind, is an equivalent of the Possessive case, and *e.g.*, in English is called the Possessive case. As, then, in Ak. the Possessive case thus combines the Gen. form, so, in another language of the same family, being also a dialect without a distinct Possessive case, the Gen. might very probably combine the Possessive form.

Now, the Ak. *l-al*, "to take," reappears in an abraded form in various Turanian dialects. Thus we find it in the Koibal *al*-erben ("I take"), the Karagass *al*-ermen, the Samoied (Kamassin) *ilj*-im, etc.; and we further find in Ak. *-la* as "the suffix of the adessive,‡ and this case is formed by *-lla* and *-l* in all Ugro-Finnic languages." § In a language formed on the Ak. type, but having only one case for the Gen. and the Possessive, or, again, for the Gen. and the Adessive, which latter has very frequently a Gen. signification,‖ two or more case-endings such as *na* and *la* or *na* and *lal* might, not unnaturally, combine, and the case would then assume such forms

* Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 273. As to the connexion between Akkadian and Sumerian and these languages, *vide* Hommel's Papers in the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*. "No unprejudiced student of linguistic science can resist the conviction that Dr. Hommel's comparison of the Sumerian grammar and vocabulary with the grammar and vocabulary of the Turko-Tatar languages is founded on a solid basis of fact." (Sayce, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, 429.)

† Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 275.

‡ Called by Lenormant, in his *Études Accadiennes*, the "Comitatif locatif."

§ Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 274.

‖ "Der Adessiv und er dient mehr in dem Sinne eines Genitivs" (Wiedemann, *Grammatik der Syrjänischen Sprache*, 117).

as *na*, *nal*, *al*, *la*, etc. Hence, we obtain a new and external reason for the fact which, as noticed, appears from internal examination of the Et. inscriptions, that *-l*, *-la*, and *le* have pretty much the same meaning as *-na*, and *-ni*, *i.e.*, because the Et. Gen. combines the signification of cases which elsewhere are found distinct as Genitive, Adessive, Comitative, Possessive, etc.

It should also be further remarked, as a possible element in the case, that an *l-n* change is by no means unknown in Turanian languages. Thus we find the "mongol. *em-n-ekü* für *em-l-ekü* . . . So steht das finnische Wort *ome-n-a* Apfel wahrscheinlich für *om-l-a*."*

So far, then, we arrive at the following results;—

(1.) Internal investigation shows that *-l*, *-al*, *-ul*, *-ali*, *-ale*, are Gen. forms in Etruscan.

(2.) And that they have a similar meaning with *-na*,† *-ne*, *-ni*.

(3.) The general meaning of these endings is the Genitival-Possessive signification "of," "belonging to."

(4.) External investigation shows that *-na*, etc. (an *n*-sound) is the common Turanian suffix of the Genitive.

(5.) That in the most ancient Turanian language known, there existed Adessive and Possessive cases formed with an *l*-sound.

* Schott, *Uber das Altai'sche oder Finnisch-Tatarische Sprachengeschlecht*, 119.

† *Na* is a common ending in Et., *e.g.*, *Zir-na* (sup. p. 323). *Θal-na*, *Haθ-na* (a Satyr represented on a mirror between two leopards: a Bacchic personification, the controller of the Dionysiac Leopard, the connexion of the name probably being *ἠθεα-na* = "haunts [of animals]-belonging-to"), and *suθi-na*, *suθ-na*, *sut-na*, = *sepulcralis*, *i.e.*, "belonging-to-*suθi*," 'a tomb.' The connexion of this word is very interesting; Hêphaistos is called in Et. *Seθlans*, *i.e.*, *Seθ-l-an-s* = "Fire-of-god-the." *Seθ*, *set*, which appears on the coins of Pupluna (Populonia) that bear the head of Hêphaistos, with a hammer and tongs on the reverse, = the Samoied *su*, *tju*, *tui*, *tu*, the Ostiak *tu-get*, *tut*, the Tungusic *to-go*, the Yenissei-Ostiak *hat*, the Basque *sua*, the Lesghic *za*, *zo*, *zie*, and the Ak. *iz*, *izi*, all meaning 'fire.' *Cf.* the Magyar *sut*, 'a fire-place,' *suto*, 'a baker,' *sutes*, 'roasted,' the Lapponic *sutt*, 'febris ardens,' etc. Connected with the Et. *suθi*, 'tomb,' we find the Et. words *saθe* and *sati*; and Prof. Sayce translates *Eiθ φanu saθe-c* (Fab. No. 2279, *C* = *que*, a loan-word.), "This is the sepulchre (*φanu*, whence Lat. *fanu-m*, "a sacred place") and place-of-cremation." "We may conclude that *suθi* meant originally 'place of cremation,' thence, when interment began to supersede cremation, it would naturally come to mean a tomb" (Taylor, *Et. Researches*, 215). The *an* in *Seθl-an-s* probably = the Et. *Ani* ("Αννιος is an Et. king in Plutarch), *Janis*, Lat. *Janus*, the unanthropomorphic divinity of Velathri (Volaterrae), and is identical with the Ak. *An*, *In* ("Divine-one") *Ana* ("Sky-god"), Votiak *in* ('Sky') *in*-mar ('god'), Taugy *ña*, Yurak and Yenissei *ã*, etc.

(6.) And, again, that in Turanian languages an *l-n* change is by no means unknown.

The bilingual Ins. Fab. No. 253, affords a good example of the double affix *-nal;* there the Et. *θapir-nal* is rendered by the Lat. *Nigri*, and translated by Prof. Sayce, "son of her that belongs to Niger," *θapir*-nal* (=an original *θapira-na-la*) being a Genitive-Possessive.

Toveroma. = *Tove-roma ; rom* occurs in Ins. D. According to Bugge, the Inscriptions make no reference to the figure of the Warrior, which in itself is exceedingly improbable; and this word supplies a remarkable illustration of the principles of translation here adopted.

Tove. = 'Spear' The following are some connected forms :—

Finnic—	*t–ü–v–e*	= 'the thicker end of a tree-trunk.' †
Esthonian—	*t–ü–v–e*	= 'a stump,' 'end.'
Magyar—	*t–ö–v–ä*	= 'a stem,' 'stick.'
	t–o–v–e–g	= 'a stem-end.'
Livonian—	*t–ö–v*	= 'a stump,' 'end.'
Turko-Tatar—	*t–o–b–e*	= 'a hill' (as pointed).
	t–e–p–e	= 'a point.'
Ostiak—	*t–e——i* *t–o——i* *t–u——i*	= 'point.'
Samoied—	*tj–u–r*	= 'spear.'
	tj–i——da	
Buriat—	*dj–e——da*	
Yenissei— Tungusic—	*dj–i——da*	
Koibal—	*tj–e——da*	
Buriat—	*z–e——da*	
	z–a——da	
Tungusic—	*z–i——da*	
Magyar—	*d–a–r–da*	

* With *θapir* Canon Taylor aptly compares the Buriatic "*kara*, *xara*, 'black.' Hence are formed the intensitives *kap-kara* and *xap-xara*, 'quite black.' The Etruscan *thapira*, *niger*, would thus be an abraded form of *kap-kara*, *xap-xara*, *zap-zara*, or *thap-thara*, *k*, *x*, *z*, and *th* being interchangeable" (*Et. Researches*, 263). *Cf.* the Lapponic *tjappes*, 'black.'

† *Vide* Donner, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Finnisch-Ugrischen Sprachen*, i, 113.

Roma. ='Point.' The following are some connected forms :—

Akkadian—	*r–u–m*	='sword,' 'point.'
Ersa-Mordvin—	*r–u–m*–ka	='spitzglas.'
Magyar—	*o–r–o–m*	='summit.'
Tungusic—	*o–r–o–n*	='point.'
	ho–r–o–n	
North Ostiak—	*jo———n–t*	
Magyar—	*o–rr*	
Samoied—	*o–r—i*	='summit.'
	o–ll–e	='head.'
	u–l—u	
	o–l—i	='summit.'
Akkadian—	*l—i*	='high.'

The comparative lists are, in all cases, merely illustrative, not exhaustive: "The Ugric languages as a rule studiously avoid an initial *r*." * The spear of Zerônaiθ, which is a great feature in the representation, was doubtless—at all events in the opinion of its owner—like the ἔγχος of Achilleus.

Inscription C.

va · malasial ⋮ zeronai morinial |

The-darkness of-Baalath of-Serranus (lord) of-Myrina (is the abode.)

aker : tavarzio | zivai

Reverence to-Tammuz (lord) of-destiny.

Notes.

Va. Pauli, as noticed, reads *vamalasial*, remarking, "Halte ich für bedeutungslos noch die beiden Punkte in Fa·m·alasiaλ" (*Ins. Lem.*, 8); it may be so, but the circumstance does not affect the foregoing translation. We have here 'Darkness,' personified by the Phœnicians as the Night-goddess. Ἐκ τοῦ Κολπία ἀνέμου καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Βάαυτ† (οὕτως ὀνομάζουσι νύκτα Φοίνικες) κ.τ.λ.‡ This Phœni-

* Taylor, *Et. Researches*, 205.

† "Βάαν oder Βάαυτ, phönizischer Name der Nacht" (Steuding, in Roscher's *Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, 744), the *t* being the Semitic fem. suffix. The Semitic B-V change scarcely requires special remark, and at times also appears in Aryan languages, *e.g.*, *βαίνω—venio*, *βάδω—vado*, etc.

‡ Sanchouniathôn, i, 3. The Μώτ or primitive watery substance (Ibid., , 2) probably = Βώτ or Βώθ (*vide* Sayce in *Trans.* iii, 173, note 3. As to the B–M change, *vide inf.* in voc. *Malasial*).

cian Baau is the Euphratean Ba-u,* 𒁀𒀀𒌨, "Bahu, the queen of Kis," identical (or identified) with Gula, "the Lady of the house of death," who is also called Ninkigal, "Queen-of-the-great-region," *i.e.*, the Underworld. She is the Bohu of Genesis, "and represented the waters of the abyss in their original chaotic state,"† ere light and order, being the Analogue of the Ak. Gurra ("Watery-abyss") of Eridu.

Malasial.="Of-Baalath." We may first notice that Baalath (=Gk. Baaltis), the fem. Baal of Gebal-Byblos, is really identical with the goddess Bau-Baau. Byblos was said to be *πρώτην πόλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Φοινίκης* (Sanch. i, 5). Here dwelt Ἐλιοῦν (='Eliûn), "the Most-high," and his wife Βηρὸθ‡ (=Bau-Bahu), and we are informed (Sanch. i, 7) that *ὁ Κρόνος Βύβλον μὲν τὴν πόλιν τῇ θεᾷ Βααλτίδι . . . ἐδώσει.* The female Baal of Gebal is Baau-Bêou*θ*. "The Darkness of Baalath" is thus in origin Baalath herself, the Underworld personified as a dread Queen, a Euphratean idea which reappears in the West in the prominence of the Homeric Persephoneia.§ The husband of the Byblian Bau-Baalath is Tammuz (vide *inf.* in voc. *Tavarzio*), and "the bride of Tammuz of Eridu was not Istar, but a goddess of the earth."‖ The Et. Genitive in *-al*, *-ial*, *-sial*, etc. (vide *sup.* p. 319) has been already referred to (vide *sup.* p. 346).

With reference to the B-V change in B-au-Va, and the B-M change in B-aalath-M-alas, it may be as well to remind the reader of the laws of Phœnician letter-change in the matter. "ב plerumque est ipsum *b*, et raro induratur in *p*, *ph*: saepius emollitur in *v* . . . Non raro autem *b* et *m* inter se permutantur, etiam in monumentis, v. Maher*mal*=Mahar*bal*, *Bocchus* pro Mochus."¶ *M* and *v*, too, at times interchange, as in Ak. and Et., so that we find *e.g.*, "*V-agarmel*

* "Bau, the personification of Chaos" (Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 120). "We find in the inscriptions reference to a deity Ba-u, but respecting the character of this divinity it has not been possible hitherto to give any further information" (Schrader, *Cun. Ins. and the Old Test.*, i, 14).

† Sayce, *Rel. Anct. Babylonians*, 262.

‡ Not Βηρουὸθ, which is the ordinary reading, and has been followed by Movers, and Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, i, 542; *vide* Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, v, 826.

§ *Vide* R.B., Jr., *The Myth of Kirkê*, 117 *et seq.*

‖ Sayce, *Rel. Anct. Babylonians*, 264.

¶ Gesenius, *Script. Ling. Phoen.*, 432–3; *vide* R. B., Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii, 94 *et seq.* in voc. *Bakchos*.

pro *M-agarbal.*" As *b* is not used in Et., the changes to *v* and *m*, which are in accord with the Phœnician system and do no violence to the Et., are almost, considering the somewhat mixed nationality of the writer, inevitable; and this circumstance, moreover, explains why the *b* is not, in each case, changed to *p*. Phœnician influence prevails in the case of these Phœnician words.

The last letter-change which requires notice in *Malasial*, is the *θ-s* or *t-s* change. In Et. this is not unfamiliar, *e.g.*, "*ve-z-i* für *ve-t-i*;"* and it also occurs in other Turanian languages, *e.g.*, the Yakute *iti* = the Osmanli *issi*.† Baalath (= Maalath) made into an Et. Genitive naturally becomes *Maalaθ-si-al* (*cf. φokia-si-ale*) = (the abbreviated) *mala-si-al.*

A nation so receptive as the Etruscans would naturally accept Semitic, quite as readily as Greek, divinities, if not into their religion at least into their art; and I venture to think that the extent and effect of direct or almost direct Semitic influence upon Etruria, has not yet been sufficiently appreciated. The above are no solitary instances of names of Semitic divinities in Etruscan. Amongst others we find Fuflunu (vide *sup.* p. 321), Semla, Camillus,‡ Mlakukh,§ a mirror-goddess represented with (the Tyrian) Hêraklês, and Turan, of whom I can find no trace in Altaic mythology, and who is not the Et. Aphroditê, but the great Semitic love-goddess herself.

Zeronai. = "Of-Serranus." As to the Et. Gen. in *ai*, vide Schaefer, in Pauli's *Altital. Stud.*, Pt. ii, p. 29, in voc. *tarχnai;* Pauli, *Ins. Lem.*, 34. Good instances occur in Gamurrini (*Appendice al Corp. Ins. Ital.*), No. 242: *aθ·creice·anainai*, and No. 654: *tarnai*, rendered respectively by Gamurrini "Annaeia natus," and "Tarniae filius." It is to be remembered that the Et. *l* is at times

* Pauli, *Die et. Zahlwörter*, 18; *vide* Deeke, in K. O. Müller's *Die Etrusker*, ii, 432 *et. seq.*; Deecke, *Et. Fors. und Stud.*, Pt. ii., p, 46.

† Schott, *Über das Alt.*, 132.

‡ Tuscos Camillum appellare Mercurium præministrum deorum" (Macrobius, *Sat.* iii, 8). "Nomine Casmillae mutata parte Camillam" (Vergil, *Aen.* xi, 543). There were Camillae and Camilli at Rome (Servius, ad. *Aen.* xi, 543, 558; Dionysios, ii, 21; Festus, in voc. *Camillus*), and "Kasmillus, administer diis magnis" (S. Augustin), was the fourth Kabir of Samothrakê, and, according to Dionysiodôros, was (the analogue of) Hermês. Camillus or Kadmilos = Qedem-El, "Qui coram Deo stat."

§ *i.e.*, 'Queen,' the Semitic Melekheth (Jeremiah, vii, 18), Astartê, "the Queen of heaven."

softened to *i* (vide Deecke, in *Die Etrusker*, ii, 388–9; *Et. Fors. und Stud.*, Pt. ii, p. 93).

Morinail. = "Of-Murina." Μυρίνα, a town on the west of the island.

Aker. = 'Reverence.' The widely-spread root *ak*, *og*, has the meaning of 'high,' 'august,' 'fear,' etc. *Cf.* Ak. *ak*, 'lord,' *Akû*, "the Exalted," a name of the Moon-god, *aka*, 'high,' *Aka-da*, "the *tel*" (Sayce), *akar* 'reverence;' Ostiak *ôg-or*, Yenissei-Ostiak *ug-di*, Magyar m-*aga*-s, and Turko-Tatar m-*aku*, 'high.' The root is specially fruitful in the Turko-Tataric dialects,* where we find *eki-s*, *oki-s*, 'high,' 'august,' *uk*-sek, 'high,' *ög-üm*, 'heaped-up,' 'gigantic,' which at once recalls the name of the giantly Amorite King—Og. The word also appears in the North Ostiak *kar*-iś, 'high,' and the Magyar *hir*, 'reputation;' and in the N. Ostiak *aj-k*, 'reputation,' which Donner connects with the Finnic *hai-ka*, a word meaning primarily 'smell.' Thus in Germ. *geruch* = (1) 'smell,' and (2) 'reputation.'

Tavarzio. = "To-Tammuz." The name of the Sumero Akkadian Sun-god, Dumuzi-apzu ("The-Son-of-the-Spirit-of-the-Deep." Sayce), is transformed thus:—

Babylonio-Assyrian—	*D–u– m –u–z–u*
(Abraded form)—	*D–u———z–u*
West Semitic—	*T–a–mm–u–z*
Et. Lemnos—	*T–a—v—a–zz*
(Modified)—	*T–a—v—a–rz* (*-io*)
Ionic—	*T–a–mm–a–s*
Greek—	Ἀ–θ–ά—μ—α–ς

The Lemnian Inscriptions have even more than the usual Et. love of a *z*-sound; but the original *zz* is softened to *rz* (*vide sup.* p. 325 in voc. *Maraz*). Prof. Sayce quite agrees with my "discovery that Athamas is Tammuz," † "whose name and worship had been carried to Gebal by the first Phœnician settlers." ‡

* *Vide* Vámbéry, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-Tatarischen Sprachen*, 7—8.

† *Vide The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, July, 1887, p. 141.

‡ Sayce, *Herodotos*, 416.

Zivai. = "Of-destiny." This word, which also occurs twice in Ins. D, is remarkably illustrated by the Finno-Ugric dialects, in which we find a large group of connected words.* Amongst these are :—

Finnic— *siv–i–ä* = 'customary.'
siv–o = 'order,' 'regulation,' 'fate,' 'destiny.'
siv–o–n = 'to order.'

North Ostiak— *sav–e–p* = 'customary.'
sov-i = 'custom.'

Amongst the Lapps this word appears in the name of the protecting-divinity Saiva or Saiv, "ein allgemeines Götterepithet und entspricht dem finnischen *haltia.*" † The Et. word *zivas* appears in the Ins. Fab. No. 2335 ; the probable Nom. of *zivai* and *zivas* is *ziv* or *ziva.* In exact accordance with the foregoing words is the Ak. *tsim* or *zim* (*m*=*v*), 'destiny;' and there is another curious fact in this connexion, which has been pointed out and illustrated by our member the Rev. Wm. Houghton, with his usual acuteness and ability, *i.e.*, that the Ak. ideograph , *zim*, 'destiny,' was originally "the figure of a bird with expanded wings," and was used in Assyrian to express *śinuntu*, a 'swallow,' or 'swift.' "This bird it would appear the Accadians called the *nam-khu*, or 'destiny bird,' 'the foretelling bird,' probably because by its visiting and leaving the country at special seasons . . . it 'proclaimed' or foretold the approach or the departure of heat and cold." ‡ Elsewhere, similarly, is the swallow connected in idea with the order of the world, fate, destiny, death, etc. ; and so we find the N. Ostiak *sir*, Zyrianian *ser*, 'order,' N. Ostiak *sarim*, Ostiak *sâram*, Yenissei-Ostiak *xa*, *ka*, Samoied *kur*-mo, 'death,' and the Samoied *sar*, *siru*-ku, Buriat *xara*-sagai, Tungusic *kara*-digai, 'swallow.'

It will be observed that throughout the translation—for the instance of *evisθo* is no real exception—the verb is understood. Et. is chary in the use of the verb, or, as Prof. Sayce puts it far more strongly, when speaking of Dr. Pauli's researches, "His most important discovery is that there was no verb, properly so called, in Etruscan, no distinction being made between the suffixes of the verb and noun." The mortuary inscriptions use the forms *lupuce* (=*obiit*), *evalce* (=*vixit*), and a few more ; but in numbers of inscriptions the

* *Vide* Donner, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 105.
† Castren, *Finnische Myth.*, 138.
‡ *Transactions*, vi, 465—6.

ala-n-net, 'valley,' etc. In Tungusic we have the very word *arâli*, verb is understood, *e.g.*, *mi·selenia* (Gam. No. 529), which Pauli renders "dies (ist) Selenia."*

III.

Inscription D.

rom. : *haralio* : *zivai* :
O-spear! to Aráli (place) of-destiny (thou hast gone!)

ep [*a*] : *ezio* : *arai* : *tiz*
The-wave (was) for-(thy)-house, of-the-sea lord (thou wast!)

φoke : | *zivai* : *aviz* : *Sialψviz* :
O-Phôkaia! (place) of destiny! O-Aulus Sulpicius

marazm : *aviz* : *aomai*
and-(our)-young-chief! O-Aulus, father-of-the-land!

Notes.

Rom. Lit. 'point' (Vide *sup.* Ins. B. in voc. *toveroma*).

Haralio. = "To-Aráli." A Dative (Vide *sup.* p. 320, Et. Case-endings). Aráli, called "the house of the land of death," "in the language of the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia, was imagined as a dark subterranean region where the spirits of the dead kept watch over hoards of gold."† It was thus primarily the Underworld, and afterwards, in a wider signification, "the world beyond the grave," a special land in "the north-east, rich in gold, and inhabited by the gods and blessed spirits."‡ I understand the name to mean 'earth' or 'ground' + 'under;' and the history of the word is very interesting. Two points in letter-change must first be mentioned, (1) in Ak. 𒀀𒀀 = *a*, *'a*, and *ha;* and, similarly, in Tungusic we have *a-ra*, *h-ara*, 'ground,' (vide *sup.*, p. 326, in voc. *Holaie-z;*) and (2) the *l-r* change is frequent in Turanian languages, *e.g.*, the Susianian Lagama-*l* = Lagama-*r*, *Pulu* = Πῶρος, in Turko-Tatar the Tchagatai *jol*, 'way,' = the Uigur *jor-ik*, etc.

A common Turanian word for 'ground' is the Tungusic *ara*, Buriatic *iror*, *ojor*, Samoied *yr*, *yl*, *il*, *ilo*, *ilie;* in the West it reappears in the Magyar *alj*, 'ground,' the Lapponic *el*-me, 'earth,' the Finnic

* *Cf.* the Semelê Inscription (Fab. 1916 bis), of which I have given a provisional translation in the *Academy*, Mar. 10, 1888, p. 174: "The-burning storm, and-the-Moon on-the-Ides-(is)-this. Cecinia to-the-Moon-on-the-Ides the-metal-plate in-the-shrine-of-the-goddess (dedicates)."

† Sayce, *Rel. Anct. Babylonians*, 3. ‡ Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 152.

with the meaning of 'roundabout,' *li* being the sign of the Prosecutive case, which denotes "movement along."

A common Turanian word for 'under' is the Ak. *lil* (= As. *ĉîtu*, 'below'), the Turko-Tatar *al*, *il*, the Ersa-Mordvin *al*-o, *al*-on, the Finnic *al*-a, the Magyar *al*-ant, *al*-úl, etc. The Finnic *Alol* (= *Aral*) are certain Underworld-spirits.* We thus see the basis of the word, *ara* + *al*, = 'ground' + 'under;' but it is capable of further illustration as follows:—

Although the ordinary Turko-Tatar word for 'earth' is *jer*, *er*, etc., yet "the proper appellations for Earth are (1) uig. [Uigur] *koḳ*. properly dry, just like *kara*,"† etc. The Uigur *kara*‡ = 'black, 'dark,' 'earth,' Tchagatai *kir*, 'field,' and this *kara* = the Tungusic aspirate form *hara*; now, turning to Ak., we find that the Earth is called Zi-*kura* (= "The Spirit of the lower firmament," Sayce), the earth, the ground, being that-which-is-below (heaven).§ Hence the Ak. *ara*(-li) is a variant of *k-ura*, the Earth being that which is below Heaven, the Underworld that which is below Earth.

The Turko-Tatar dialects illustrate the word very exactly, *e.g.*, Uigur *ali*, 'under,' Tshuwash *ai*, 'under,' *ajaldi* (= "der untere"), the Underworld = Ak. *Aráli*, Et. *Haral*. With Ará-*li*, Hara-*l*, *cf.* the Finnic Mana-*la* (vide *sup. Proceedings*, Vol. X, Part 6, p. 326, in voc. *Mav*).

Zivai. Vide *sup.* p. 354. On the Turko-Tataric side this word is connected with the Tchagatai *jasaw*, 'law,' Tshuwash *jozav*, 'order,' 'regulation,' etc.

Ep[*a.*] = "The-wave." The Ak. *ab*, "wave,"‖ *abzu*, 'running water' (the Abyss), Lapponic *appe*,¶ 'sea,' Magyar *hab*, 'wave,'

* Castrèn, *Finnische Myth.*, 128. † Vámbéry, *Wörterbuch*, 128.

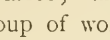
‡ We have already actually met with a variant of this word *kara* in Et. itself, *i.e.*, *θa-pira* (=*kap-kara*), 'black,' 'dark' (*vide sup.* p. 349). Hence, probably, as Prof. Sayce notes, came the name of the *Tiber*; the Et. name Θefri = the Lat. Tiberius. What I may call the "far cry" argument, has been sometimes used against the identification of forms used in countries distant from each other, but there is really nothing in it. Ireland and Spain are a long way from India, but no philologist doubts that variants of the same Aryan words are used in these countries.

§ *Cf.* Ak. *kar*, 'lower.'

‖ "AB, 'ondulation, vague.' Composés: *ab-si*, *ab-zu*, *a-abba*" (Lenormant, *Etude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes*, 278).

¶ Ahlqvist (*Die Kulturwörter der Westfinnischen Sprachen*, 161) doubts whether this word is not derived from the "Skand. *hav*." The above comparisons show that it is unnecessary to go outside the Turanian family for a derivation.

Ak. *ap*, *abba*, 'sea,' Samoied *bu*, *bi*, 'water,' *k-aba*, *hamba*, *kombu*, *komb*, 'wave.' *Cf.* Ak. *eba*, 'flood.'

With the Ak. *a*, 'water,' Lenormant compares the Zyrianian *ju*, Vogul *ja*, *je*, 'water-course,' and the Magyar *já*, "only preserved in certain names of places;" and there is, in the Turko-Tataric dialects, an interesting group of words under the root *sub*, *suv*, *su*, which appear to be not unconnected with the archaic Sumero-Akkadian name-word  *Zu-ab*, called by the Assyrians *Ab-zu*,* the Ἀπάσων of Damaskios. Thus we find the Uigur *sub*, the Tchagatai *suj*, *sju*, *suu*, *su*, the Koibal-Karagass *sug*, *suk*, *su*, the Tshuwash *siva*, *siv*, *su*, and the Yakute *u*, all meaning 'water.' The Buriatic *o-so*, 'water,' perhaps = *a*(*b*)*zu*.

Ezio. = "For-a-house." A Dat. *Cf.* the Ak. *es*, *us*, Magyar *ház*, Tungusic *zu*, 'house,' Buriatic n-*uzi*, 'homelike,' Magyar *haza*, 'home,' Koibal *tjaze*-rap, 'homelike,' etc. Donner† groups the Finno-Ugric 'house'-words thus,—Finnic *kot*-a, Vepse *kod*-i, Esthonian *kod*-a, Livonian *kod*-a, Lapponic *goatt*-e, Votiac *kva*, Ersa Mordvin and Zyrianian *kud*-o, Magyar *haz* (thus showing the connexion with such forms as the Ak. *es*), Ostiak *χat*, *χot*, *kat*, Yenissei Ostiak *χus*, *huos*. As in Ak., *u* may often = *hu* (*Vide* Sayce, *As. Gram.*, 20, 46), we have in these two last forms a very near approximation to the Ak. *es*, *us*.

In the Turko-Tataric group the 'house'-words appear in the variant forms with *j*, *b*, *v*, etc., *e.g.*, Osmanli *ev*, Tchagatai *ov'a*, *oba*, 'house,' Yakute *uja*, 'nest.' In this group the *s*-sound at times interchanges with *b*, *t*, and *d*.‡

Arai. = "Of-the-sea." Lit. "Of-the-water." *Cf.* the Ak. *ar-ia*, 'river,'§ the Yenissei *ur*, *ûl*, *ulj*, 'water,' the Basque *ura*, 'water,' the Tchagatai *ul*, *ol*, 'sea,' 'great water,' the Osmanli *gol*, 'sea,' and the Koibal-Karagass *hol*, *kol*, *kul*, 'sea.' The *l-r* change requires no further notice. In the Finno-Ugric dialects the word appears thus;—Finnic *j-arvi*, 'lake,' Vepse and Esthonian *jarv*, Livonian *jara*, *jora*, 'sea,' 'lake,' North Lapponic *javrre*, Tcheremiss *jer*, Moksha Mord-

* I have elsewhere (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, July, 1887, p. 140) suggested that *zuab-apzu* is the origin of the Greek magical word ζάψ, said to mean "the sea" (*vide* Clemens Alex., *Stromata*, v. 8).

† *Wörterbuch*, i, 12. ‡ *Vide* Vámbéry, *Wörterbuch*, 24.

§ The "river-god (Aria) appears in the lists of gods of the second rank" (Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 183).

vin *jarhka*, *arhka*, Ersa Mordvin *arke*, 'sea,' Magyar *âr*, 'flood,' *ar-viz*, 'inundation,' Samoied *jeuro*, 'sea,' etc.*

Tiz. = 'Lord.' This interesting word reappears in the Ak. *dis*, *tis*, 'king,' 'one,'† and is connected with a number of words in the variant dialects meaning 'order,' 'row,' etc. *Cf.* the Turko-Tatar *tuz-uk*, 'rule,' 'order,' the Ostiak *tes-tem*, 'to order,' Finnic *tes-ma*, 'order,' etc. It also exactly reappears in the Magyar *tiszt*, defined as "ein Beamter, eine Magistratsperson," *i.e.*, the first in the row, the 'head' man.

Marazm. = *maraz-m* = 'young-chief' + 'and.' The force of the passage is, "Our young Chief, too" (vide *sup.*, p. 325, in voc. *Maraz*). According to Deecke, the Et. *-m*, *-em*, *-um*, = 'and' (vide *Et. Fors. und Stud.*, Pt. ii, p. 93), and Pauli, too, agrees that "the on-hanging *-m*" = 'and' (*Ibid.*, Pt. iii, pp. 3, 155), both being further of opinion that the 'on-hanging' *-c*, which often appears in Et., is the Lat. *que*, and, according to Pauli, a loan-word. With the Et. *-m*, 'and,' we may compare the Ak. conjunction *k-am-a* (vide Lenormant, *Études Accadiennes*, Pt. i, p. 173), the Lapponic *k-en*, a conjunction-enclitic and copulative, the Magyar *me-g*, 'and,' the Tungusic *ma-l*, *wa-l*, 'and also,' the Ostiak *me-t*, 'with it,' etc.

Aomai. = "Father-of-the-land" (vide *sup.*, p. 326, in voc. *Mav.* Ins. A.). *Mai*, a Gen., like *Zivai*, *Arai*, etc. *Ao* (*Ae*) 'father' = the Ak. *ai*, *a* ("Abrégé du plus habituel et plus complet *ai*," Lenormant), Wotiak and Zyrianian *ai*, 'father,' Finnic *äi*, 'grand-father,' and 'step-father,' Wogul *jei*, 'father,' etc. The word generally takes an affix, and then appears as the Ak. *at*, *ad*, *ad-da*, the Finnic *i-sä*, Esthonian *i-s-sa*, Lapponic *at-tje*, Tcheremiss *ät-jä*, Ostiak *a-ta*, Magyar *at-ja*, Osmanli *a-ta*, etc. (Vide Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 300; Ahlqvist, *Kulturwörter der Westfinnischen Sprachen*, 208–9). Other variants are the Finnic *äi-jä*, and Lapponic *ai-ja*.

Such, then, are some instances of the connexion between the language of these remarkable Inscriptions—undoubtedly Etruscan—and the dialects of the widely-spread Turanian Family; and, taking the evidence as a whole, we may ask whether a much closer resemblance could be shown between the different dialects of the Aryan Family?

* *Vide* Donner, *Wörterbuch*, i, 104.

† *Vide* R. B., Jr., *Ugro-Altaic Numerals: One-Five*, in the *Proceedings*, Feb., 1888, p. 207.

INSCRIPTIONS OF NEBUCHADREZZAR.

VI. The Cylinder marked 68-7-9. 1.

(*See* 5 R., *Plate* 34.)

By Rev. C. J. Ball.

This cylinder, or rather truncated cone, has seen so much hard usage, that it has become more difficult to read than any other which I have had occasion to examine. I have, notwithstanding, refrained from disfiguring my transcript with innumerable parentheses indicating the broken state of the document. In Col. I, 7, the scribe seems to have omitted 𒀀 *(ana)*, the only clerical error that I have noticed in this carefully written text.

The present transcript is probably as faithful a copy of the original as can now be made; a result largely due to the kind assistance of Mr. T. G. Pinches. I have also to thank Dr. Bezold for helping me in my first reading of the cylinder some time ago. A scholarly paper on some of the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar by Dr. Hugo Winckler (*Z.A.*, April, 1887) has proved useful for purposes of comparison.

Mr. E. A. Budge published this inscription so far as col. III, 5a, in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute* (1884). The rest of his text is taken from the broken cylinder R^m 673, which ends quite differently.

Column I.

Transcription.

d. na-bi-um-ku-dur-ri-u-çu-ur šar ba-bi-lam *ki*
ru-ba-a-am na-a-dam mi-gi-er d. marduk
iš-ša-ak-ku çi-i-ri na-ra-am d. na-bi-um
ša-ak-ka-na-ku la-a ne-ḫa
za-ni-in E-SAG-ILLA u E-ZI-DA
ša a-na d. na-bi-um u d. marduk EN-MEŠ-šu
ki-it-nu-šu-ma ib-bu-šu *ana* ri-e-šu-su-un

na-a-dam mu-uš-te-mi-qu i-tu-ti ku-un libbi DIMMER-GAL-GAL
ablu a-ša-ri-du ša D. nabium-abil-u-çu-ur
šar ba-bi-lam *ki* a-na-ku
i-nu-um D. marduk EN ra-bi-u ki-ni-iš lu-ba-an-ni-ma
ma-da šu-te-šu-ru ni-šim ri-e-a-am
za-na-an ma-ḫa-zi ud-du-šu eš-ri-e-tim
ra-bi-iš u-ma-'-ir-an-ni
a-na-ku a-na D. marduk EN-ia pa-al-ḫi-iš u-ta-qu
ba-bi-lam *ki* ma-ḫa-za-šu çi-i-ri ERI KI ta-na-da-a-tu-šu
im-gu-ur-bêlu ni-mi-it-ti-bêlu
BADA-BADA-šu-GAL-GAL u-ša-ak-li-il
i-na si-ip-pi KA-GAL KA-GAL-šu
AMA AMA URUDU e-iq-du-u-tim
u ÇIR-RUŠ ÇIR-RUŠ še-zu-zu-u-tim
u-uš-zi-iz
ša šarru ma-aḫ-ri-im la i-pu-šu
ka-a-ri ḫi-ri-ti-šu
i-na EŠIR-E-A u ŠEB-AL-UR-RA
a-ti ši-ni-šu a-ba-am a-li-tu ERI KI u-ša-al-am
ia-ti ka-a-ri danna-a-ti še-la-ši-šu
iš-ti-en-i-ti ša-ni-i
i-na EŠIR-Ê-A u ŠEB-AL-UR-RA ab-ni-ma
it-ti ka-a-ri a-ba-am ik-zu-ru e-si-ni-ik-ma
i-ši-su i-na i-ra-at KI-GAL u-ša-ar-ši-id-ma
ri-(e)-ši-šu ša-da-ni-iš u-za-ak-ki-er
ka-a-ri ŠEB-AL-UR-RA bal-ri D. UTU-ŠU-A
BADA ba-bi-lam u-ša-al-am
ka-a-ri a-ra-aḫ-tim
i-na EŠIR-Ê-A u ŠEB-AL-UR-RA
a-ba-am a-li-tu ik-zu-ur-ma
ma-ka-a-at ŠEB-AL-UR-RA
a-ba-ar-ti ID UD-KIP-NUN-KI u-ra-ak-ki-is-ma
la u-ša-ak-li-il si-it-ta-a-tim
ia-ti a-bi-il-šu ri-e-eš-ta-a-am
na-ra-am li-ib-bi-šu
ka-a-ri a-ra-aḫ-tim
i-na EŠIR-Ê-A u ŠEB-AL-UR-RA ab-ni-ma
it-ti ka-a-ri a-ba-am ik-zu-ur-ru u-da-an-ni-in
i-na E-SAG-ILLA ki-iz-zi ra-aš-ba-am
e-kal ša-mi-e u ir-zi-tim šu-ba-at ta-ši-la-a-tim

e-ku-a pa-pa-ḫa bel ilâni D. Marduk
KA ḪI-LI-SU šu-ba-at D. zir-pa-ni-tum
E-ZI-DA šu-ba-at D. LUGAL LUGAL-DIM-ME-IR-ANA-KI-A
GUŠKIN na-am-ru u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma
u-na-am-mi-er ki-ma u-um
E-TEMEN-ANA-KI zi-ku-ra-at ba-bi-lam *ki*
e-eš-še-iš e-pu-uš
E-ZI-DA bît ki-i-nim na-ra-am D. na-bi-um
i-na ba-ar-zi-pa *ki* e-eš-še-is ab-ni-ma

Translation.

Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon,
The prince exalted, the subject of Merodach,
The pontiff supreme, beloved of Nebo,
The warder (?) *unwearied,*
The furnisher of Esagilla and Ezida,
Who unto Nebo and Merodach, his lords,
Submitted himself, and (*whom*) *they summoned to their service;*
The exalted, the prayerful, the called of the trueheartedness of the great gods;
The foremost son of Nabopalassar
King of Babylon, am I.
When Merodach, great lord, had faithfully created me, and
The land to order aright, the people to shepherd,
To embellish the city, to renew the temples,
Mightily had charged me;
I to Merodach, my lord, was reverently obedient;
Babylon, his high city, the town of the land, the glories of it,
Imgurbel, Nimittibel,
The great ramparts of it, I completed.
On the thresholds of the gates thereof
Massy bulls of bronze
And serpents huge, erect,
I set up.
What no former king had done,
The embankments of its moat
With bitumen and kiln brick
(*Along with the two of them which the father that begot* me *threw around the capital;*)
I the strong embankments, the third thereof,

The first, the second,
With bitumen and kiln-brick did build, and
With the embankments that the father had constructed, I connected them; and
The foundation thereof in the bosom of a great mound I firmly laid, and
The top thereof like the mountains I reared on high.
Embankments of kiln-brick at the ford of the sunset
The rampart of Babylon I carried round.
The embankments of the Araxes
With bitumen and kiln-brick
The father that begot me *had constructed, and*
The fence of kiln-brick
Of the further side of the Euphrates he had built, and
Had not completed the rest:
I, his chiefest son,
The beloved of his heart,
The embankments of the Araxes
With bitumen and kiln-brick did build, and
With the embankments the father had constructed, did strengthen.
In Esagilla, the strong sanctuary,
The palace of heaven and earth, the seat of pleasures,
Ekua, the closet of the lord of the gods, Merodach,
The gate Chilisu, the seat of Zirpanit,
Ezida, the seat of the King, the king of the gods of heaven and earth,
With shining gold I overlaid, and
Made to shine like day.
Etemenanaki, the tower of Babylon,
Anew I made.
Ezida, eternal house, beloved of Nebo,
In Borsippa anew I built, and

COLUMN II.

Transcription.

i-na GUŠKIN u ni-si-ik-tim NA-NA
ki-ma ši-ṭi-er-ti ša-ma-mi u-ba-an-nim
e-ri-nim DA-LUM-tim GUŠKIN u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma
a-na ṣu-lu-ul E MAḪ-TI-LA pa-pa-ḫa D. na-bi-um

pa-nim še-lal-ti-šu-nu u-ša-at-ri-iç
E-MAḪ E DIMMER-NIN-ḪAR-SAG E lib-ba KA-DIMMER-RA-KI
E GIŠ-ŠA-PA-KALA-MA-SI-MA E D. na-bi-um ša-ha-ri-e
E-NAM-ḪE E D. rammâni lib-ba KU-MA-RI-KI
E-KI-KU-GARZA E DIMMER-NIN-E-AN-NA ša tu-ub-ga-at BADA
i-na ba-bi-lam *ki* e-eš-še-iš ab-ni-ma
u-ul-la-a-am ri-e-ša-ši-in
ša ma-na-ma šarru ma-aḫ-ri la i-pu-šu
IV. M ammat ga-ga-ra-am i-ta-a-at ERI KI
ni-si-iš la da-ḫi-e
BADA DA-LUM BAL-RI D. UTU-Ê ba-bi-lam *ki*
u-ša-aš-ḫi-ir
ḫi-ri-su aḫ-ri-e-ma šu-bu-ul mi-e ak-šu-ud
ki-bi-ir-šu i-na EŠIR-Ê-A u ŠEB-AL-UR-RA ab-ni-ma
it-ti ka-a-ri a-ba-am ik-zu-ur-ru e-si-ni-ik-ma
BADA DA-(LUM) i-na EŠIR-Ê-A u ŠEB-AL-UR-RA
i-na ki-ša-di-ša ša-da-ni-iš ab-nim
ṭa-a-bi-su-bu-ur-šu dûr ba-ar-zi-pa *ki*
e-eš-še-iš e-pu-uš
ka-a-ri ḫi-ri-ti-šu i-na EŠIR-Ê-A u ŠEB-AL-UR-RA
ERI KI a-na ki-da-nim u-ša-aš-ḫi-ir
a-na DIMMER-DU-Ê EN mu-ša-ab-bi-ir IZ-KU ša na-ki-ri-ia
bît-su i-na ba-ar-zi-pa *ki* e-eš-še-iš e-pu-uš
E-BAR-RA E D. UTU ŠA UD-KIP-NUN-KI
E-KU-GI-NA E D. LUGAL GIŠ-A-TU-GAB-LIŠ
ša ERI ba-az
E I-BIL-D. A-NUM E D. IB
ŠA DIL-BAD-KI
E-AN-NA E D. IŠ-TAR ŠA UNU-KI
E-BAR-RA E D. UTU ša UT-UNU-KI
E-KIŠ-NU-GAL E D. EN-ZU ša ŠIŠ-UNU-KI
e-eš-ri-e-ti DIMMER-GAL-GAL
e-eš-še-iš e-pu-uš-ma
u-ša-ak-li-il ši-bi-ir-ši-in
zi-in-na-a-at E-SAG-ILLA E-ZI-DA
te-di-iš-ti ba-bi-lam *ki* ba-ar-zi-pa *ki*
ša e-li ša ma-aḫ-ri-im
u-ša-ti-qu-ma
aš-ku-num a-na ri-e-eš-e-tim
ka-la e-ip-še-e-ti-ia šu-qu-ra-a-tim

za-na-an e-eš-ri-e-ti DIMMER-GAL-GAL
ša e-li LUGAL-LUGAL ab-bi-e-a u-ša-ti-ru
i-na NA na-râ-a aš-ṭu-ur-ma
u-ki-in aḫ-ra-ta-aš
ka-la e-ip-še-e-ti-ia
ša i-na NA na-râ-a aš-tu-ru
mu-da-a-am li-ta-am-ma-ar-ma
ta-ni-it-ti ilâni
li-iḫ-ta-as-sa-as
e-bi-šu ma-ḫa-zi DIMMER DIMMER u D. IŠ-TAR
ša EN ra-bi-u D. marduk

Translation.

With gold and precious stones,
Like the host of heaven, I made sparkle.
Stout cedars with gold I overlaid, and
For the roofing of Emaghtilla, the closet of Nebo,
The face of three of them I laid on.
The Great House, the house of the Lady of the Mountain, the house within Babylon,
The House of the Giver of the Sceptre of the World, the house of Nebo the Messenger (?)
The House of Plenty, the house of Rimmon within Babylon,
The House of the Place of the Judgment-Seat, the house of the Dame of the Celestial Abode, which is in the purlieus of the wall,
In Babylon anew I built, and
Raised their tops.
What no former king had done,
For 4,000 cubits of ground, on the flanks of the capital
From afar unapproachable,
A mighty rampire at the ford of the sunrising
I threw around Babylon.
Its moat I dug, and the bottom of the water I reached;
The bank of it with bitumen and kiln-brick I built, and
With the embankment the father had constructed, I joined it, and
A mighty rampire with bitumen and kiln-brick
On the marge of it mountain-high I built.
Tabisuburshu, the wall of Borsippa,
Anew I made;

The embankments of its moat in bitumen and kiln-brick
The capital, for cover, I carried round.
For the divine Son of the House, the lord that shattereth the sword of my foes,
His house in Borsippa anew I made.
Ebarra, the house of Shamash of Sepharvaim,
Ekugina, the house of the King of Palm-branches (?),
Of the city of Baz;
E-ibil-Anu, the house of Anu,
Of Nipur;
Eanna, the house of Ishtar of Erech,
Ebarra the house of Shamash of Ellasar,
Egišširgal, the house of Sin of Ur,
The temples of the mighty gods,
Anew I made, and
Finished the work of them.
The embellishment of Esagilla and Ezida,
The renovation of Babylon and Borsippa,
Which above what was before
I beautified, and
made into principal (cities);
All my costly works,
The restoring of the temples of the mighty gods,
Which above the kings my fathers I added,
On tablets I wrote, and
Laid up for hereafter.
All my works
Which on the tablets I wrote,
May the learned behold, and
The glory of the gods
May he consider!
The making of the town of the gods, and of Ishtar,
Wherewith the great lord Merodach

Column III.

Transcription.

ia-ti u-ma-ra-an-ni-ma
u-ša-at-ka-an-ni li-ib-ba-am
pa-al-ḫi-iš la a-ba-aṭ-ṭi-il-šu
u-ša-al-la-am ši-bi-ir-šu

i-nu-mi-šu a-na D. NIN-KAR-RA-AK-A
be-el-ti ra-'-im-ti-ia
na-çi-ra-at na-bi-iš-ti-ia
mu-ša-al-li-ma-at bi-er-'i-ia
E-ḪAR-SAG-EL-LA bît-sa ša ki-ri-ib ba-bi-lam *ki*
ša iš-tu pa-nim in-na-mu-ma
la i-pu-šu šarru ma-aḫ-ri-im
te-me-en-šu la-bi-ri a-ḫi-it ab-ri-e-ma
III ŠEB-ḪI-A za-ḫi-er-tim I ammat III šu-s(i)
mi-in-da-a-tim še-lal-ti-ši-na ni-bil uš-še (?)
ap-pa-li-is-ma ak-šu-ud ap-te-iḫ-ma
E a-na a-ša-ba D. NIN-KAR-RA-AK-A be-el-ti-ia
la u-us-su-um ši-ki-in-ša
i-ga-ar E šu-a-ti a-na du-un-nu-nim
e-bi-šu ÊŠIR-Ê-A u ŠEB-AL-UR-(RA)
E ša a-na a-ša-ba D. NIN-KAR-RA-AK-(A be-el-ti-ia?)
u-us-su-um aš-te-'u(-u?)
i al a-ar-ka-tim . . .
aš (?)-bu (?)-ut (?) III ŠEB-AL-UR(-RA)
ša XVI šu-si ta-a-an mi-in-da-a-(tim)
mi-ši-il ŠEB-AL-UR(-RA)
tu-ba-lu ——(u?)
e-bi-šu EŠIR-Ê-A u ŠEB-AL-(UR-RA)
D. UTU u D(IM?)
an-na ki-i-nim
u-ša-aš-ki-num i-na te-er-ti-ia
III ŠEB-AL-UR-(RA)
ša XVI šu-si ta-a-an
u mi-ši-il ŠEB-AL-UR(-RA)
tu-ba-lu ——u
e-li te-me-en-ni-šu u-ki-in-ma
E i-na ÊŠIR-Ê-A u ŠEB-AL-UR-RA
ša-da-ni-iš e-er-ti
D. NIN-KAR-RA-AK-A be-el-ti çi-ir-tim
a-na E-ḪAR-SAG-EL-LA E ḫi-da-ti-ki
ḫa-di-iš i-na e-ri-bi-ki
da-am-ga-tu-u-a
li-iš-ša-ak-na ša-ap-tu-uk-ki
u-ri-ki u-um-u-a šu-mi-di ša-na-tu-u-a
ba-la-ṭam a-ar-ka še-bi-e li-it-tu-ti-ia

li-iš-ša-ki-in i-na pi-ki
šu-ul-li-im na-bi-iš-ti ti-ib-bi UZU-UZU-ia
u-çu-ur še-e-ri-ia ki-in-ni bi-ir-'i(-ia)
lu-u šu-um-gu-tu na-ki-ri-i(a)
u sa-pa-nim ma-da a-a-bi-ia
i-na ma-ḫa-ar D. marduk šar ša-mi-e u ir-zi-tim
ki-bi-i
sa-at-ta-ak-ka.

Translation.

Me did charge, and
Impelled me within (thereto),
Reverently I ceased it not;
I completed the work of it.
At that time for Ninkarrak (i.e., *Gula*)
The lady that loveth me,
That keepeth my soul,
That maketh whole my offspring,
Eharsagella, her house, which is within Babylon,
Which long ago had fallen into decay, and
No former king had repaired;
Its old record I saw, inspected, and
Three brick cylinders (?), each small, 1 ell 3 fingers
In dimensions the three of them, ...
I saw and took up; I shut them in (again).
The house for the indwelling of Ninkarrak, my lady,
The structure of it was not seemly.
To strengthen the side of that house,
By preparing bitumen and kiln-brick,
The house which for the indwelling of Ninkarrak, my lady,
To make seemly I sought,
. hereafter
I set three kiln-bricks
Of sixteen fingers in dimensions,
(And) half a kiln-brick,
In line.
To prepare bitumen and kiln-brick
Shamash and Rimmon
Abiding grace
Implanted in my mind.

Three kiln-bricks
Of sixteen fingers
And half a kiln-brick
In line,
Over its record I laid, and
The house with bitumen and kiln-brick
Mountain-like I reared.
Ninkarrak, lady supreme!
Into Eharsagella, the house of thy joys,
When thou joyfully enterest,
May good things for me
Come to pass at thy bidding!
Prolong thou my days, establish my years;
Long life, the abundance of my children,
Be it fulfilled by thy mouth!
Make whole my life, make sound my limbs,
Keep my body, confirm my offspring!
The felling of my foes,
And the conquest of the country of my enemies,
Before Merodach, the king of heaven and earth,
Command thou
Perpetually!

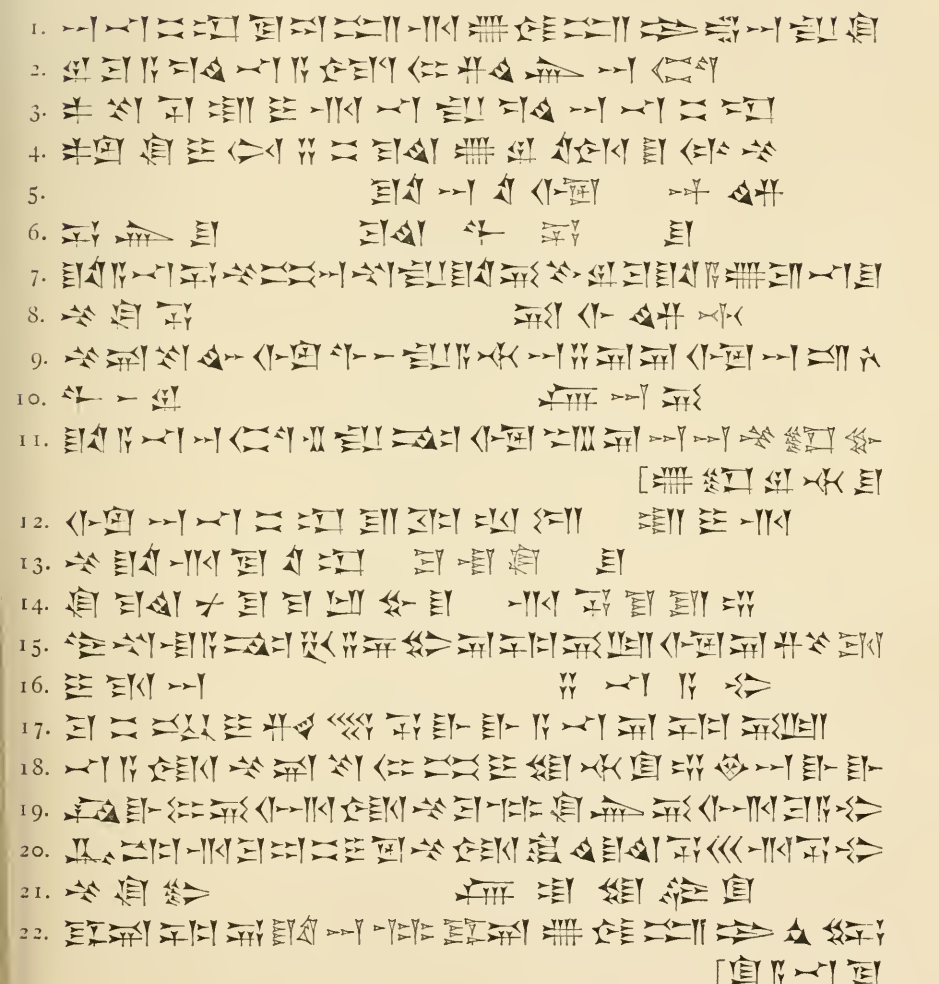
[The notes on the above text will appear in a future number of the *Proceedings*.]

PLATE I.

AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II.

Rev. C. J. Ball.

Column I.

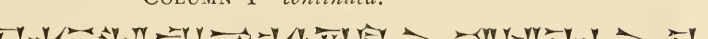
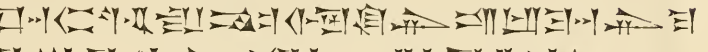
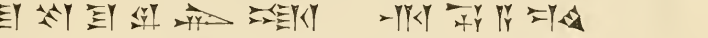
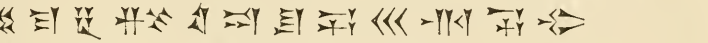
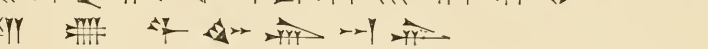
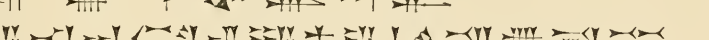
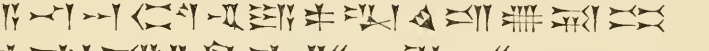
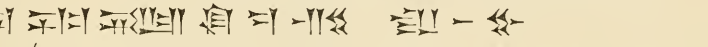
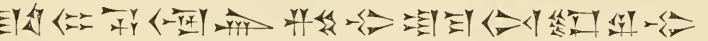
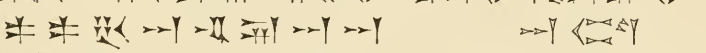
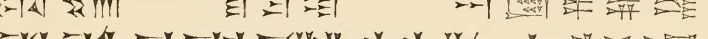
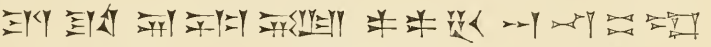
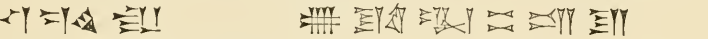
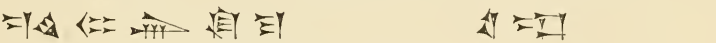
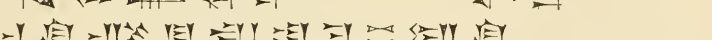
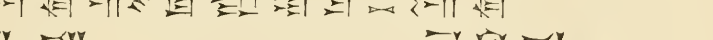
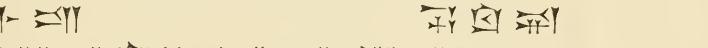
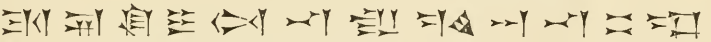
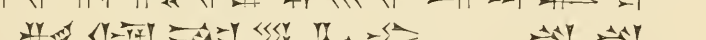
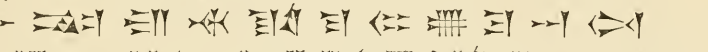


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PLATE II.

An Unpublished Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II.

Column I—*continued.*

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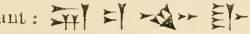
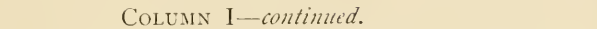
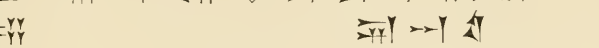
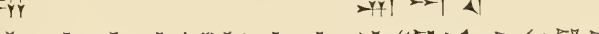
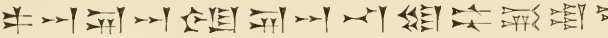
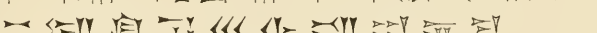
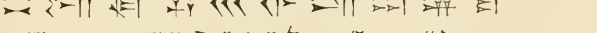
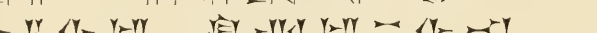
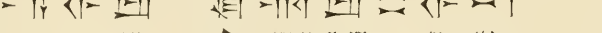
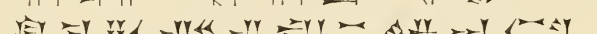
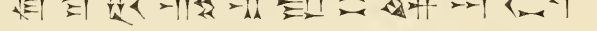
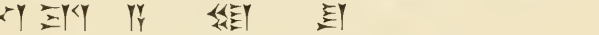
* Variant: .

PLATE III.

An Unpublished Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II.

Column I—*continued.*

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Column II.

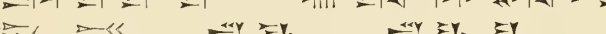
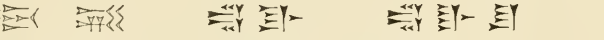
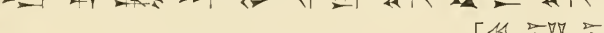
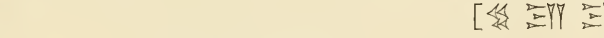
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PLATE IV.

An Unpublished Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II.

Column II—*continued.*

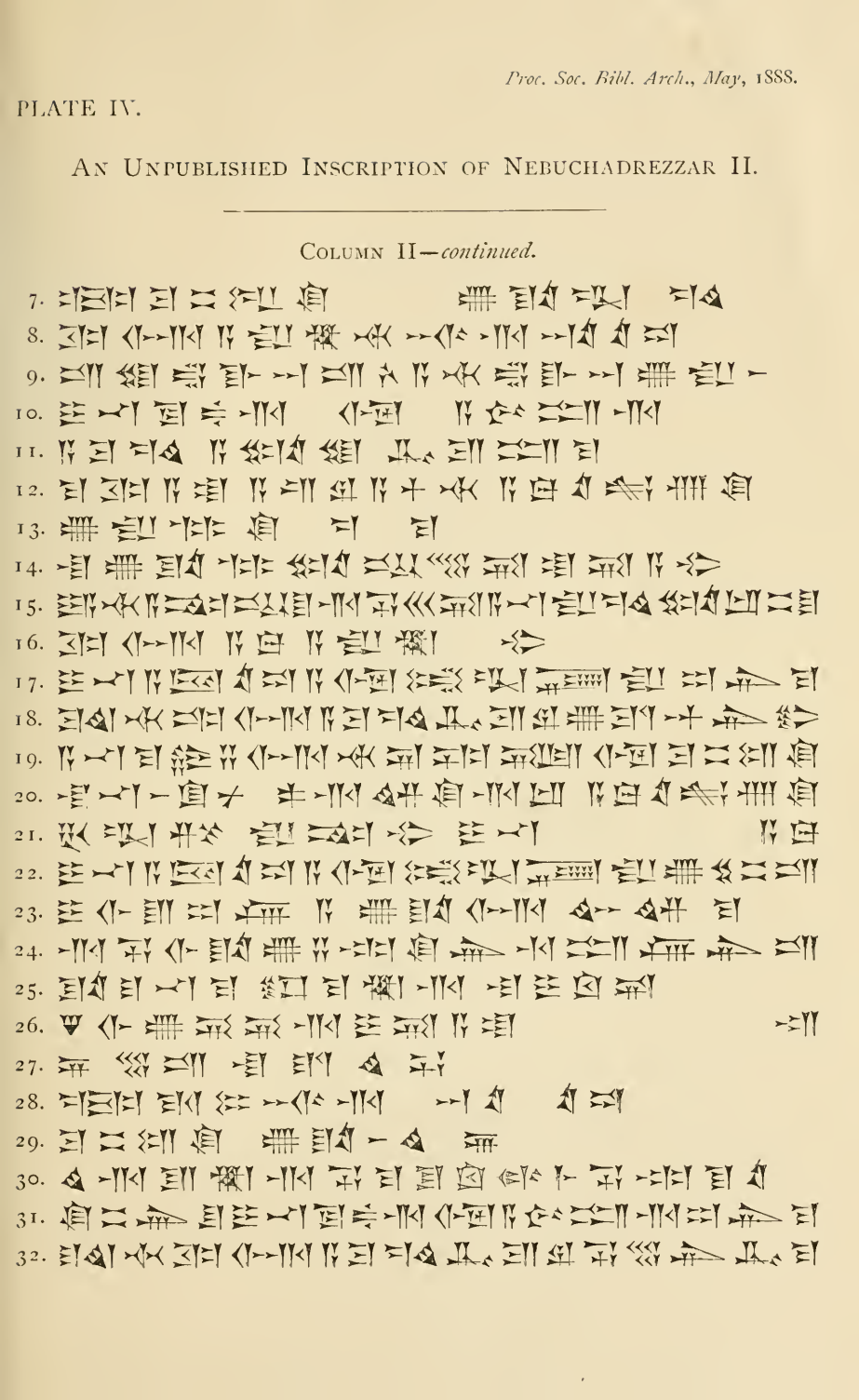


PLATE V.

An Unpublished Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II.

Column II—*continued.*

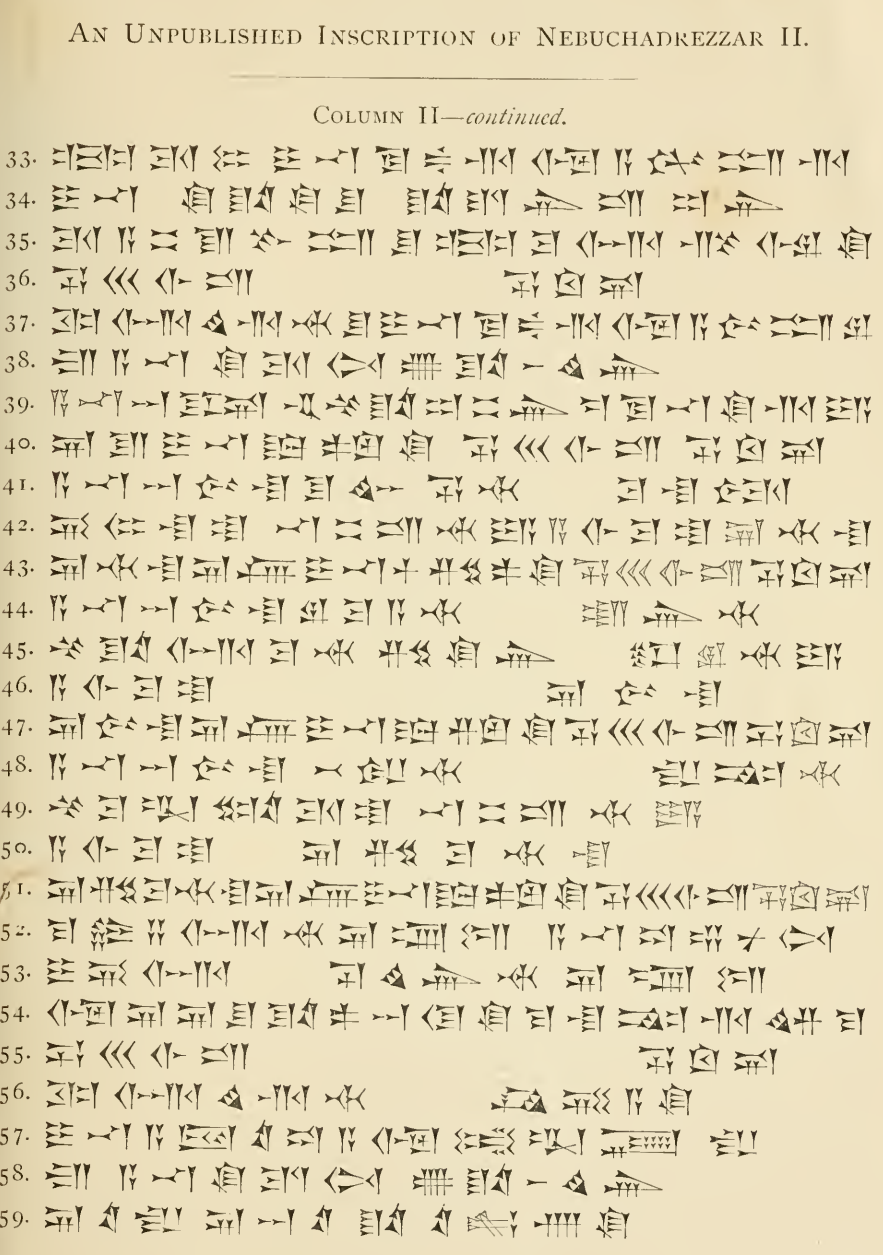
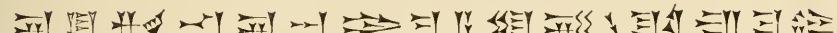
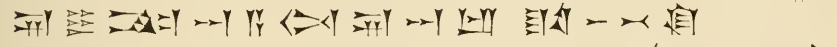
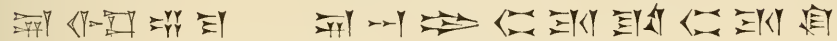
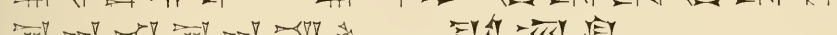
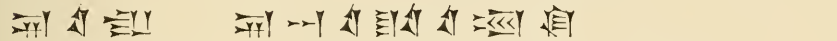
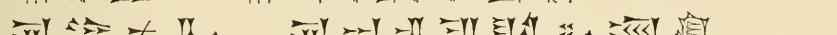
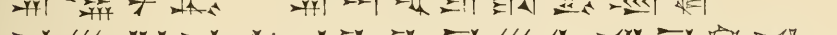
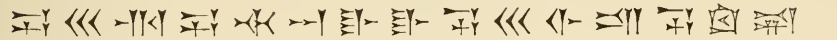
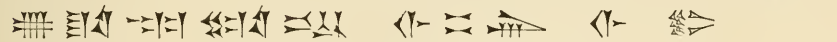
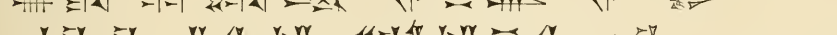
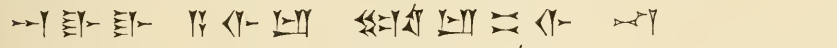
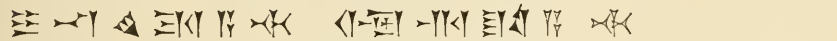
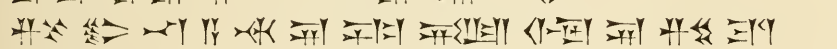
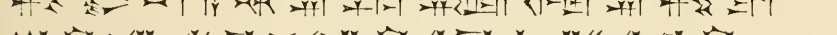


PLATE VI.

An Unpublished Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II.

Column II—*continued.*

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Column III.

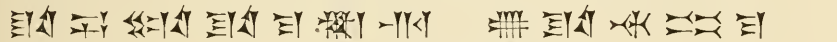
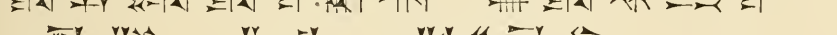
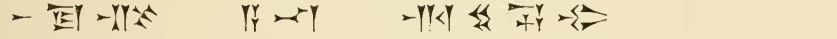
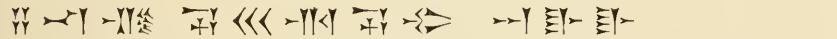
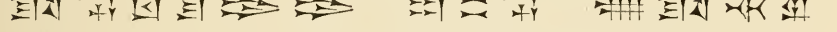
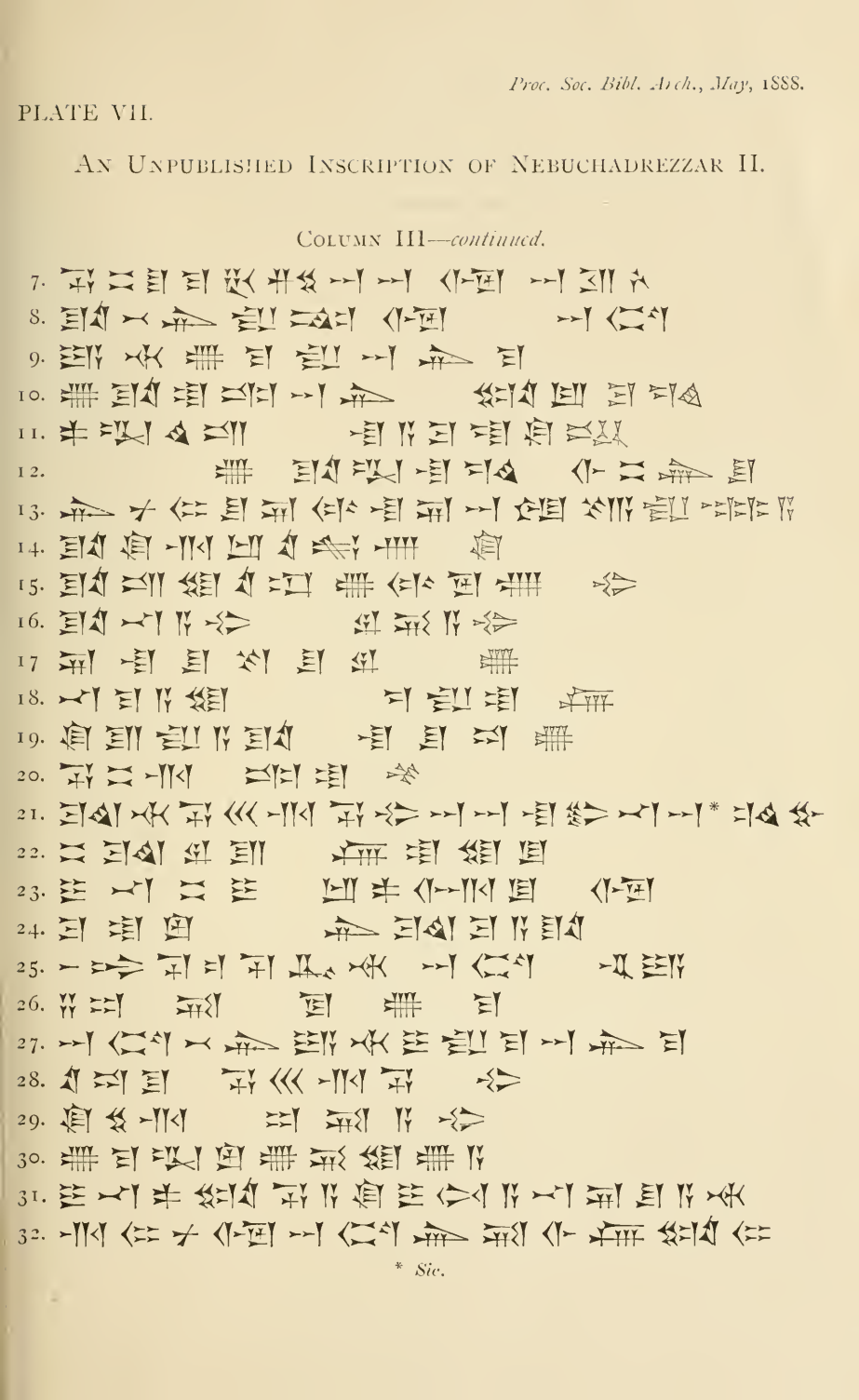
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PLATE VII.

An Unpublished Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II.

Column III—*continued.*

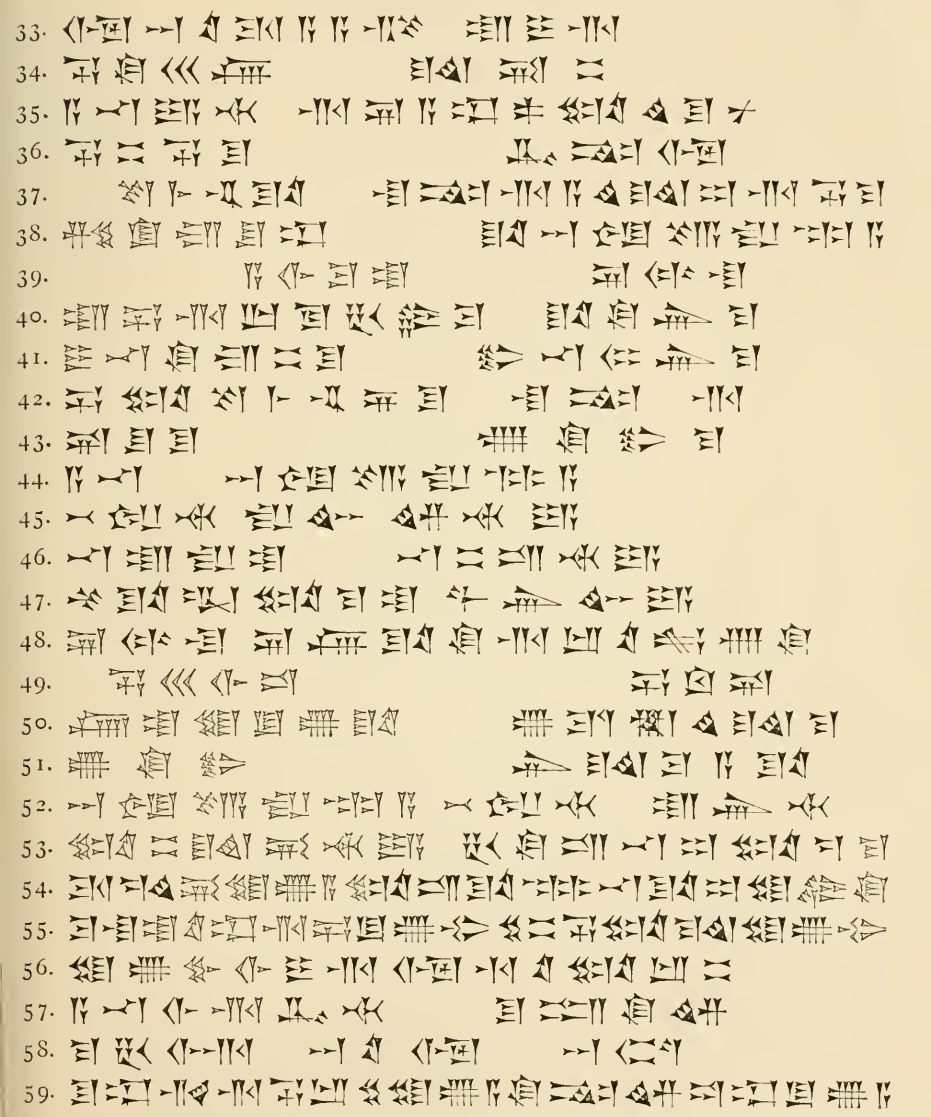


* *Sic.*

PLATE VIII.

An Unpublished Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II.

Column III—*continued.*



LE CACHET BILINGUE DU ROI TARKÛTIMME.

St. Pétersbourg, *le* 14 *Mars*, 1888.

Mon cher Monsieur Rylands,

En examinant tout dernièrement, avec les mémoires de Mr. Sayce (dans les *Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*) et de M. Amiaud (dans la *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*) à la main, l'intéressant cachet bilingue du roi Tarḳûtimmi, je fus amené à certaines réflexions que je voudrais me permettre de vous exposer ici en quelques mots.

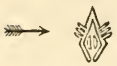
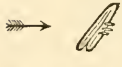
Contrairement à l'opinion émise par Mr. Sayce et non réfutée par M. Amiaud, je crois préconçue et non démontrée l'idée que le texte "hittite" du cachet soit absolument la répétition mot-à-mot de *toute* la légende écrite dans la bande circulaire en caractères cunéiformes. La quantité réstreinte des signes soi-disant "hittites" en comparaison du nombre des signes de l'inscription cunéiforme, m'empêche d'accepter sans réserve une telle supposition.

En effet, ne serait-il pas par trop hasardé de vouloir forcer les six signes de l'inscription "hittite" à contenir exactement toute la phrase écrite en caractères cunéiformes qui, presqu'en une double quantité de signes (11) occupe toute la bande circulaire du cachet? Ne serait-il pas plus séduisant au contraire de penser que l'espace libre occupé par chacune des deux inscriptions "hittites" étant de beaucoup plus réstreint que la bande circulaire, on se soit borné à ne trâcer en signes "hittites" rien que le nom du souverain, sans indication de ses titres.

Si l'on voulait s'arrêter sur cette dernière hypothèse, on pourrait, je crois, assigner aux signes de l'inscription "hittite" du cachet de Tarḳûtimmi des valeurs syllabiques plus courtes que celle admises par Mr. Sayce (p. ex. *tarḳu* pour  et *timme* pour ), ce qui serait d'un côté plus conforme à la manière, dont le nom du roi est écrit en signes cunéiformes, et ce qui, d'un autre côté, nous livrerait quelques signes syllabiques simples que nous ne réussissons

que très imparfaitement à trouver avec l'explication de Mr. Sayce, mais qui, on peut le dire avec assurance, devaient aussi largement être employés dans le système "hittite" qu'ils le sont dans le système cunéiforme ou le système hiéroglyphique des Égyptiens.

En disposant donc selon le système de M. Amiaud (le seul acceptable à la condition de laisser indéterminé la position réciproque des deux derniers signes  et ), nous pourrons supposer pour les signes "hittites" du cachet de Tarḳûtimmi des valeurs selon le tableau suivant.

	1ère supposition.	2ème supposition.	3ème supposition.
	tar	ta	ta
	ḳu	ar	ar
	u	ḳû	ku
	ti	ti	u
	im	im	tim
	mi	mi	mi

Je ferai rémarquer tout de suite la ressemblance dans la forme des signes qui selon les 1ere et 2eme suppositions auraient la valeur *im* et *mi*, c'est-à-dire qui tous deux renfermeraient la consonne *m* précédée ou suivie de la voyelle *i:* dans un cas c'est le simple signe  (allongé outre mesure sur le cachet, selon moi, pour des raisons de symmétrie), dans l'autre cas c'est le même signe deux fois répété (pour la hauteur à peu près égale des deux signes  et  *cf.* Jerab. II, l. 1). Ces deux signes si étroitement liés par leur forme et par les voyelles et les consonnes qui, suivant la 1ere et la 2eme suppositions, leur pourraient être inhérentes, se retrouvent de

nouveau à la suite l'un de l'autre sur l'empreinte d'un cachet appartenant à M. Schlumberger, et publié sous le No. 12 dans W. Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites*, sur la planche intitulée *Terra-cotta seals in the possession of M. Schlumberger, Paris, etc.* Comme dans ce cas je ne crois pouvoir m'attendre à trouver sur le cachet qu'un ou tout au plus deux noms propres, je ne peux pas (aussi peu que sur le cachet de Tarḳûtimmi) accepter ici l'explication de "roi" que Mr. Sayce assigne à l'hiéroglyphe  Plutôt proposerais-je de lire le commencement de l'un des noms propres sur l'empreinte de M. Schlumberger: *Mi-im* ou *Im-mi* (à la rigueur même *Mi-tim* ou *Tim-mi*).

Voilà, mon cher Monsieur Rylands, les quelques rémarques que j'ai cru pouvoir faire sur les inscriptions du cachet de Tarḳûtimmi. Tout en soumettant ces rémarques à votre bienveillante attention, je me permets d'espérer que vous ne leur réfuserez pas une petite place dans les *Transactions* ou les *Proceedings* de la *Society of Biblical Archæology*, afin que je puisse par là connaître au sujet de mes suppositions l'opinion des autres membres de la Society, qui s'intéressent aussi aux essais du déchiffrement des inscriptions "hittites."

Agréez, Monsieur, l'assurance de mon profond estime,

W. Golenischeff.

THE NAME GENUBATH.

Weston-super-Mare,
March 26, 1888.

My Dear Mr. Rylands,

At last perhaps I have traced to its origin the name גנבת, 'Genubath,' borne by the son of the sister of Takhpankhes the Egyptian queen and Hadad the Edomite prince to whom the Pharaoh had given her in marriage (1 Kings xi, 20).

It is mentioned by Brugsch (*Zeitschr. für Aeg. Spr.*, 1882, 33) that in one place in the statistical tablet of Karnak (*temp.* Thothmes III) the land of Pûnt is represented by the Egyptian word  *gnb-t-u*. The Semitic جنوب, 'the South' (he says) lies clearly at the bottom of the ethnic name. The word, with Egyptian complexion in style and grammatical form, signifies always 'the South-folk.'

On the other hand Dr Birch (*Records*, II, 23) thought that "the word seems to mean 'curly haired,'" and Pierret (*Vocab.*, 654) gives the word  *genb-t*, on Brugsch's authority as meaning 'tress, lock of hair,' the determinative being (as in the ethnic name) a tress of hair.

At all events we have here (it seems) the name given by the Egyptian princess to her son, whether it means 'the curly,' or 'the Southern,' or 'the Pûnite'; and we add one more to the list of Biblical names which are traced in Egyptian record, and one more 'undesigned coincidence' of a characteristic name to those already noted in the Old Testament.

In the LXX we have Γανηβάθ.

Yours sincerely,

Henry George Tomkins.

The following notes have been added by the *President*:—

THE ḲENBETU AND THE SEMITIC SOUTH.

There is, I fear, an anachronism in the statement that "the Semitic جنوب,* 'the South,' lies at the bottom of the ethnic name" *ḳenbetu*.

The word جنوب, being Arabic, is certainly Semitic, but what evidence is there that at the time of Thothmes III any Semitic word like it had the meaning of 'South,' or rather 'South-wind'?

There are seven names for the South in Hebrew, but this is not one of them. The word is equally unknown in the sense of South to Syriac or to Chaldee.† The Assyrian name of the South is *šutu*, evidently the same as the Talmudic שׁוּתָא. The common Ethiopic name is ዐዜብ፡, which is identical with the Arabic ازيب, the name in common use at Mecca, and said to be the only one known to the people of Yemen and to the traders between Jeddah and Aden. Another Ethiopic name is ሰሜን፡ of the same origin as the Hebrew תימן.

It is only in Arabic that *genûb* means 'south-wind,' but this is not its primitive meaning; جنب simply signifies 'side,' and according to native lexicographers the name of شمال is given to the wind which blows from the *right*, and جنوب to that which blows from the *left side* of a person standing opposite to the Qibleh. But before there was a Qibleh at Mecca all Semites faced the East in determining the points of the compass, so that the West was *behind* אחר (Assyrian *aḫarru*), the North on the *left* and the South on the *right*.

When therefore the ante-islamic poet in the Moallaqat speaks of traces in the sand woven by the winds, من جنوب وشمال *min genubin wa-šemāli*, he *may* mean "from south and north," but not *necessarily* more than "from right and left."

More than twelve hundred years before Imr al-Ḳeis, Sennacherib says (Taylor Cylinder VI, 53) that he placed his winged lions and bulls *imna u šumela*, 'right and left,' and though from time immemorial שמאל has been used for 'north,' we have no right to assume

* The ـحـ in Brugsch's article is an obvious misprint.

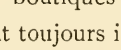
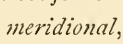
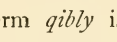
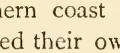
† The Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch uses the word דרומה.

that this is its meaning, when there is no indication of a geographical application. 'North' is never its meaning, for instance, in the Koran. يمين, also signifying 'the right,' is equally used in the sense of South; ريح يمانية is the 'South-wind.'

But the favourite word of the ancient Christian and Jewish translators of the Bible was تيمن, the same word as the Hebrew תֵּימָן the Syriac ܬܝܡܢ and the Ethiopic ፀይመን. This word, however, has persistently been replaced by the now more familiar *genûb*.

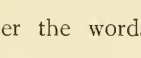
In Egypt قبلى *qibly* was the recognized expression for South in the time of Makrizi, who tells us that North Egypt was called *El-baḥri* and the South *El-qibly*. But many centuries before him the Patriarch Eutychius uses the expression when speaking of the Caliph Omar praying at the southern arch of the Church at Bethlehem. Silvestre de Sacy says, "J'ai en ma possession un acte passé en Egypte, portant donation, en faveur d'établissemens réligieux, de différentes maisons et boutiques situées au Caire: les quatre points cardinaux y sont toujours indiqués par les mots شرقى *oriental*, غربى *occidental*, قبلى *meridional*, et بحرى *septentrional*."

The use of this term *qibly* is not limited to Egypt, but extends over the whole northern coast of Africa, and it is from it that the Kabyles have borrowed their own designations of the South. It is also the usual Turkish term.

The determinative  is the only motive for the conjectural meanings, 'curly haired,' 'tress,' 'lock of hair.'  *ḳenbet* is merely a nasalized form of  *ḳabet*, 'eyebrow,' a kindred word to  *ḳabt* ϭωϐϵ 'a leaf,' (M. ϫωϐι,) and  *ḳabu* ϭϐοι 'an arm,' (M. ϫφοι),* the primitive sense being 'curving, bending.'

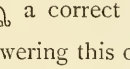
*  *ḳ* is palatal, hence the passage from ϭ to ϫ. It is the same process as that by which the *k* sound in certain Latin words beginning with *c* has been changed in Italian words like *citta*, *celebre*, *ciccrone*, and in English words like *church*, *chick*, *child* from *circ*, *cock*, *cild*. The Coptic ϫ, like the old Egyptian , is not *g* but *ts*, like the Italian *c* before *e* and *i*. The name of it is not Djandja but Tshantsha. The detestable habit of using medial letters in the transcription of Egyptian words loses sight of important phonetic facts like these.

Brugsch does not say that the word *ḳenbetu* "signifies *always* the 'South-folk,'" but that it signifies "the South-folk *generally*." This is a mere inference from the supposed etymology. I do not suppose the people called *themselves* 'Southerns,' but if they had wished so to do, the people from Punt would not have thought of *genûb*, and the Egyptians would not, in the time of Thothmes III, have designated them by an Arabic term which probably did not come into existence till nearly two thousand years later.

I do not remember the words  *ḳenbetu* occurring as an ethnic name in more than *one* place, which is thus translated in Brugsch's "History of Egypt."

"Then arrived the ambassadors of Ganabut, who brought with them their tributes: 5 incense and Kama, 10 negroes for service, 113 oxen and calves, 230 bulls, 343 in all." *

This translation however skips over an enormous gap (measuring at least six inches on the plates of Lepsius and Mariette) after the words "incense and ka . . ." What proof is there that the negroes, oxen, and calves formed part of the tribute of "Ganabut"? The next line shows that they were part of the tribute of Punt, the name of which no doubt appeared in the missing part of the inscription. But of the identity between Punt and Kenbetu there is no proof that I can discover. Both produced the incense called *Ânta*, but so did others, and, as we all know, there are salmons both in Macedon and in Monmouth.

Is  a correct Egyptian transcription of גנבת, or *vice versâ?* In answering this question reference must be had to the period. The Egyptians who had no medial letters in their language, were obliged, when transcribing Semitic names, to use surds instead. In the inscriptions of the Ramesside period and later one the letter *g* is undoubtedly found transcribed by *ḳ*. But it was not so in the time of Thothmes III :—

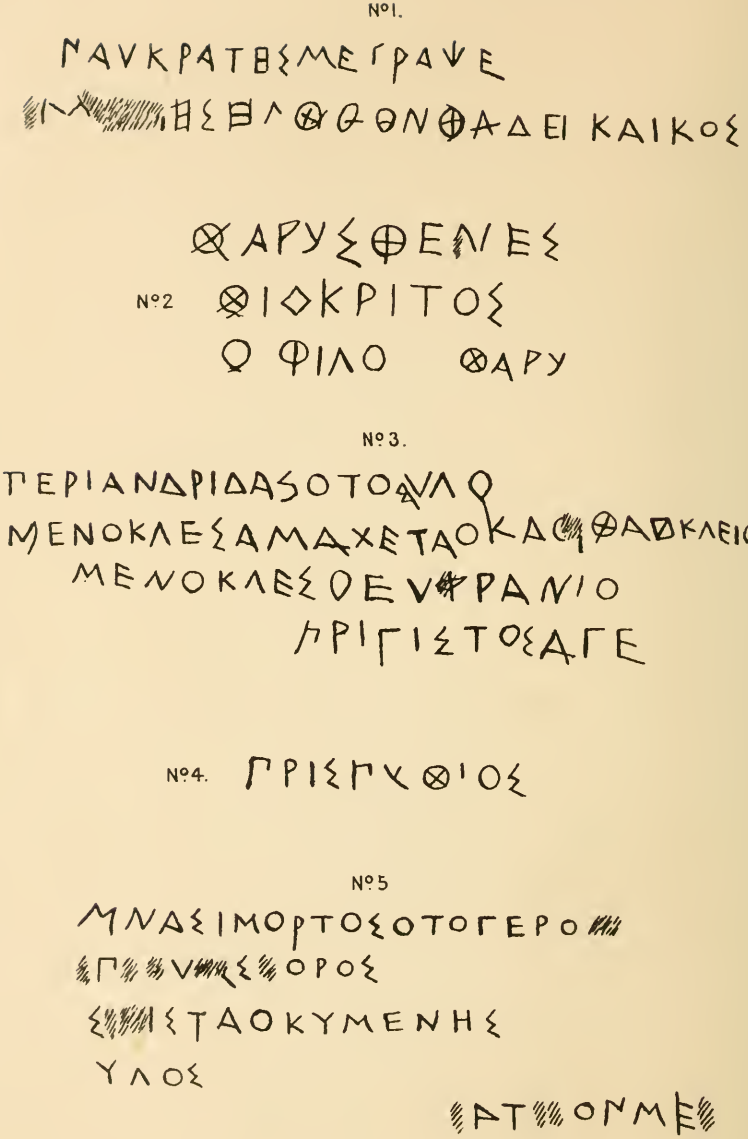
* *Gesch. Aegypten's*, 311 ; English translation, I, 332. M. de Rougé, in his translation, "Rev. Arch.," 1860, II, p. 301, carefully inserts three lines of between *ka* ... and the 'negroes,' &c. Brugsch's 5 and his are in the wrong places. There were 5 not 10 negroes.

"Les Égyptiens n'avaient pas le ג," says Mariette.* "Neuf fois ils l'ont rendu par . On le rencontre deux fois transcrit par , une fois par , (en supposant que la lecture de ce dernier nom soit certaine)."

The only instance in which Mariette believes can be found representing a Hebrew *g* is in , *Rekaʻa*, on the supposition that this is meant for צקלג, *Tsiklag!*

This last rope is evidently a rotten one, and we must, I fear, return to the natural derivation from גָּנַב of the name Genubath, as "gotten by stealth," or "furtively."

* Listes Géographiques, p. 5.



EARLY GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM ABYDOS.
COPIED BY PROF. A.H. SAYCE.

SOME GREEK GRAFFITI FROM ABYDOS.

By Professor A. H. Sayce.

At the beginning of 1884 I spent a fortnight in the village of Arabat el-Madfuneh, which has succeeded the ancient city of Abydos in Upper Egypt, occupying myself in copying the *graffiti* with which the walls of the ruined temples of Seti I and Ramses II are covered. Two years later I was again at Abydos for a day, my chief purpose being to examine the exterior of the *peribolos* or wall of enclosure which Prof. Maspero had disinterred since my previous visit to the place.

The Greek graffiti of Abydos are the most interesting in Egypt. Not only are they exceedingly numerous—almost equal in number, in fact, to the whole of the Greek *graffiti* I have copied elsewhere south of Cairo—but some of them are older than any others yet found in Egypt except at Naukratis and Abu-Simbel. Among the early inscriptions there are a few which present us with non-Ionic alphabets and dialects, while starting from the age of Alexander the Great there are frequent examples of Greek cursive writing, well worth the attention of students of this form of Hellenic script.

The *graffiti* have, moreover, enabled me to trace the later history of the temple of Seti, to determine the locality of that oracle of Besa or Bes which played an important part in the last days of Egyptian paganism, and to throw light on the commencement of Greek intercourse with Upper Egypt. On the present occasion I shall quote only those of them which have served to elucidate these three points. The publication of the complete collection must be deferred until I can include in it the other Greek *graffiti* which I have copied on the rocks and monuments of Egypt from Cairo to Assuan. It is sufficient now to remark that, although I have made an almost exhaustive collection of the latter, it is only at Abydos that I have found any which go back to an earlier period than that of the Macedonian kings. At Thebes, for instance, there is not a scrap of Greek writing which can claim a higher antiquity than the Ptolemaic age.

The earliest Greek inscriptions I have found at Abydos to which a positive date can be assigned, are two written one below the other (No. 1), which run Ναυκράτης μ' ἔγραψε, "Naukratês wrote me," and Μ (?) . . . ης ἦλθε ἐνθάδε (1)* "Megaklês (?) came here." A person called Kaikos—a name which recalls that of the river Kaikos in Æolis—has inscribed his name after the second text in Ionian letters of the same age as those of the first graffito. These letters are shown, by the Milesian inscriptions, to be not later than B.C. 550. The form of the η differs from that found either at Miletos or at Abu-Simbel (B.C. 590) and is identical with that of the early inscriptions of Thêra, though the *sigma* and *psi* agree with those of Miletos, and not with those of Abu-Simbel. On the other hand, the second *graffito* presents us with a form of the *epsilon* which takes us back to a more remote period than the inscriptions either of Miletos or of Abu-Simbel. It is a form which resembles that of the *epsilon* in the Korinthian alphabet, and, as I have shown in my Paper on the *Karian Inscriptions*, is the form presupposed in the primitive Greek alphabet, from which the Karian alphabet was derived. This fact, coupled with the further fact that the inscriptions of Naukratis prove the four-barred *sigma*, as might naturally be expected, to be older than the three-barred *sigma*, incline me to believe that my Abydos texts are earlier than those of Abu-Simbel, and not later, as the analogy of the Milesian inscriptions would lead us to believe. I should assign them to B.C. 600 rather than to B.C. 560.

The other early inscriptions are not in the Ionic dialect. Three at least (Nos. 2, 3, 4) appear to be in one of the dialects of Krete. At all events, πρί-γιστος for the ordinary Greek πρεσβύτατος is found in a Kretan inscription (Boeckh's *Corpus*, 2554, 57), where it is written πρεί-γιστοι. The same root seems to show itself in the proper name Πρισ-πύθιος; compare the Latin *pris-cus* and *pris-tinus*. The retention of the original ᾱ instead of the Ionic η (Περιανδρίδας and ἄ-γε), and the substitution of ῐ for ε before a vowel must be noticed, as well as the want of the alphabetic symbols η and ω. The Homeric and Bœotian genitive in -αο (Ἀμαχέταο) is also interesting, unless we should read Ἀμαχέτα with the usual Doric contraction of -αο into ᾱ.

The first of these inscriptions (No. 2) is: Θαρυσθένες Θιοκριτος ὁ φιλο[ς] Θαρυ[σένθεος] "Tharysthenês (and) Theokritos the friend of

* It is probable that the upright stroke at the end of the *graffito* is intended to mark the end of the inscription.

Tharysthenês." With the name Θαρυσθένης must be compared those of Θαρυπτόλεμος and Θαρύπας.

No. 3 is more interesting. Περιανδρίδας ὁ τῶ Ὕλο Μενόκλες Ἀμαχέταο Κα . . . θαοκλειος Μενόκλες ὁ Ἐυφρανίο πρίγιστος ἄγε, "Periandridas the son of Hyllos; Menoklês the son of Amakhetas Menoklês the son of Euphranias led as chief." Neither Amakhetas nor the patronymic Periandridas occur in Pape's Lexicon. The appearance of the article before the name of Ὕλο is puzzling, but it may be due to the fact that the Hyllos was the name of a river in Lydia. The second line may be rendered "Menoklês the son of Amakhetas the K . . thaokleian" (ὁ Κα . . .). However this may be, one fact at all events results from the inscription. The persons recorded in it were mercenaries, engaged in a military expedition, which may have been the famous one of Psammetikhos II into Ethiopia, memorials of which have been preserved at Abu-Simbel.

The proper name Prispythios (No. 3) is new, like that of Mnasimortos (No. 4). The first line of No. 4 reads "Mnasimortos the son of the old man," Μνασίμορτος ὁ τῶ γέρο[ντος]. Κυμένης in the third line seems to be in a later handwriting, and not to belong to the *graffito*. We can hardly suppose that the author of the name made a mistake, and intended to write ὁ Κλυμένης.

These archaic Greek inscriptions are all on the right wall of the great staircase which runs up westward at the back of Seti's temple, a chamber added by Meneptah I adjoining it on the left or southern side. Karian and Phœnician *graffiti* adorn the same wall, as well as numerous Greek *graffiti* of later date. Indeed it is just in this part of the temple, on the two walls of the staircase, and of the passage leading to it that the *graffiti* are clustered together most thickly, many of them being only about a foot above the level of the steps of the staircase. The cause of the fact is revealed to us by a Greek *graffito* engraved on the wall of what I will call the southern chamber. The chamber was never finished, and its walls are consequently plain and bare, their only ornamentation consisting of a Karian *graffito* with a head above it (No. 10, Pl. II, of my Paper on the *Karian Inscriptions*), and the Greek *graffito* in question. This contains four elegiac verses which run as follows:—

Ἐνθάδε ἰαύεσκον καὶ ἀληθέας εἶδον ὀνείρους·
Ἀρποκρᾶς δὲ θέης Πανιάδος ναέτης,
Ἱρεὺς Κοπρεία ὁ φιλος γόνος ἀρητῆρος
Βησᾶ πανομφαίω· καὶ χάρις οὐκ ὀλίγη.

"Here I slept and beheld true dreams: now Harpokratês is the inhabitant of the Panic scene, the beloved offspring of the bedesman Kopreias, himself a priest to Bes, the sender of ominous voices; and not slight is the favour."

It is obvious from this that the empty chamber of Meneptah was believed to be the seat of an oracle. Here the priest of the god from whom the oracles came had to sleep at night and receive in his visions the answers to the questions propounded by the visitors to the sanctuary. While they waited in the corridor or on the steps of the staircase outside they amused themselves by recording their names, and the fact that in so many instances the names are written just above the level of the steps shows that they must often have passed the night in the near neighbourhood of the sacred oracle. The height at which the names are found would be that attainable by a man in a recumbent position.

Bes or Besa, however, was not the original god to whom the oracles of Abydos had been ascribed. The oracle, at least in the Greek sense of the word, was an institution foreign to the Egyptians, and first introduced into the country by the Greeks. The god of Abydos had been Osiris, and it was in honour of Osiris that the temple of Seti had originally been reared. The fact was still remembered in the time of Strabo. But before the days of the first Greek visitors to the spot the temple must already have been partially in ruin. In no other way can we explain the presence of Greek and Kypriote and Karian *graffiti* within one of those Egyptian temples, from which the unclean foreigner was so jealously excluded. Already when the first Greek *graffiti* were engraved on the wall of the great staircase the ancient sanctuary must have been open to the stranger and its sanctity must have departed from it. That the temple was in much the same condition as it is now only two or three centuries later is proved by a curious *graffito* I found in the cella of Horus. It was written by two Galatæ or Gauls, who may have belonged to the contingent of 4,000 Gauls enrolled by Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 222—205), under the command of Dionysios the Thrakian, in his war against Antiokhos.*

Τῶν Γαλάτων Θόας Καλλίστρατος [καὶ] Ἀκάννων Ἀπολλώνιος
ἦλθον ἐν[θάδε] καὶ ἀλώπεκα ἔλαβον ἐνθάδε.

* They may however have formed part of the mercenary force employed by Ptolemy II in his war against Magas of Kyrênê (B.C. 265) and afterwards treacherously massacred by him.

"Of the Gauls, Thoas Kallistratos (&) Akannôn Apollonios came here and caught a fox here."

We should note the double names, the Keltic name coming first and the Greek surname being added to it. In the same cella is the record of another Gaul (Γαλάτης Δημήτριος) who bore a Greek name only, and is not so communicative as his two brethren. The curious little fact of which they tell us is a clear proof that in the Ptolemaic era the temple was as ruined and deserted as it is to-day.

Its ruin may have been assisted by the capture of the town of Abydos, of which we are informed by a *graffito* I copied in the cella of Isis. This runs as follows:—Φιλόκλης Ἱεροκλέους Τροιζήνιος παρεγενέθην π*ροσκυνῶν τὸν Σάρα(πιν) ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀβύδου πολιορκιάς L κ̄ Παυνί κ̄η̄; "I, Philoklês, the son of Hierokles the Troizenian, am come adoring Sarapis, the 20th year of the era of the siege of Abydos, the 28th day of the month Payni." The mention of Sarapis shows that the date of the *graffito* is later than the reign of Ptolemy I, when the Serapeum was built at Alexandria and the god of Sinôpê was brought to Egypt, there to be identified with Osiris (Tac. *Hist.*, IV, 83). Abydos was doubtless implicated in one of the risings of Upper Egypt against the Ptolemies, more especially that suppressed by Ptolemy Epiphanes†, and the siege referred to in the inscription may have contributed to bring about the decline of which Strabo was a witness.

It will be noticed that Philoklês visited the temple to adore, not Bes, but Sarapis. In fact, most of the *graffiti* of the Ptolemaic epoch prove that at this time the oracle was worked in the name of Sarapis, the fashionable god of the Greeks of Alexandria. Thus we find in the cella of Horus: Σεραπίων ἦκω Σερράπι[δι] πατέρ[ι], "I Serapion am come to father Serrapis" *(sic)*, and on the left side of

* The π is written ζ. The whole *graffito* is in a cursive hand.

† The Rosetta Stone, engraved in B.C. 196, commemorates the final suppression of the revolt. A different era is referred to in the *graffiti* in the cella of Horus: (1) ἔτους Lε φαρμουθὶ ιε Σεραπίων Ἀρχεστράτου Ὀρθωσιεύς παρεγενέθη, and (2) Lε Φαμονέων Χαρμίππου Βοιώτιος. So, too, on the left side of the great staircase: (1) Πειθαγόρας Πειθαγόρου ὅτ' ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι Lιε, and (2) Στράτων Σπενθατο (*sic*) Lιε, and in the cella of Osiris: Ἑ[υ]μήλος Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ζεργαῖος ἥ[κω] Lιε. On the great staircase we also find Κλεαίνετος ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι Ῥοδων ἀφικετο Lιε.

the great staircase: Ἀμύντη *(sic)* Ἀστυρπάλου *(sic)* ἦκω εἰς Ἄβυδον πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν*, "I Amyntê(s), the son of Astypalos, am come to Abydos to Sarapis." Elsewhere the inscriptions record the gratitude of the pilgrim to the god for preservation from some calamity. In the cella of Osiris, for instance, we read: (1) Πίγρης Πίγρους Ἁλικαρνασεὺς *(sic)* σωθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Σαραπιν, "Pigrês the son of Pigrês of Halikarnassos, to Sarapis for mercies received;" (2) Γάνυκος Ἀσσεὺς σωθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν, "Ganykos of Assos to Sarapis for mercies received;" (3) Σάτυρος πρωτόμαχος Ταρουλας σωθέντες πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν, "Satyros, a fighter in the first rank, (and) Taroulas to Sarapis for mercies received." Other *graffiti* commemorating Sarapis are to be found in the cella of Isis: Πέταλος Ἀγαθοκλέους Θρᾷξ παρεγενόθη† πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν νουμηνία, "Petalos, the son of Agathoklês the Thrakian, was present to worship Sarapis on the new moon;" and on the 11th column of the exterior court: Δημήτριος Ἀμμωνίου ὃν ἔτεκεν Διονυσία τὸ προσκύνημα [τὸ] παρὰ μοῦ ἰς Σάραπιν θεὸν, "Demetrios the son of Ammonios, whom Dionysia bore: my act of adoration to the god Sarapis." In one instance Sarapis, instead of receiving the place of honour is named after Isis: Παῦρων Φιλοπίου Σόλιος ἦκω προσκύνησαι θεοὺς μεγάλους Ἶσιν καὶ Σάραπιν, "I Paurôn, the son of Philopios of Soli, am come to adore the great gods Isis and Sarapis." Here Sarapis is associated with Isis and consequently made identical with Osiris, so that we need not be surprised at finding the old god of Abydos taking the place of Sarapis in some of the *graffiti*. Thus we have: Σπάρτακος Φαίδρου ἦκω | Ἄβυδων · ζωζε *(sic)* με Ὄσιρι, "I Spartakos, the son of Phaidros, am come to Abydos: save me, Osiris!" (on the left side of the great staircase); and in a recess to the left of the central cella, under a demotic inscription, runs apparently in the same hand: ⌋⌃ *(sic)* ι0 Μεσορη ιε | ἀφίκετο Ἡρακλείδης πρὸς τὸς Ὄσιρις *(sic)*, "The 19th year, the 15th day of the month Mesorê, Herakleides has come to Osiris (or 'the Osirises?')" Osiris is at times called "the god" simply, as on the left wall of the great staircase where the following *graffiti* are written one under the other: Εὔφρις Φιλοκράτεος Κυρηναῖος · Κότυς ἀφίκετο. Ἀρχιὰς Θρᾷξ ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, "Euphris the son of Philokrates, a Kyrenæan. Kotys has come. Arkhias a Thrakian for salvation

* The *graffito* is like most of the others in a cursive hand. The initial of Σάραπιν is written ⅄.

† Here the π is written ⊓.

(has come) to the god;" and elsewhere we read: *Νεοπτόλεμος. ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν.* In association with Isis the plural is of course used; thus in the cella of Osiris we have: *Ἀθηνοδώρου καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου καὶ Σαραπίαδος καὶ Θεάνους καὶ Αἰσ[χύλου καὶ] Εἰρηναίου Ἀρτεμιδώρου ὧδε τὸ προσκύνημα παρὰ τοῖς* ἐν Ἀβύδῳ θεοῖς Ἀθηνόδωρος ἥκω*, "this is the act of worship of Athênodôros and Athênodôros and Sarapias and Theanês and Æskhylos and Eirênæos, the son of Artemidôros, to the gods that are in Abydos. I Athênodôros am arrived."

A time came however when Serapis, or Sarapis, who had superseded Osiris, was himself superseded by a new god. Just as the Ptolemaic era of Egypt was characterised by the worship of Serapis, the Roman era was characterised by the worship of Bes. Bes had originally been a foreign god, imported from the land of Punt, and his grotesque features and obscene associations, however popular they may have been among the lower orders, prevented him from assuming a high position among the official deities. But when the power and rank of the old priestly aristocracy had been broken down, the popular god became an official god as well, more especially among the Greek and foreign population. The oracle of Bes, or Besa, took the place of that of Serapis, and the deity who inspired the prophets of Abydos was no longer Serapis or Osiris, but the repulsive Bes. The inscriptions I have copied there prove that the Abydos of Ammianus Marcellinus, where the oracle of Besa was established, was not the modern village of Sheikh Abádeh among the ruins of Antinoopolis, as has often been supposed, but the sacred city of Abydos itself. From the first or second century of the Christian era, as is indicated by the handwriting, the *graffiti* at Abydos begin to make mention of Bes, while the name of Bêsas occurs among the visitors to the shrine.

Accordingly, we find on the left hand side of the great staircase: *[Τὸ προσκ]ύνημα Ἀμμωνίλλας [παρ]ὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Βήσα*, "The act of worship of Ammonilla to the Lord Bes;" and on the 7th column of the exterior court: *Τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀσπιδάτου Πυθιονίκου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ Μύρωνος καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν καὶ τούτων τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς φιλ[ούντ]ων κατ' ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον γένοιτο παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Βησα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς.* "The act of worship of Aspidatos† the

* Written ΨΔΣ.

† It will be noticed that this is a Persian name.

son of Pythionikos and his brother and children, and of Myrôn and his wife and their children, and of their friends who love him heartily (each) by name and of the reader: may it be for ever towards Bes the lord and the other gods."

The most important evidence however of the worship of Bes at Abydos I obtained not within the temple itself but on the external face of the enclosure wall, just outside the door which opened through it upon the top of the great staircase. This wall was completely buried in rubbish on the occasion of my first visit, but it was afterwards cleared by Prof. Maspero, and it was while examining its surface during a second visit to Abydos, in 1885, that I noticed the *graffiti* in question. Unfortunately I was in Abydos on this second occasion for a few hours only, and as the sun was shining directly upon the *graffiti* at the time I copied them it was impossible, owing to their semi-mutilated condition, to decipher all the letters they contained. I asked Prof. Maspero and M. Bouriant who visited Abydos subsequently to examine them again, but the glare of the sun prevented them from even discovering the *graffiti* during the short stay they made in the place. Consequently I have to reproduce them here with all the imperfections of a hasty copy.

What made the reading of them particularly difficult was the fact that they had been purposely chipped away. The handwriting of them showed that they must have been engraved upon the stones of the wall not very long before the final triumph of Christianity in this part of Egypt, and one of the first achievements of the disciples of the new faith was to destroy these relics of Paganism.

We can perhaps determine the very year in which this took place. Ammianus Marcellinus (xix, 12), tells us that in A.D. 359 the Emperor Constantine was excited by the intelligence that questions about his life had been sent to the oracle of Bes in Upper Egypt by means of letters. A furious persecution at once broke out against those who were accused of being implicated in such Pagan practices. Simplicius the ex-consul and Parnasius the ex-prefect were banished, while the aged philosopher Demetrios Khytras was put to the rack, without however any disclosures being extorted from him. It must have been at this time that the oracle of Abydos was finally suppressed, and that the Christians of the neigbourhood were allowed to do what they chose with the old temple of Seti. The chamber in which the oracle was worked was deserted, no doubt because it was regarded as the haunt of demons, and a

Christian church established in the chambers immediately in its rear. These, which are now as ruined as the chamber of the oracle, still bear upon their walls and columns traces of the frescoes and the Coptic inscriptions in red paint with which they were once adorned. Though the population of Abydos has remained for the most part Christian, the old church which found a shelter in the temple of Seti long ago ceased to be used, and like the rest of the building became filled with earth and rubbish which was first removed by Mariette.

Here are the *ex-votos* in honour of Besa to which I have referred :—

I. Τὸ *προσκύνημα* Σαπρίωνος Ἐγκατόχου *παρὰ τῶ κυρι*[*ω* Βήσα] *κθ*″ Παυνί ιζ. "The act of worship of Sapriôn Enkatokhos (the inspired) to the lord Besa, the 29th year, the 17th day of the month Payni."

II. Τὸ *προσκύνημα* Ἑρμοδώρου. "The act of worship of Hemodoros."

III. Τὸν *κύριον* Βήσαν *μηδεις* (*sic*) *ἀπαληλάτω* · *τὸ προσκύνημα* Βησαυτ(?)*ου* Βήσα Τιμοθέου *συνβίου τ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διδυμίων* (*sic*) *υἱῶ*[*ν*] *αὐτοῦ καὶ* Σ . . . *παρὰ τῶ κυρίω θε*[*ῶ* Β]*ήσα*. "Let no one banish (?) the lord Besa! The act of worship of Besautes (?) the son of Besa Timotheos, and his wife, and his twin sons, and S . . . to the lord god Besa." I imagine that *ἀπαληλάτω* is an analogic formation from *ἀπελαύνω*.

IV. Τὸν *κύριον* Βήσαν · [*πρ*]*οσκύνημα* Αλ(?)*ου* *τομουδενπ* . . *κανομου* *πολίτου σὺν τοκ*[*εῦσι αὐτοῦ*] *ταρησις καὶ* Παπω[illegible]*οβη τῆ γυναικὶ* Ταρ[*ήσιος*] *καὶ* Θ *καὶ* Παραυς *καὶ* Ἀτι . . . [*τὸ*]*ν φίλτατο*[*ν*]. "The lord Besa! Act of worship of A a citizen of along with his parents . . . Tarêsis and Papôshobê the wife of Tarêsis, and Th . . . and Paraus, and Ati . . the much beloved one."

V. Χρ[*ησ*]*μόδ*[*ι*]*κ*[*ος*] *καὶ* Ἀτευστο[*ς*] *καὶ δ*[*οῦ*]*λοι οἱ οἰκούμε*[*νοι*] *μ*[*αρ*]*τυροῦμεν* [*ὀ*]*υράνιον θεόν* [Βήσαν]· *μηδεὶς ἀ*[*υτὸν ἀπαληλάτω*·] *τὸ προσκύνημα* Ἡρακλεί[*δ*]*ου* Μ(?) . . *εησμε* . . . *λιτ*[*η*]*ς ἐμπόρου παρά τε* Ἴσ[*ιδι καὶ* Ὄσι]*ριδι* [*καὶ* . . .]*ης συμβίου μου* Ἡρα[*κλείδου*] *καὶ τῶν τ*[*έ*]*κνων μου* . . . *ανουβίω*[*νος*] Ὀλυμπιο[*δι*]*κου καὶ* Ὡρίωνος *καὶ* Ταλ(?)*ητος καὶ* Κολλεύθου . . *νκ πατ* . . . *καὶ* Βησαῦτος. "We Khrês-

modikos and Ateustos, and the slaves who dwell (here) testify to the god of heaven, Besa! Let no one banish (?) him! The act of worship of Hêrakleides a merchant to Isis and Osiris, and of ... the wife of me Herakleides, and of my sons ... Anubion Olympiodikos, and Orion, and Tales (?) and Kolleuthes ... and Besaus."

Here it is curious to find the memory of Isis and Osiris still surviving into the days when their temple had become the property of a foreign god. But the names of the sons of Herakleides show that he was only half a Greek. The names are partly Greek, partly Egyptian, and the strange worship of the Græco-Roman Besa by the side of the Egyptian Osiris is but another proof of an attempt to serve two masters. The god of the Greek oracle, whether he were called Serapis or Besa, remained to the last an object of worship only to the Græco-Roman population or to those Egyptians who wished to be thought Greeks; the genuine Egyptian continued faithful to the ancient deities of Abydos, and when he adopted Christianity it was Osiris and not Besa whose worship he forsook. Perhaps the divorce that had come about between the paganism of the ill-treated natives and the paganism of their Greek and Roman masters was in a measure the cause of the rapid spread of Coptic Christianity.

However this may be, the Greek *graffiti* of the temple of Abydos, as will now be clear, have shown not only what was the history of the temple itself and the Greek oracle that was celebrated in it from the time when the Greeks first came to Egypt down to the triumph of Christianity, they have also thrown light on the religious condition of the Græco-Egyptian population during the same period as well as upon a dark epoch in the history of Upper Egypt. We can trace how the oracle established itself in the deserted chamber of Seti's temple almost as soon as Greek mercenaries made their appearance in the valley of the Nile; how its answers were revealed to Greek priests through the medium of dreams; how it was consulted exclusively by foreigners—Greeks, Karians, Phœnicians, and Romans, or in later days by Egyptians who had adopted foreign fashions; and how Osiris, the ancient god of Abydos, had to make way first for Serapis and then for Bes. Nowhere else can we trace in such detail the history of a Hellenic oracle.

The Karian and Phœnician *graffiti* which I copied on the walls of the temple have already been published, like the *graffiti* in Kypriote characters which belong to the Greeks of Kypros. Among the Greek *graffiti* there are several which have some interest of their own, although they have no bearing upon history. Some of them contain examples of proper names belonging to tribes and nations on the borders of the Greek world, such as Καυξάσα or Ὑδιουκίνας Καζιβίρυος ἥκω, "I Hydiukinas son of Kazibirys am come" (on the left side of the great staircase), or the Thrakian Ἀβλουζέλμις Κότυος, "Ablu-zelmis the son of Kotys," which accompanies the names of Κόδραμος and "Spalkas the son of Taromos" (Σπάλκας Ταρόμου ἥκω) in the cella of Osiris, or the Makedonian Ammadiskos the son of Lautos (Ἀμμάδισκος Λαυτο Μακεδών) in the same cella,* or the strange name Οὐδδαξάνιος (on the wall of the exterior court), or the stranger names of Δειομύσεις, Δρώτων, Δουδούπης, Λέρσος, Πέπησις Ἀρτώτου, Πυνουηξ Ἐταῦ and Συρρερωψ Γενέμμου in the Couloir des Rois, along with the two puzzling inscriptions ΗΒΒΑΛ ΕΓΚΥΡΕ ΙΠΘΑΘΙΝ and Μακρακενκακο. Others again afford us an insight into the manners of the visitors to the shrine who do not always seem to have been inspired with the religious reverence befitting so sacred a place. In the cella of Isis, for example, we have the following curious record: Νικανωρ ἥκω μεθ' Ἡρακλέας [Δ]ρυγχίτιδος μεθύων, "I Nikanôr am come with Heraklea Drynkhitis, drunk;" and in the Couloir des Rois a pilgrim has written: Δαναὶς καλλίων [ῥό]δων . Ἀστεφανόππολις Κνιδία, ὡς δοκεῖ, μικκυλίων, "Danais is fairer than roses; Astephanoppolis of Knidos, it seems, is too small." Hard by we have a worthier scribble from the hand of one whose name perhaps indicates his Bœotian or Kretan origin: Θεύδωρος Ἑλάνου ἦλθε καὶ Γενναῖα ἣν ἐφίλει, "Theudôros the son of Helanos came (here) and Gennaia whom he used to love."

It would be tedious and unprofitable to give any further examples of Greek vanity and trifling. The Greek of the Ptolemaic and Roman eras was as fond of defacing the walls of the ancient monuments he visited as the tourist of to-day, and age has given him an excuse for his vandalism which the modern tourist does

* In the cella of Isis we have Δείτιλος Κρὴς ἥκω, and in the court Νίκρων Κυτίλου Κρὴς · Ἄισωπος Κρὴς. In the Couloir des Rois occurs the name of Δεινις Κρης. On the first column of the exterior court we find Μίκυλλος Μικύλλου Μακεδών.

not possess. Of the *graffiti* that are still legible at Abydos I do not think that I have left any for future travellers to glean. But it is necessary to see them on the spot in order to realize how numerous they are, and how completely the walls of the old temple are covered by them. They prove to us two facts: first of all, how large was the number of foreigners who visited Upper Egypt, and turned aside to the oracle of Abydos during the nine centuries that elapsed between the first and the last of them; and secondly, that a knowledge of writing must have been as widely spread—if indeed it was not more widely spread—among the citizens of the old classical world as it is among us of to-day.

Note.—I cannot help feeling that some explanation is due with regard to two notes to one of the papers printed in the March *Proceedings*. I can only assure the authors referred to, that in the hurry of going to press, the objectionable references escaped my notice. As such remarks are not permissible in the publications of this Society, or those of any other learned body, had I observed them, they certainly would have been removed.

W. Harry Rylands,
Secretary.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday 5th June, 1888, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

I.—Prof. E. Amélineau:—"Les Actes Coptes du Martyre de St. Polycarpe."

II.—Dr. Bezold:—"Remarks on some unpublished Cuneiform Syllabaries, with respect to Prayers and Incantations, written in interlinear form."

III.—Rev. C. J. Ball:—"The Linguistic Affinities of the Khetta-Ḥattê."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.

Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.

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E. Gayet, Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.

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Nos. 1, 2, 3, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Français au Caire.

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Lefèbure, Les Hypogées Royaux de Thebes.

Sainte Marie, Mission à Carthage.

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Lepsius, Les Métaux dans les Inscriptions Égyptiennes, avec notes par W. Berend.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

NOTICE.

Members are advised not to bind Vol. X. of the PROCEEDINGS at present, as the Title, Table of Contents, &c., will be issued before the close of the year.

W. HARRY RYLANDS,
Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

EIGHTEENTH SESSION, 1887-88.

Seventh Meeting, 5th June, 1888.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President.

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Editor:—The Teaching of the Apostles newly edited, with fac-simile text and a commentary, for the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, from the MS. of the Holy Sepulchre, (Convent of the Greek Church), Jerusalem, by J. Rendel Harris. London. Baltimore. 4to. 1887.

From the Author:—Die Kafa-sprache in Nordöst-Africa. I. Von Leo Reinisch. Wien, 1888. 8vo.

Aus dem Jahrgange 1888 der S. phil-hist Classe der Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften (CXVI, 1 Heft, S. 53).

From the Author:—The Old Babylonian Characters and their Chinese Derivates. Babylonia and China. By Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie. 1888. 4to.

Reprinted from the B. and O. Record.

From Dr. Haupt:—On a Study-collection of Casts of Assyrian and Babylonian Antiquities in the Nat. Mus. at Washington. By Dr. Cyrus Adler. Together with an Announcement of a New Assyrian-English Glossary, presented on behalf of the Semitic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University by Mr. Edgar P. Allen. 8vo.

Reprinted from the Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc. Vol. XIII. Oct., 1887.

From F. Ll. Griffith:—A Season in Egypt, 1887. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. London. 4to. 1888.

Rudolph E. Brünnow, 25, Montague Place, Russell Square, W.C., was nominated, and by special order of the Council, submitted for election, and elected a Member of this Society.

The following were submitted for election, having been nominated on May 1, 1888:—

Rev. Frederic Howlett, M.A., F.R.A.S., East Tisted Rectory, Alton, Hants.

Miss Kennedy, 4, West Cedar Street, Boston, U.S.A.

Rev. J. H. Champion McGill, M.A., Thornton Heath, Surrey.

The Hon. Miss Plunket, 19, Pembroke Gardens, Kensington, W.

A Paper by Prof. E. Amélineau was read, "Les Actes Coptes du Martyre de St. Polycarpe."

A Paper was read by Dr. C. Bezold, "Remarks on some unpublished Cuneiform Syllabaries, with respect to Prayers and Incantations, written in interlinear form."

A Paper was read by Rev. C. J. Ball, "The Ḫetta-Ḫattê and their Allies."

LES ACTES COPTES DU MARTYRE DE ST. POLYCARPE.

Par E. Amélineau.

L'examen approfondi auquel je me livre des monuments qui nous sont parvenus de la littérature copte, m'a montré que les Chrétiens de la vallée du Nil se sont surtout occupés de leurs propres affaires, qu'ils ont un peu négligé les grandes œuvres du génie grec et les monuments appartenant aux deux premiers siècles de l'Église chrétienne. En effet la grande majorité des ouvrages qui composent cette littérature a trait à des histoires ou à des œuvres purement locales et égyptiennes, œuvres liturgiques de toute forme, vies des moines, actes des martyrs, récits fabuleux sans aucun fond de réalité, œuvres poétiques, discours et homélies, etc. À cette première catégorie si l'on ajoute les nombreux manuscrits qui nous ont conservé les multiples versions de l'Écriture* et les fragments des apocryphes, il ne reste plus qu'un nombre très restreint d'œuvres empruntées aux pays voisins, Grèce et Syrie.

Quoique le grec fût d'un grand usage en Égypte, les vies des moines prouvent avec une grande abondance de détails que le peuple était resté uniquement attaché à la langue nationale. Sans doute, alors, comme de nos jours, les habitants des villes depuis le plus petit ânier jusqu'au guide de profession, devaient avoir l'usage courant d'un certain nombre de locutions et de phrases grecques, sans lesquelles ils n'auraient pu se rendre utiles aux étrangers domiciliés en Égypte et aux voyageurs de passage, ni par conséquent se procurer les pièces d'argent qu'ils préfèrent à toute autre chose sur terre ; mais dans les campagnes du Delta, dans la moyenne Égypte, et surtout dans la haute Égypte, le grec n'était compris que par un nombre infime de gens riches et instruits. Dans le grand monastère pakhômien les frères grecs étaient à part ; il y avait des interprètes pour les rapports nécessaires et l'on traduisait en grec les œuvres coptes. Les patriarches d'Alexandrie

* Il y a au moins trois de ces versions, la memphitique, la thébaine, et la baschmourique. Je suis persuadé, et je le prouverai, je crois, qu'il y eut plusieurs versions en chaque dialecte.

étaient obligés de faire traduire en copte les encycliques pascales qu'ils composaient en grec. Pour cette raison un certain nombre des œuvres archiépiscopales des grands patriarches d'Alexandrie nous ont été conservées en copte.

On aurait pu s'attendre à trouver dans la littérature copte un nombre assez grand d'œuvres grecques, et moi-même en commençant d'étudier cette littérature, je caressais le secret espoir de retrouver quelque fameux ouvrage grec aujourd'hui perdu, en particulier l'œuvre de Manéthon, je l'avoue en toute sincérité. Il m'a fallu en rabattre. Les Coptes ont été particularistes et exclusifs. Leurs ancêtres n'avaient jamais eu grand goût pour les productions étrangères; il sont bien en cela les fils de leurs pères et des pères de leurs pères. Rien n'a jamais valu à leurs yeux, même aujourd'hui, l'Égypte et la langue de l'Égypte. À part quelques recettes magiques et médicales, leur littérature n'offre que des œuvres chrétiennes, gnostiques, orthodoxes, ou schismatiques, pour employer le langage de notre Occident. Il ne faut pas sortir de là. Au fond, comme les documents le montrent, ce ne fut que la basse classe qui se convertit avec enthousiasme au Christianisme, presque tout d'un coup, et sans doute les derniers ordres du sacerdoce Égyptien. Les Grecs et les hautes classes égyptiennes résistèrent jusqu'au cinquième siècle et peut-être plus longtemps encore. L'année qui précéda le Concile de Chalcédoine, on offrait encore des sacrifices païens près de la ville d'Antæopolis,* c'est-à-dire en 450. Le culte d'Isis continua de se célébrer à Philée longtemps après que le Christianisme était devenu la religion officielle de l'Égypte.

La conséquence en fut que les monastères se peuplèrent de petites gens, petits marchands, fellahs ou scribes de minime importance. Or c'est dans les monastères et par le clergé de quelques villes, (Alexandrie exceptée, car elle resta grecque), que furent écrites les œuvres qui nous sont parvenues. Malgré l'enseignement préalable qu'on donnait aux moines et aux prêtres,† on ne peut attendre grande science ni grande habileté de pareils auteurs, ni surtout grande largeur d'idées ou envie de connaître les œuvres des autres littératures chrétiennes.

* *Cf.* Revillout : *Mémoire sur les Blemmyes*, *passim*. E. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Egypte chrétienne aux IV^e^ et V^e^ siècles*, p. 110—118. *Les moines Egyptiens : I. Histoire de Schnoudi*, p. 330—350.

† Les textes coptes sont formels sur ce point.

Aussi le nombre des œuvres grecques ou syriaques traduites en copte est-il très petit. Ces traductions comprennent les œuvres de St. Cyrille, de St. Jean Chrysostome, quelques fragments des œuvres de St. Athanase, de St. Grégoire de Nazianze, de St. Basile, de St. Grégoire de Nysse, de St. Epiphane, de St. Cyrille de Jérusalem, et de St. Sévère d'Antioche. Il faut ajouter à ces noms celui de St. Ephrem. Le manuscrit de Lord Zouche, sur lequel j'ai dernièrement appelé l'attention, contient d'autres fragments, mais en très petit nombre.* Je suis assez porté à y ajouter les œuvres de certains auteurs comme St. Jean Climaque, St. Jacques, de Nisibe, et de Jacques de Saroug, car les moines coptes les lisent encore, et il est bien improbable que ces œuvres aient été traduites en arabe avant d'avoir passé par une traduction copte. De monuments antiques du Christianisme il n'en faut chercher aucun, si l'on excepte les *Lettres* et le *Martyre* de St. Ignace d'Antioche, ainsi que le *Martyre* de St. Polycarpe.†

Quand je parle de traductions, il faut s'entendre et ne pas comprendre ce que nous comprenons d'ordinaire sous ce nom ; les traductions coptes ne ressemblent que de fort loin à l'original traduit. Les œuvres de St. Jean Chrysostome en particulier ont reçu une forme toute nouvelle, soit du traducteur, soit des copistes. Ces changements sont poussés à un tel point que l'authenticité disparaît. Il faut faire exception pour les *Lettres* et le *Martyre* de St Ignace, et le *Martyre de* St. Polycarpe. Evidement pour ce dernier, le traducteur a suivi mot-à-mot le texte grec qu'il avait sous les yeux, et il l'a bien traduit. Est-ce à dire cependant que la version que je publie anjourd'hui ne diffère point de l'original grec? on en jugera

* Depuis que j'ai attiré l'attention sur ce MS., un de mes amis m'a signalé le fait que M. Lagarde avait publié le texte a Göttingen en 1886, sous le litre, *Catenæ in Evangelia ægyptiacæ quæ supersunt.* J'ignorais le fait. Cette publication n'infirme d'ailleurs en rien mes conclusions qui ressortent avant tout de l'examen du manuscrit lui même. D'ailleurs une semblable publication, sans traduction, ne peut être profitable qu'à un nombre très restreint de lecteurs, à condition qu'ils possèdent la langue copte à un degré assez élevé. Ces lecteurs peuvent bien monter au nombre de quinze ou de vingt en Europe. Ceux qui étudient l'histoire des dogmes chrétiens, du développement du Christianisme et la Patristique sont autrement nombreux, et par conséquent la publication serait toujours importante.

† Les lettres et le martyre de St. Ignace ont été publiés par M. Le Page Renouf dans "Lightfoot," *Apostolic Fathers.*

plus loin. M. Dressel* et tout dernièrement M. Jahn† ont publié les Actes grecs de ce martyre, c'est-à-dire la lettre de l'église de Smyrne, après les nombreux travaux qui avaient précédé; on pourra comparer la version copte avec le texte grec, et je ferai ressortir moi-même toutes les différences qu'on y trouve. Le document grec, toute le monde l'admet, est certainement des plus anciens: j'ajoute que la version copte est aussi fort ancienne, comme le montrent certaines formes employées.

Je publie le texte tel qu'il est contenu dans le MSS. du Vatican, Copte 66; sans correction dans le texte, me contentant d'indiquer les formes abusives, et d'en corriger quelques unes en note quand elles sont trop grossières.

(-p̄n̄ⲁ̄) ϥⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲗⲟⲩⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟ-
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I. †ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ϥ̄† ⲉⲧϩⲉⲛ ⲥⲙⲧⲣⲡⲁ ⲉⲥⲥϩⲁⲓ
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†ⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⲉϩⲉⲛ †ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ-(-p̄ⲃ̄-)ⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲛ ⲥⲙⲧⲣⲡⲁ.
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* *Patrum apostolicorum opera.* Lipsiæ, 1870.

† *Patrum apostolicorum opera* de Gebhardt, Harnack et Jahn. Tome II. Lipsiæ, 1876.

‡ Lisez: ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲕϥ. Le suffixe du féminin est fautif puisque l'article masculin précède ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲗⲟⲩⲓⲟⲛ.

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ⲙⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ ϧⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϧⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲉⲣⲉ
ⲡⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲟⲙⲁϩ ⲉⲃⲉⲧ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ
ⲉⲩⲧ ⲗⲱⲓⲭⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲏⲉ ⲧⲉϥϩⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ
ⲡⲉ ⲛϧⲉⲣⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲩⲱ. ⲛⲉⲩⲧϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩ ϫⲉ
ⲙⲉⲛ ϧⲏⲧ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲕ ⲛⲑⲟϥ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥ-
ⲟⲙⲱϣ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲧ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲧⲉ ⲁⲩ-
ⲥⲱⲕ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⲛⲓⲙⲓⲟⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲉⲩⲧ ϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲩϣⲱⲡⲉⲃ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲟϥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲣⲟⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩϥ ϫⲉ ϧⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲉⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲃⲓⲟⲥ
ⲡⲣⲉⲥϧⲓ ⲛϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲥ. ⲉⲧⲁⲓ * ⲡⲓⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⲁⲉ
ⲉⲣ ⲱⲙⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲟⲙⲉⲧϫⲱⲣⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ

* Lisez : ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲏⲛⲓ.

ⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲉⲓⲁ ϯⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲡⲙⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥ-ⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (-ⲣⲏⲁ-) ⲁⲧⲉⲣ ⲅⲏⲧⲥ ⲛⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲗⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲏϯ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲑⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ.

IV. ⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲱϯ ⲛⲱⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲱⲙⲡⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲕⲟⲓⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲫⲣⲓⲍ ⲛⲉ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲩⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ϯ-ⲫⲣⲩⲓⲁ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲁϥϯ ⲙⲙⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏ-ⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡϫⲓⲛⲱⲣⲉ ⲧⲉϥ-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲣ ϫⲱϧ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲉⲣ ⲅⲟϯ ⲉⲡⲍⲁⲉ ⲁϥϫⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲉϥⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲧⲟⲛⲍϥ* ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉ-ⲃⲟⲗⲍⲓⲧⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣ ⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϯ ⲙⲙⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲅⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧ ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲉⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲅⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲅⲉⲓ ⲁϥϫⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛⲍ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲅⲗⲓ ⲉⲣⲧⲟⲗ-(-ⲣⲏⲉ-)ⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲍⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ-ⲧⲁⲧⲅⲟϯ.

V. ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲱⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲕⲱϯ ⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲛⲁϥⲱⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲱⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲅⲏϯ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲣϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲕⲓⲙⲉ. ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲕⲱϯ ⲁⲧϯⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲉⲧ ⲡⲟⲩⲅⲏⲧ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲟⲩⲕⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ† (*sic*) ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲅⲁⲛ ⲕⲉϫⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ‡ ⲛⲥⲉⲣ ⲅⲗⲓ ⲛⲉⲱϣ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲡⲓⲉⲅⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣⲅ ⲛⲁϥ-

* Lisez : ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲛⲍϥ. Quand deux lettres ou deux séries de mêmes lettres se suivent, les scribes en omettent souvent une ; les scribes pharaoniques faisaient de même.

† Lisez : ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ.

‡ Il faut ajouter ⲛⲉⲙ et lire : ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲅⲁⲛ ⲕⲉϫⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓⲙ. Sans cela, il n'y a pas de sens possible.

ⲙⲙⲏⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲫⲯ ⲥⲟ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲇ ⲉϥⲧⲱⲃⲇ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲛ ϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲛⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲃⲉⲛ. ϩⲁ ⲧⲇⲏ ⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ ⲛⲉⲇⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲁⲇⲟϥ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲇⲟⲝⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲱⲣⲡ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣⲇ ⲉϥϣⲩⲗⲏ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲕ ⲛⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲇⲃⲟⲥ (-ⲣⲙ̄ⲝ̄-) ⲉⲧⲇⲓϫⲱϥ ⲉⲁϥⲣⲱⲕⲇ ⲇⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲣⲱⲕⲇ ⲇⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲣⲱⲙⲙ. ⲟⲩⲟⲇ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲁϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲩⲉⲣ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲉⲣⲥⲧⲙⲛⲉⲙⲛ (*sic*) * ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲟⲇ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ϫⲉ ϫⲱϯ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϥϫⲱⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲣⲱⲙⲙ ⲉⲃⲏⲉ ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄.

VI. ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲕⲱϯ ⲛⲥⲱϥ ϩⲉⲛ ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏ ⲙⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲟⲓⲧϥ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ϯⲁⲓⲑⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲏⲉ ⲡⲟⲙⲙⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉϩ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲙⲁ. ⲉⲧⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲧⲕⲱϯ ⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟⲇ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ ⲛⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲗⲟⲩ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ.

VII. ⲙⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲛϩⲁ ⲛⲁ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲓ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ϩⲁⲧⲉϥⲣ ϩⲓⲱⲉⲛ ⲡϫⲉⲛⲉⲫⲱⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲇ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ (-ⲣⲙ̄ⲍ̄-) ⲡⲓⲙⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲉⲏⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ϕⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ ϣⲱⲡⲓ. ⲟⲩⲟⲇ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲓⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲓ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ ϕⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ϕⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ϣⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲟ ⲉϥⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲣⲉⲙ ⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲉⲙⲙⲁϣⲱ

* Ce mot grec est assez défiguré : on l'écrit habituellement ⲥⲙⲙⲉⲛⲓⲛ et quelquefois ⲥⲙⲙⲙⲉⲛⲓⲛ. Ici le scribe a mis un ⲛ pour le premier ⲙ. C'est le verbe grec *σημαίνω*.

ⲅⲱⲥⲁⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲉⲣ ⲱⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁ ⲧⲇⲏ ⲛⲥⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ $\overline{\text{ⲙ}}$ ⲙⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲭⲟⲣⲱⲥⲧ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲧⲙⲓⲱⲥⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲅⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲉⲧⲥⲉⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲕⲁⲧⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲅⲟ ⲉⲧⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲙⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲥⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲣⲟⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲗⲗⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏⲧ. ⲛⲑⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲥⲁⲅⲙⲓ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲓⲱⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲣⲟⲩⲭⲱ ⲥⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ ⲓⲧⲁ ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ. ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲙ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲣⲟⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲁ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲫⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲥⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲫⲙⲉⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲥ (-ⲣⲏⲏ-) ⲅⲱⲥⲁⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣ ⲱⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲭⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲅⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲛⲥⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲏⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲥⲉⲗⲗⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲥⲉⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲙ ⲙⲫⲧ.

VIII. ⲡⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲉⲕ ⲛⲉⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲫⲙⲉⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲣⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲓⲣⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲃⲏⲕⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲧⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲏ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ. ⲉⲧⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲱⲙⲡⲓ ⲉⲃⲣⲉϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲱ ⲁⲧⲉⲛϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲓⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲅⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ. ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲫⲉⲣⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲭⲉ ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲕⲧⲏⲥ (*sic*) ⲛⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲉⲃⲣⲉϥⲇⲉⲙⲙⲓ ⲇⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲣ ⲅⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧⲅⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲣⲉⲕⲭⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲥ ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣ ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ. (-ⲣⲏⲑ-) ⲛⲑⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲫⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲫⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲅⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲥⲙⲟⲩⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲙⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲱⲙⲡⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲅ ⲉⲃⲣⲓⲁⲓⲕ.

ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲕⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲛⲧ ⲉⲓ ⲡⲓⲉⲁⲣⲁⲁⲁ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲱϥ ⲛⲱⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲉⲱⲥⲁⲉ (*sic*) ⲛⲥⲉⲫⲉⲗⲉ ⲧⲉⲫⲁⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲓ ⲁⲁⲁⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲛⲧ. ⲛⲑⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲁⲡⲉⲫⲉⲣ ⲁⲁⲕⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲏⲧ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲉⲱⲥ ⲓⲥϧⲉⲕ ⲁⲁⲡⲉⲫⲱⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲉⲗⲓ ⲛϩⲓⲥⲓ ⲁⲫⲁⲁⲟⲱⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏ ⲛⲉⲁⲁ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧⲧⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲗⲓ ⲁⲁⲁⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲁⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲱϥ ⲛⲱⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲱⲱⲡⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲁⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲱⲥⲁⲉ ⲉⲃⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲏⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ.*

IX. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲁⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲅⲏⲗ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲁⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲁⲏ ⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲅⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲧϥⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲉ ϫⲉⲁⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲧ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ. ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲁⲁⲉⲛ ⲁⲁⲡⲉ ⲅⲗⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ †ⲥⲁⲁⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲏⲩ ϩⲉⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲙ† ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲁⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ. (-ρ$\overline{ϩ}$-) ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲥⲓⲧϥ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲱϥ ⲛⲱⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲱⲱⲡⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡϫⲓⲛⲉⲣⲟⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲁⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲅⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ. ⲉⲧⲁϥ† ⲇⲉ ⲁⲁⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲱⲉⲛϥ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ. ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲭⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲣ ϩⲛⲧⲥ ⲛ†ⲅⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲣⲉϥϫⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲁⲁⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲱⲙⲙⲓ ⲇⲁ ⲧⲇⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲕ-ϩⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ‡ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲉⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓⲛ ⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲗⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲁⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲓⲁⲑⲟⲛⲟⲩ† ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥ-ⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲁⲁ ϩⲁⲙ ⲕⲉⲁⲁⲏⲩ ⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲁⲁⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏ† ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲧⲙⲏⲟⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲉϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥϣⲁⲁⲁⲉ ⲓⲱⲗⲟⲛ. ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϫⲱⲙⲛ† ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁϥ ⲁⲁⲡⲓⲁⲁⲏⲩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲙⲉⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟ ⲉϥⲟⲕⲉⲁⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲕⲓⲁⲁ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲁϥϥⲁⲓ ⲛⲛⲉϥϣⲩⲗ ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲓ ⲉⲧϥⲉ ⲁϥϥⲓ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲁⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲱ ⲡⲟ$\overline{ⲥ}$ ⲁⲗⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲁⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲙⲓⲁⲑⲟⲛⲟⲩ† ⲡⲣⲉϥ-ⲱⲁⲁⲁⲉ ⲓⲱⲗⲟⲛ. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲛⲧⲉⲁⲁⲱⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲁⲙⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

* La phrase n'est pas complète ; d'après le grec il faundrait : ⲉⲣⲟϥ. Peut-être ce membre de phrase correspondait-il aux mots grecs omis, comme je le dis plus loin.

† Le texte me semble corrompu, ou bien la forme est inhabituelle.

‡ Lisez : ⲛⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣ, comme plus bas.

ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲱⲣⲕ(-ⲣⲯⲁ-) ⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲭⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲟⲉ ϯⲛⲁϫⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲡ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲣⲟⲙⲙⲓ ⲭⲁ ϥⲟⲟⲩ ϯⲟⲓ ⲙⲙⲱⲕ ⲙⲡⲁⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̀ⲭ̀ⲥ̀ ⲟⲩⲟⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲓⲡⲁϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲉϥⲉⲣ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲡⲉϥ ⲟⲩⲟⲉ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ.

X. ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲇⲏⲧⲉⲙⲙⲱⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲓⲉϫⲉⲱϫϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲓⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲧⲧⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉⲕϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲱⲥ ⲉⲕⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ* ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲓⲙ ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ. ⲉⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲉⲓⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥⲁϧⲟⲕ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲑⲉⲧ ⲡϧⲏⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲉⲛⲩ. ⲁⲫⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲑⲟⲕ ⲙⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟⲕ ⲁⲓⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲏⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩϯ ⲥϧⲱ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲥⲡⲉ ϫⲱⲙ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉϧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲉ ⲉⲉⲣⲧⲓⲙⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ (-ⲣⲯⲃ-) ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ϥⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣⲃⲗⲁⲡⲧⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛϧⲏⲧϥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲑⲱⲟⲩ ϯϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲙⲡⲱⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲥⲑⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ.

XI. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩ ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲟⲛ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲏⲓ ⲛϩⲁⲛ ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲱⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲛⲓⲕ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧϫⲟⲙ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲡⲟⲧⲱⲧⲉϧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲑⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉϧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲟⲛ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲱⲁⲡⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲓⲛ ⲙⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ϯⲛⲁⲉⲣϩⲁⲗⲗⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕϯⲟ

* Lisez : ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ, il y a un ⲛ de trop.

† ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲥⲥ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲧⲟ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲙⲁ-
ⲱⲩⲉⲥⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲕⲱⲓ * ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲥⲥⲓ ⲁⲉ
ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲥⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ †ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲑⲙⲁⲩⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲥ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲉⲓⲥ
ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲓⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲥⲧⲓ ⲁⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲁϥ ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁϣϥ.

XII. (-ⲣⲍⲏ-) ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲁϥ-
ⲭⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲏⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲙⲉⲉⲩ ⲡⲣⲁ-
ϣⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲧⲁϩⲣⲟ ⲛⲍⲏⲧ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲍⲟ ⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲛϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ
ⲉⲱⲥⲁⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲙⲟⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉϥϣⲱⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲉϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϩⲁⲱ
ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲟϥ ⲁⲫⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧ-
ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ϩⲱⲛⲧ. ⲉⲡⲍⲁⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ
ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲧⲣⲓⲍ ⲁϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲁⲍⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ
ϩⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓ ϩⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩϫⲣⲏⲥ-
ⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲏⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲧⲣⲓⲍ ⲁ ⲡⲓ-
ⲙⲏⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲥ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ϩⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲙⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲱϯ ⲛⲥⲉⲏ
ⲛⲉⲥⲥ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉⲩⲓ ϩⲉ ϥⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲩ ⲛϯⲁ-
ⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲓϫⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲃⲱⲗ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲩϯⲥⲱⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲗⲉⲗ ⲑⲥⲓⲁ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲗⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ
ⲁⲧⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϯ ⲥⲟ ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲓⲙⲡⲟⲥ (*sic*) ⲡⲁⲣ-
ϫⲱⲛ ⲛϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ϫⲉ ⲥⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲫϫⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ(-ⲣⲍⲁ-) ⲛⲑⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲉϩⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ
ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲏ ⲁϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲏⲭⲉ ⲡⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲓⲕⲧⲏⲕⲓⲟⲛ.
ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲣϩⲟⲕⲓⲙ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ
ⲁⲧⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲥⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲣⲱⲕⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ.
ⲛⲉ ⲥⲱϯ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲏⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲍⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥϣⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲍⲱⲃⲉ ⲣⲱⲕⲉ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲣⲱⲙ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲙⲉⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ ϫⲉ ⲥⲟⲛⲍ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲧⲣⲟⲕⲍⲧ ⲉⲓⲟⲛⲍ.

* Lisez: ⲕⲟⲓ.

XIII. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲥⲩⲛⲟⲣ-
ⲧⲉⲣ ⲉⲛⲉⲓ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ
ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲗⲉ ⲛⲉⲁⲛ ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲗⲉⲩⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲓⲉⲣⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ (*sic*) ⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲓⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟ ⲇⲉ
ⲙⲙⲟⲧⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲉⲣⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ-
ⲉⲃⲏⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲓⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧⲉ. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲃⲧ
ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲱ ⲁⲩⲭⲱ ⲉⲣⲏⲓ ⲙⲙⲉⲩⲉⲃⲱⲥ ⲙⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲁ-
ⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉⲛⲓ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲍⲱⲙⲓ (-ⲣⲉⲉ-*sic*) ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲙⲧ ⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙⲙⲉⲩⲉⲫⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲕⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲣⲓ ⲙⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲃⲏⲉ
ⲁⲕ ⲩⲁⲣⲉ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲥ ⲛⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲍⲱⲙⲥ ⲓⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲙⲁ ⲉⲃⲏⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲓⲁ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲁⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲥⲉⲗⲥⲱⲗ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲇⲉⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲧ-
ⲇⲉⲗⲗⲟ. ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲇⲉⲛ ⲩⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲁ-
ⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲩⲁⲧⲥⲱⲙⲍ ⲛⲇⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲣⲟⲕ-
ⲍⲟⲩ. ⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲍⲁⲛ ⲩⲁⲣ ⲓⲕⲧ
ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲕⲙⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ-
ⲁⲩⲟⲱⲥⲧ ⲩⲁⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲇⲉⲛ ⲙⲓⲭⲣⲏⲏⲧ ⲫⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲣⲓ
ⲙⲓⲣⲓ ⲙⲙⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲓⲧⲉⲓ ⲇⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲱⲣⲓ(ⲥ) ⲛⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ
ⲙⲙⲓⲕⲧ.

XIV. ⲛⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲓⲕⲧ ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩ-
ⲥⲟⲛⲍⲉ ⲏⲏⲏⲏⲧⲁⲧ ⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲅⲱⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲭⲓⲭ ⲉⲓ
ⲫⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲏⲏⲏⲏ ⲃⲟⲏⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲛⲍⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲏⲫⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲓⲗⲓ
ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲗⲡ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲙⲫⲏ
ⲏⲏⲙⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲁⲃⲱⲟⲩⲙ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉ
ⲏⲫ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲏⲏⲏⲧ (-ⲣⲉⲏ-) ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲙⲡⲓⲧ ⲛⲑⲏⲓ
ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ ⲛⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥ ⲏⲙⲡⲉⲕ-
ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲅⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲫⲓ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲏⲏ ⲛⲓⲭⲟ
ⲏⲏⲉ ⲫⲓ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲧ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲫⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ ⲛⲙⲓⲍⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲫ ⲏⲏⲉⲛⲉⲕⲏⲉⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥⲟⲛⲟ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲗⲉⲛ ⲅⲏⲟⲧ
ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⲉⲕⲁⲓⲧ ⲛⲉⲏⲏⲡⲅⲁ ⲏⲏⲁⲓⲉⲅⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲏⲏ

ⲉⲕⲉϣⲟⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲙⲙⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲕⲉⲙ-
ⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥϣⲏⲙ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲣ ϣⲟⲣⲡ
ⲛⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲕⲉⲣ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲕϫⲟⲕⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲫϯ ⲙⲙⲁⲏⲓ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ⲙⲙ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲛⲁϥϯⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϯⲥⲙⲁⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ϯⲥⲓⲥⲓ
ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲕ †† ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ϣⲁ
ⲉⲛⲉϩ * ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙⲙ-
ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ (-ⲣⲯ̅ⲑ̅-) ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ
ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ.

XV. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲣⲟ
ⲙⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙⲙⲉ ⲛϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛϣⲁϩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲁⲡⲡⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲟⲩϣϧⲏⲣⲓ
ϯⲇⲁ ⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ ⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲟⲛ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲧⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲡⲕⲉⲥⲉⲡⲓ ⲙⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲭⲉⲣ ⲡⲥⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲏⲡⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲩⲟ ⲛϫⲟⲓ ⲁⲉⲉⲙⲁϩ ⲛⲑⲟⲛⲟⲩ † ⲁⲭⲉⲣ ⲥⲟⲃⲧ ⲉⲡ-
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ‡ ⲉⲕⲕⲱϯ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⲡⲉ
ϯⲇⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲙⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣϩ ⲉⲧ
ⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩϧ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲟⲩ-
ϩⲁϯ ⲉⲧⲫⲓⲥⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϯⲇⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙⲙⲉ ⲕⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛϣⲱ-
ⲗⲉⲙⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲑⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲙⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲓϣⲁ-
ⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲫϣⲙϣ ⲓⲉ ⲛⲑⲟⲩ ⲕⲉⲓϩⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϯⲇⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲑⲟⲓ ⲫⲓ §
(*sic*) ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧ.

XVI. ⲉⲡⲓϯⲇⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲛϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲟⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲛ ϣⲭⲟⲙⲙ ⲉⲃⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ ϩⲓ-(-ⲣⲟ̅-)

* Il faut ⲛⲓϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ou ⲉⲧϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ. La locution est prise adjectivement.

† Le texte est corrompu : il faut lire simplement ⲉⲥⲙⲉϩ au peut-être ⲉⲁⲥⲙⲉϩ.

‡ Lisez : ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ, selon l'orthographe la plus ordinaire.

§ Lisez : ⲛⲓⲥⲑⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲓ.

ⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲁⲍⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲉⲧⲟⲓ † ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲉϥϫⲉⲗϫⲱⲗϥ ϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲏⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲉⲧⲁϩⲓⲣⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲓ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲭⲱⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲃⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲱⲉ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲡⲓⲉⲙⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲁⲫⲉⲣ ⲙⲫⲏⲣⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲛϥ ⲛⲙⲡⲓ ⲙⲙⲓⲁⲑⲏⲧϥ ⲛⲉⲉⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲧⲡ. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛϫⲏⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ϥⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲱⲙⲡ ⲛⲙⲫⲏⲣⲓ ϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ ϥⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲱⲙⲡ ⲛⲥⲁϫ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ †ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲏ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲧϫⲉⲛ ⲥⲙⲧⲣⲏⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ϥⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲛϫⲉ ϥⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ϕⲧ co ⲕⲑ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲟⲩⲟⲧ ⲙⲉϫⲓⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϫⲉⲛ ⲣⲙϥ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

XVII. ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ (-ⲣⲟϩ-) ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲡⲣⲉϥϫⲟⲍ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓⲕⲓⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϫⲉⲛ ⲣⲙϥ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲙⲛⲧϫⲟⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲛϫⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲉⲓ ⲧⲉϥⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲓⲁ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲱⲗⲉϧ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲩⲧ ϫⲗⲟⲓ ⲙⲙⲉⲭⲁⲙ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲭⲗⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ †ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲉⲁⲩⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϫⲉⲛ ⲣⲙϥ ⲁⲧϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

ⲙⲉⲣⲣⲱⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲑⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲡ ⲙⲙⲟⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲓ ⲙⲙⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ ⲡⲉ. ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲅⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲅⲱⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲏⲃⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲧⲉⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲃⲏⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲁϩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲅⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲣⲉⲛⲅⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ.

XVIII. ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲉϯ ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲧⲓⲧⲱⲛ * (*sic*) ⲛⲛⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲁϥϫⲁ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ϩⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲱⲛ ⲙⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲁⲛⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲉ ⲅⲁⲛ ⲱⲛⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲏⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲉⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲃ (-ρ̅ⲟ̅ⲩ̅-) ⲁⲛϫⲁⲩ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲥⲉϯ ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲛⲁⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡϫⲓⲡⲟⲣⲉⲛⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉϩⲭⲟⲙ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲱⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲛϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲅⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲫⲏϯ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲅⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲥⲓ ⲉⲛϯ ⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲉⲣⲁⲧⲱⲛⲓⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓ.

XIX. ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲓϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲣⲉⲓ ⲅⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲅⲱⲥⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲉⲑⲟⲥ ⲇⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ ⲇⲁ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧ ⲁⲧⲉⲣⲑⲉⲱⲣⲓⲛ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲇⲉⲛ ⲡϫⲓⲡⲟⲣⲉϥⲉⲣ ⲱⲫⲏⲣ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲇⲓⲥⲓ †ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲱⲫⲏⲣ ⲛⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ (-ρ̅ⲟ̅ϫ̅-) ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲟⲛ ⲇⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ

* Il faut écrire ⲉϯ ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲧⲓⲧⲱⲛ.

ⲟⲩⲟⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲛ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲡⲣⲉⲡⲓ ⲙⲙⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲡⲣⲉⲫⲧⲁⲙϭⲟ ⲟⲩⲟⲉ ⲡⲟⲙⲙⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲩⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ.

Traduction.

*Martyre du saint évêque et martyr du Christ, abba Polycarpe, le disciple des Apôtres, lequel il accomplit le neuvième jour au mois de Mechir. En la paix de Dieu: Amen.**

I. L'église de Dieu qui est à Smyrne écrit à la sainte église catholique qui est à Philomélie:† que la miséricorde, la paix, et l'amour de Dieu, le Dieu de notre Seigneur Jesus Christ, se multiplient en vous. Nous vous écrivons, ô frères, (en) vous informant au sujet de ceux qui ont été martyrs et du bienheureux Polycarpe, qui a été le disciple des Apôtres, qui a marché avec une multitude (de ceux) qui ont vu le Seigneur, que l'on a fait asseoir comme évêque en Asie sur l'église de Smyrne. Nous autres, nous l'avons vu dans notre enfance, car il a vécu longtemps‡ et est devenu un vieillard très-âgé, enseignant chaque jour ce qui lui avait été enseigné par les Apôtres. En dernier lieu, il a terminé sa vie par un martyre plein de gloire et brillant, qui a fait cesser la persécution, comme s'il l'eût scellée par son martyre.§

II. Avant lui, il y eut une très grande multitude de martyrs qui montrèrent une grande patience dans les tourments pour le Christ, de sorte que ceux qui se tenaient autour d'eux, en les regardant, furent remplis d'admiration. Parfois on fouillait leurs chairs jusqu'aux nerfs de sorte que leurs entrailles et leurs membres étaient à découvert;‖ d'autres fois on leur passait en travers du corps

* Ce titre est dû au copiste ou au traducteur copte.

† Il manque une partie de la suscription grecque.

‡ Mot-à-mot : il a tardé.

§ Cette phrase traduit le grec : *ὅστις ὥσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσε τὸν διωγμόν.*

‖ Mot-à-mot, apparaissaient.

des broches aigües, on les tourmentait de tout instrument de torture, et enfin on les donnait aux bêtes pour qu'elles les mangeassent.

III. Surtout le valeureux Germanicus, ayant méprisé l'infirmité du corps, se rendit à la mort par la grâce de Dieu. En effet le proconsul désirait le persuader et lui fournir un prétexte, car c'était un tout jeune garçon; il l'exhortait en disant, "Aie pitié de toi-même;" mais lui ne voulut point (consentir), il se rendit avec joie, il attira de force les bêtes sur lui, les irritant, les agaçant lui-même contre lui-même, afin qu'elles le mangeassent et qu'il sortît de cette vie violente et impie.* Comme la multitude admirait le courage du martyr pieux et la vertu de toute la race chrétienne, on commença de crier d'une seule voix, "Enlevez ces impies!" c'est-à-dire les chrétiens, et ils dirent, "Qu'on cherche Polycarpe!"

IV. Il y eut un grand trouble à cause des cris nombreux; en ce moment quelqu'un nommé Qointos (*sic*), Phrygien de race, venu tout récemment de Phrygie, s'étant présenté au tribunal et à leur férocité,† comme son âme était devenue faible et qu'il eut peur, il renia enfin son salut. Celui-là, cela nous est démontré par la lettre dont nous avons parlé en commençant, se présenta au tribunal avec un empressement téméraire, et non dans la crainte de Dieu; mais cependant, comme il est tombé, il fournit une preuve montrant avec évidence à chacun que personne ne doit oser de telles actions sans avoir la crainte‡ (de Dieu).

V. Mais Polycarpe le merveilleux, dès qu'il apprit qu'on le cherchait, il fut dans le calme, conservant son cœur dans la tranquillité et l'immobilité. Il voulait rester dans la ville, mais les frères qui l'entouraient le prièrent de sortir de la ville, et lorsqu'il eut condescendu à leur désir,§ il alla dans une campagne éloignée de la ville, il y resta avec quelques uns sans rien faire du tout, mais le jour et la nuit il continuait les prières qu'il faisait au Seigneur, il priait en demandant la paix pour les églises de la terre entière, car c'était sa coutume en tout temps. Trois jours avant qu'on le prît, il eut une vision, la nuit, pendant qu'il priait, comme s'il voyait l'habit dont il était revêtu brûler tout à la fois, comme si le feu l'eût

* C'est-à-dire, où l'on trouve des gens violents et impies.

† Sans doute à la férocité des bêtes, à moins que ce ne soit des juges. Le texte est corrompu.

‡ Mot-à-mot, dans une non-crainte.

§ Mot-à-mot, lorsqu'il eut contenté leur cœur.

brûlé.* Il se leva en toute hâte, il raconta la vision à ceux qui se trouvaient avec lui, leur signifiant à l'avance ce qui devait arriver, et leur affirmant que nécessairement il lui fallait achever sa vie par le feu pour le Christ.

VI. Comme on continuait de le chercher avec soin, d'après la détermination des frères, à cause de l'affection qu'ils lui portaient, on le prit de force, on le changea de lieu. Ceux qui le cherchaient arrivèrent en toute hâte, ils se saisirent de deux petits garçons en cet endroit, ils les tourmentèrent jusqu'à ce que les (deux garçons) les eussent conduits dans le lieu où était Polycarpe.

VII. A l'heure du soir ils vinrent à lui, ils le trouvèrent sur la terrasse ; il pouvait changer d'endroit et aller dans une autre maison, mais il ne le voulut pas, disant : "Que la volonté de Dieu soit faite !" et lorsqu'il sut qu'ils étaient arrivés près de la porte de la maison, comme le discours nous l'apprend, il descendit vers eux, il leur parla avec un visage gai et d'une grande douceur, de sorte que ceux qui ne le connaissaient pas la veille ou l'avant veille furent dans l'admiration en voyant son grand âge, son air vénérable, le calme de son visage, et dirent : "Voilà donc le grand soin avec lequel il fallait chercher ce vieillard !" Mais abba Polycarpe ordonna promptement qu'on leur dressât une table, il les pria de prendre de la nourriture, puis il leur demanda de le laisser prier environ une heure. Lorsqu'ils le lui eurent permis, il se tint debout, il pria, rempli de la grâce du Seigneur, si bien que non seulement ceux qui étaient avec lui furent surpris en l'entendant prier, mais que quelques-uns d'entre eux eurent regret de ce qu'on tuait un tel vieillard, vénérable, ressemblant à Dieu.

VIII. Le bienheureux Polycarpe, lorsqu'il finit sa prière, eut un souvenir pour chacun, pour ceux qui l'avaient rencontré, petits et grands, riches et pauvres, pour l'église catholique qui est sur la terre entière. Lorsque l'heure fut venue de sortir, on le plaça sur un âne, on le fit entrer dans la ville. C'était le jour du grand sabbat. L'irénarque Hérode avec son père Nicétas le rencontra, ils le firent monter sur un char, asseoir avec eux ; ils l'exhortaient en disant : "Quel mal y a-t-il à ce que tu dises : O Seigneur César ! et à ce que tu sacrifies pour ton salut ?" Mais lui, il s'écria disant : "La chose que vous me conseillez, qu'il ne m'arrive jamais de la faire !" Mais eux, n'ayant point

* Mot-à-mot, comme s'il (le vêtement) eût été brûlé par le feu.

persuadé son cœur, ils proférèrent des paroles dures, ils le poussèrent hors du char avec une grande violence,* de sorte qu'ils le blessèrent au pied en le faisant tomber à terre. Il ne s'affligea pas plus que s'il n'eût éprouvé aucune douleur, il marcha avec zèle et avec hâte lorsqu'on le fit entrer dans le stade, et il y eut un grand trouble dans le stade lorsque la foule le vit.

IX. Lorsque le bienheureux Polycarpe entra dans le stade, un voix du ciel se fit entendre pour lui: "Prends courage, Polycarpe, aie confiance!" Personne ne vit qui parlait, mais parmi nous qui étions présents, un grand nombre entendirent la voix. Lorsqu'on l'eut introduit, il y eut un grand trouble quand on sut qu'on avait pris Polycarpe. Lorsqu'il se fut présenté à l'intérieur, le proconsul l'interrogea en disant: "Tu es Polycarpe?" et lorsque le saint eut dit, "Je le suis," il commença de l'exhorter à renier (le Christ), en disant: "Respecte ton âge, jure par la fortune de César, repens-toi et dis: Enlevez les impies," c'est-à-dire les chrétiens, avec une foule d'autres propos de ce genre qu'ont coutume de dire les païens. Mais Polycarpe examina toute la foule qui était dans le *synédrion* avec un visage placide, et après avoir étendu sa main vers elle, il leva les yeux au ciel, gémit et dit: "O Seigneur, enlevez ces idolâtres impies." Le gouverneur insistait disant: "Jure par la fortune de César, maudis le Seigneur, et je te laisserai aller." Polycarpe dit: "Voici aujourd'hui quatre-vingt-six ans que je suis le serviteur de mon Seigneur Jésus le Christ, il ne m'a jamais traité injustement, comment blasphémerais-je mon bienfaiteur et mon roi qui a de tout temps été doux envers moi?"

X. Comme le gouverneur le pressait, disant: "Jure par la fortune de César," Polycarpe dit: "Puisque tu (mets) ta gloire à me faire jurer par la fortune de César, ainsi que tu dis, comme si tu ignorais qui je suis, écoute en toute franchise: Je suis chrétien. Si tu désires savoir la doctrine des chrétiens, donne moi un jour pour te l'apprendre." Le proconsul dit: "Persuade le peuple!"—Polycarpe répondit: "Toi, je t'honore, je t'adresse la parole parce que l'on m'a enseigné à me soumettre aux commandements et aux puissances, à les honorer comme il faut dans tout ce qui n'est pas nuisible; mais ceux que tu dis ne sont pas dignes que je fasse la plus petite apologie pour eux."

XI. Le proconsul reprit (et) dit: "J'ai des bêtes; si tu ne repens

* Mot-à-mot: un grand trouble.

pas, je te livrerai à elles." Polycarpe répondit : "Amène les, il n'est pas possible de se convertir du bon au mauvais ; mais c'est bonne chose de passer du mauvais au bon."—Le proconsul dit : "Si tu méprises les bêtes, je te dompterai par le feu." Polycarpe dit : "Tu me menaces du feu qui brûle un moment, et qui s'éteint bientôt après ; tu ne connais pas le feu du jugement à venir, et les tourments éternels qui son réservés aux impies. Mais pourquoi tardes-tu ? apporte ce que tu veux."

XII. Voilà, avec d'autres choses encore, ce que dit le bienheureux Polycarpe rempli de joie et de fermeté ; son visage était plein de grâce, si bien que non seulement il ne se troublait pas de ce qu'on lui disait, mais encore qu'il fit fâcher le proconsul. Enfin le proconsul envoya un héraut crier par trois fois dans le stade : "Polycarpe a confessé qu'il était chrétien !" Lorsque le héraut eut dit ces paroles, la multitude entière des Grecs et des Juifs qui se trouvaient à Smyrne cria à la fois d'un voix forte et avec une colère qui ne pouvait se contenir : "C'est lui le docteur de toute l'Asie, le père des chrétiens ; il détruit les dieux, il apprend à une foule de gens à ne pas leur sacrifier et à ne pas les adorer !" En disant cela, ils s'écrièrent tous à la fois, exhortant l'archonte Philippe à lâcher un lion contre Polycarpe. Mais il dit : "Cela ne m'est pas permis, car le temps des jeux est fini !" Alors ils eurent tous la même idée, ils crièrent qu'on brûlât Polycarpe, car il était nécessaire que sa vision s'accomplît, celle qu'il avait eue le jour où, en priant, il vit que ses vêtements étaient consumés par le feu, et où il se retourna vers les fidèles qui étaient avec lui et leur prédit : "Il m'est réservé d'être brûlé vif !"

XIII. Il y eut alors une grande confusion lorsque la multitude rassembla en toute hâte des morceaux de bois et une grande quantité de sarments hors des *ergastérion* et des bains : les Juifs surtout, comme c'est leur coutume, agissaient ainsi avec joie. Lorsqu'on eut préparé le bûcher, la colonne de la vérité, Polycarpe, laissa ses habits, il défit sa ceinture, il essaya de défaire aussi ses chaussures ; il ne l'avait jamais fait auparavant, car chacun des fidèles se hâtait chaque jour de toucher ses habits ou son corps, à cause de la vertu* dont il était orné dans sa vieillesse. En

* Le mot de πολιτεια qui est aussi employé par le texte grec, est très difficile à traduire. Il veut dire au propre : régime de vie. Je traduis ici par vertu, à cause de ЄΘΠΔΠЄС qui le spécifie.

ce moment on l'attacha avec les instruments dont on attache ceux qui doivent être brûlés; mais lorsqu'on allait le clouer avec des clous, il dit: "Que cela vous suffise avec moi, car Celui qui m'a destiné à mourir par le feu me donnera la manière de l'endurer sans le soutien des clous."

XIV. Ils ne le clouèrent donc pas, mais ils le lièrent seulement. Lui-même, il mit ses mains derrière son dos, lorsqu'on le lia comme un bélier de choix qu'on offre en un holocauste agréable à Dieu, le Créateur de toutes choses. Il ouvrit sa bouche et dit: "O Père béni de Ton unique Fils bien-aimé, Jésus le Christ, notre Seigneur, qui nous a donné de Te connaître, Dieu des anges et des puissances, Dieu de toute créature, Dieu de la race entière des justes qui vivent chaque jour en Ta présence, je Te rends grâce de ce que Tu me juges digne aujourd'hui et à cette heure d'entrer moi aussi comme une unité dans le nombre des martyrs du Christ, d'être compté parmi eux, de ce que Tu me prends aujourd'hui à Toi comme une victime grasse et agréable, en la manière que Tu l'as d'abord préparée, que Tu l'as manifestée et achevée: ô Dieu de Vérité, de qui n'approche aucun mensonge, je Te bénis, je T'exalte, je Te glorifie par l'Archiprêtre Éternel, notre Seigneur Jésus le Christ, Ton Fils unique (et) bien aimé, avec Lequel soit à Toi la gloire ainsi qu'au Saint Esprit, maintenant, en tout temps, et dans tous les siècles des siècles."

XV. Lorsqu'il eut lancé l'*amen* et achevé sa prière, alors les hommes chargés du bûcher allumèrent le feu et, lorsqu'il se fut fait une grande flamme, nous vîmes un grand prodige, nous auxquels le Seigneur accorda de le voir et qu'il a conservés pour annoncer aux autres ce qui eut lieu; car le feu prit la forme d'une voute et d'une voile de barque emplie par le vent; il entoura le corps du martyr comme d'un mur* et le (saint) était au milieu de la flamme, non comme une chair que l'on brûle, mais comme l'or et l'argent qu'on cuit au feu. Et nous sentîmes un parfum d'encens qui s'exhale ou encore une autre sorte de parfum précieux.

XVI. A la fin lorsque les impies virent qu'il n'était pas possible de faire périr son corps par le feu, il (le proconsul) ordonna qu'un soldat s'approchât pour le tuer d'un coup d'epée; et lorsque celui-ci l'eut fait, il sortit une si grande quantité de sang que le feu s'éteignit, et que la multitude entière admira la différence qui existe entre les

* Mot-à-mot, il l'emmura et l'entoura.

incroyants et les élus. L'un de ceux-ci est celui qui fut une merveille en notre temps, qui fut docteur apôtre, prophète, évêque de toute l'église catholique qui est à Smyrne. C'est ainsi qu'accomplit son martyre le saint évêque abba Polycarpe dans une paix de Dieu, le vingt-neuvième jour du mois de Méchir, et toute parole sortie de sa bouche s'accomplit.

XVII. Le méchant diable, le jaloux et l'ennemi, lorsqu'il sut la grandeur de son martyre et de son régime de vie immaculé depuis le commencement, qu'on l'avait couronné d'une couronne d'incorruptibilité, prix de la victoire, le diable se précipita afin que nous ne prissions point son corps, quoiqu'il y eût une foule de gens désireux de toucher sa chair sainte ; quelques uns allèrent trouver Nicétas, le père d'Hérode, afin qu'il se rendît près du gouverneur et qu'on ne nous donnât pas son corps, car il dit : " Il est à craindre qu'ils n'abondonnent le Crucifié, et qu'ils ne commencent d'adorer celui-ci ! " Il disait cela, trompé par les Juifs qui le confirmaient ; ce furent eux qui nous empêchèrent d'enlever son corps du bûcher, pauvres ignorants qu'ils étaient, que jamais nous n'abandonnerons le Christ mort pour le salut du monde entier, que nous n'adorerons pas un autre que lui, car nous l'adorons parce qu'il est le Fils du Dieu Vivant. Quant aux martyrs, nous les aimons, comme il est juste, ainsi que des disciples et des imitateurs de leur Seigneur, à cause de leur amour orthodoxe pour leur Roi et Seigneur, et nous prions que nous aussi, nous devenions leurs compagnons et leurs disciples.*

XVIII. Lorsque le centurion vit que, selon leur coutume, les Juifs avaient fait une émeute, il plaça le corps du bienheureux au milieu selon la coutume.† Et ainsi, nous aussi, nous rassemblâmes ensuite les ossements plus précieux que toutes les pierres véritables et précieuses, plus choisis que l'or ; nous les placâmes dans un lieu qui convenait à leur valeur. Que le Seigneur nous accorde de nous réunir en ce lieu, selon notre pouvoir, avec joie et allégresse d'accomplir le jour de son martyre‡ à la manière d'un jour de

* Il y a ici une faute évidente : il faut condisciples, et dans le texte ⲥⲩⲛⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ au lieu de ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ

† Il y a ici une traduction mot pour mot qui ne se comprend qu'avec le texte grec.

‡ C'est-à-dire de célébrer le jour de fête en l'honneur de son martyre.

naissance, rendant gloire à Dieu ensemble et avec joie pour ceux qui ont combattu d'abord et pour ceux qui viendront dans la suite.

XIX. C'est ainsi que s'acheva le martyre de Polycarpe, le merveilleux, l'apôtre, celui-là seul dont mémoire est faite par chacun, de sorte que les autres nations parlent de lui en tout endroit. Qu'il nous soit donné à nous tous qui avons vu son combat et à ceux qui l'entendront raconter de partager maintenant ses souffrances, afin de partager aussi l'héritage de son repos dans le royaume de notre Seigneur, notre Dieu, et notre Sauveur Jésus le Christ, par lequel toute gloire, tout honneur et toute adoration conviennent au Père avec Lui, et au Saint Esprit Vivificateur, consubstantiel à Lui, maintenant, en tout temps, et jusqu'au siècle de tous les siècles: Amen.

En comparant cette version copte avec le texte grec, tel qu'il a été publié par M. Dressel ou M. Zahn, on voit au premier coup d'œil que les *actes* coptes sont vraiment un traduction des *actes* grecs. Cette comparaison, si on l'applique au détail, donne des résultats importants pour l'histoire de la littérature copte, du génie égyptien, et peut-être même pour l'authenticité et l'intégrité des *actes* grecs.

La suscription de la lettre présente tout d'abord une différence: la lettre est simplement adressée à l'église *catholique* de Philomélie, et non aux autres cités faisant partie de l'église catholique, en entendant ce mot dans le sens d'*universel.*

Le paragraphe premier de la version copte commence comme celui des actes grecs; il se borne même à la première phrase du grec: mais entre le nom du héros Polycarpe et le dernier membre de phrase qui se retrouve à la fin du paragraphe copte se trouvent insérées plusieurs lignes qui donnent des détails sur la vie de Polycarpe, détails très vraisemblables en l'espèce, au lieu des considérations pieuses qui se rencontrent dans les *actes* grecs.

Le paragraphe second est très court dans les *actes* coptes; il est au contraire le plus long dans les *actes* grecs. Le copte ne donne guère qu'un résumé du paragraphe grec, avec un trait qui ne se retrouve qu'indiqué dans le grec* à savoir l'admiration des foules qui assistaient aux supplices des martyrs et en admiraient la constance.

* ὡς και τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἐλεεῖν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι.

Le paragraphe troisième à l'exception de la première phrase, où le traducteur copte ne semble pas avoir eu un texte semblable à celui qui nous est parvenu, donne mot-à-mot le texte grec.

Le paragraphe quatrième ajoute un trait en commençant, mentionne l'épisode de Quintus dans une phrase assez embrouillée, et termine en développant plus que dans le grec la réflexion finale sur ceux qui recherchent volontairement le martyr.

Au paragraphe cinquième le copte ajoute au grec les mots : *conservant son cœur dans la tranquillité et l'immobilité.* Tout le paragraphe est d'ailleurs traduit plus largement que ce qui précède, en admettant que le texte grec actuel reproduise bien l'original. Le récit de la vision de Polycarpe est un peu plus large dans le copte que dans le grec, si bien que l'on pourrait croire que le traducteur a rendu la pensée générale sans s'attacher à rendre le texte mot pour mot, comme il le fait ailleurs. Il faut surtout observer le changement important de ⲡⲉϥϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲱϥ au lieu de *προσκεφάλαιον*. Evidemment le traducteur copte n'a pas lu *προσκεφάλαιον* dans le texte qu'il avait sous les yeux, car en admettant que le mot ϩⲟⲟⲩ qui signifie *vêtement* eût pu être employé pour désigner un *coussin*, le mot ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲱϥ qui veut dire *dont il était revêtu* y serait un obstacle insurmontable, puisque le *coussin* se mettait *sous* la tête. D'ailleurs l'allégorie rapportée, ainsi que dans le copte, est bien plus compréhensible et va au mieux au sujet que dans le grec.

Le paragraphe sixième offre d'importantes différences en faveur du texte copte. Les premiers mots sont les mêmes, ainsi que le récit de l'arrivée des soldats et du supplice infligé à l'un des deux enfants trouvés dans la maison qu'avait quittée Polycarpe ; mais le texte copte ajoute une circonstance tout à fait vraisemblable : Polycarpe n'aurait changé de maison que sur les instances des frères et presque de force. La réflexion fataliste du grec manque dans le copte, ainsi que la mention de l'irénarque Hérode avec la comparaison que suggère son nom.

Au paragraphe septième les premières lignes du grec manquent dans le copte, et aussi la mention du jour de la semaine. Le texte copte ne recommence qu'à la seconde phrase : *καὶ ὀψέ.* La version copte suit ensuite le texte grec mot pour mot ; elle omet cependant les mots : *ὅσον ἂν βούλωνται.* La fin du paragraphe présente cependant un léger changement : il n'y est pas question de deux heures de prière, comme dans le grec, et la version copte parle de l'éton-

nement des amis de Polycarpe en même temps que de celui des soldats qui l'entendaient prier.

Le paragraphe huitième n'offre que deux legères omissions dans le texte copte ; premièrement les mots : *καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα* dans les exhortations que l'irénarque Hérode et son père Nicétas font à Polycarpe ; et secondement les derniers mots du paragraphe : *ὡς μηδὲ ἀκουσθήναί τινα δύνασθαι.* Ces deux omissions ne gênent en rien le sens ; la première allège le sens et la seconde est une preuve de fidélité, car la présence des mots mentionnés n'implique qu'une exagération hyperbolique sentant l'interpolation.

Le paragraphe neuvième n'offre encore que de legères différences. Tout d'abord le nombre de ceux qui entendent la voix qui fortifie Polycarpe est restreint : le grec laisse entendre que *tous* les chrétiens présents entendirent la voix : le copte ne dit que la *plupart des chrétiens présents.* Plus loin le mot *impies* est expliqué : *c'est-à-dire les chrétiens*, comme il le sera une seconde fois : *les impies idolâtres* quand Polycarpe crie : "Enlevez les impies."*

La présence du mot ⲥⲧⲙⲉⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ pour rendre le grec *τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ,* est typique ce me semble, et ce mot devait se trouver dans l'original que le copte avait sous les yeux pour faire sa traduction. Le texte copte emploie le mot *Seigneur* au lieu de le *Christ*, quand le proconsul exhorte Polycarpe à maudire le Christ, et dans la réponse de Polycarpe, le mots : ⲡⲁⲟⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲭⲥ correspondent à *αὐτόν* en grec ; il ajoute aussi le mot *bienfaiteur.*

Aucune différence ne se rencontre au paragraphe dixième, sinon l'omission des mots grecs *ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.* Le copte parle seulement des puissances établies, sans dire que les puissances ont été établies par Dieu.

Le paragraphe onzième ne présente que deux différences : le copte dit : Amène-les, au lieu que le grec dit : Appelle-les, en parlant des bêtes, et la maxime de Polycarpe : Il est impossible de se convertir du bien au mal, est plus générale dans le copte que dans le grec, car le mot *ἡμῖν* qui restreint la maxime aux seuls chrétiens dans le texte grec, n'est pas rendu en copte, ce qui est encore en faveur du texte copte. Au paragraphe douzième, Philippe est appelé *archonte* par le texte copte, au lieu du mot *asiarque* employé par le texte grec. En outre le mot *προσκηφάλαιον* est remplacé, comme de

* En effet les membres de phrase sont renversés, ou plutôt manquent dans le copte.

raison, par le mot ϩⲗⲟⲥ, vêtement. Pour tout le reste, le mots grecs sont rendus avec la plus scrupuleuse fidélité par la version copte.

Le paragraphe treizième offre plus de différences. La première phrase ne se ressemble que de loin : le texte grec parle de la vitesse avec laquelle tout le jugement s'accomplit, le copte du trouble qui en résulta. Le reste du paragraphe ne contient aucune différence saillante, mais vers la fin, la traduction est plus relâchée, et le texte copte ajoute les mots : *colonne de vérité*, en parlant de Polycarpe ; ces mots ne se trouvent pas dans le grec et pourraient bien être portés au compte d'un subit enthousiasme du traducteur égyptien.

Au paragraphe quatorzième les mots grecs ἐκ μεγάλου ποιμνίου manquent en copte, et le mots ἀναβλέψας, εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν sont remplacés par ceux-ci : Il ouvrit sa bouche. De plus le mot παντοκράτωρ qui se trouve en grec dans la prière est reporté en copte à la phrase précédente. La prière elle même contient quelques légères différences, et toute un membre de phrase ne se trouve pas dans le copte : ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἁγίου ; membre de phrase qui n'ajoute rien au sens général, qu'une mention de plus dans la prière.

Au paragraphe seizième, les mots περὶ στύρακα, d'ailleurs inutiles au sens, ne se trouvent pas en copte. Par contre, le texte copte n'apporte aucune tournure moins obscure pour lier la seconde partie de ce paragraphe à la première : le texte grec est scrupuleusement suivi.

Le paragraphe dix-septième offre plusieurs changements. Le commencement du paragraphe est plus resserré en copte qu'en grec. Les mots du grec ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἄλκης ne se retrouvent pas en copte. Au contraire le texte copte ajoute à la fin le mot ὀρθόδοξον qui est une évidente interpolation, et qui a dû se glisser dans le texte tout au moins après les disputes de l'arianisme, sinon après le concile de Chalcédoine.

Dans le paragraphe dix-huitième, la version copte s'écarte légèrement du texte grec dans l'expression du souhait final, mais l'idée est bien la même.

Enfin au paragraphe dix-neuvième et dernier, la première phrase seule rassemble au texte grec, encore y manque-t-il la mention des martyrs de Philadelphie. La clausule finale ne se trouve pas la même dans le texte grec, mais elle n'est non plus la même que dans les *actes* coptes proprement dits.

Que faut-il conclure maintenant de cette analyse détaillée?

Tout d'abord que les Coptes pouvaient, quand ils le voulaient, traduire exactement en leur langue les ouvrages écrits dans un autre idiôme. Le cas est rare; je ne connais à vrai dire que ce seul exemple; mais il est péremptoire.

D'un autre côté, je ne serais pas éloigné de croire que les *Actes* de St. Polycarpe, tels que la version copte nous les a conservés, nous offrent une forme plus ancienne des mêmes actes que le texte grec. On aura observé que le traducteur copte n'a ajouté qu'un seul mot (au paragraphe dix-septième) ou peut-être un second (au paragraphe treizième) qui sentent l'interpolation. Les différences procédent par omission et les omissions considérables de la fin et du commencement ne portent que sur des lieux communs, sur les réflexions pieuses dont les hagiographes ont toujours eu soin d'agrémenter leur canevas primitif. Or, pour qui connaît les Coptes, il serait bien étonnant qu'ayant eu ces réflexions pieuses sous la main, et ils en étaient fort friands, ils les eussent complètement passées sous silence. Le fait serait sans exemple, à ma connaissance. D'ailleurs, comme j'ai eu l'occasion de le dire souvent déjà, le copiste ou le traducteur coptes ne pouvaient guère résister à la tentation d'orner ce qu'ils écrivaient ou traduisaient: l'ornementation se faisait en ajoutant, jamais en retranchant. Le retranchement des passages diffus ou n'allant que médiocrement au sujet, des lieux communs, suppose en effet un goût littéraire dont les Coptes n'étaient pas capables. Si donc, en cette occasion, nous nous trouvons en présence de retranchements évidents, il faut en conclure que les passages qui ne se rencontrent pas dans la version copte ne se trouvaient pas dans l'original grec, et que par conséquent ces mêmes passages sont des additions. J'ai fait observer en outre que certains passages de la version copte offraient plus de vraisemblance et d'à propos que les passages correspondants des *actes* grecs.

J'incline donc à penser, sans me prononcer d'une manière certaine, que la version copte nous a conservé des *actes* plus purs que le texte grec. Ceux qui s'occupent spécialement de ces sortes de question se prononceront avec plus d'autorité que je ne saurais le faire; mais quelle que soit la manière dont ils se prononcent, ils me sauront gré, j'en suis certain, d'avoir apporté à leurs études des éléments nouveaux pour discuter et résoudre le problème.

REMARKS ON SOME UNPUBLISHED CUNEIFORM SYLLABARIES, WITH RESPECT TO PRAYERS AND INCANTATIONS, WRITTEN IN INTERLINEAR FORM.

By C. Bezold.

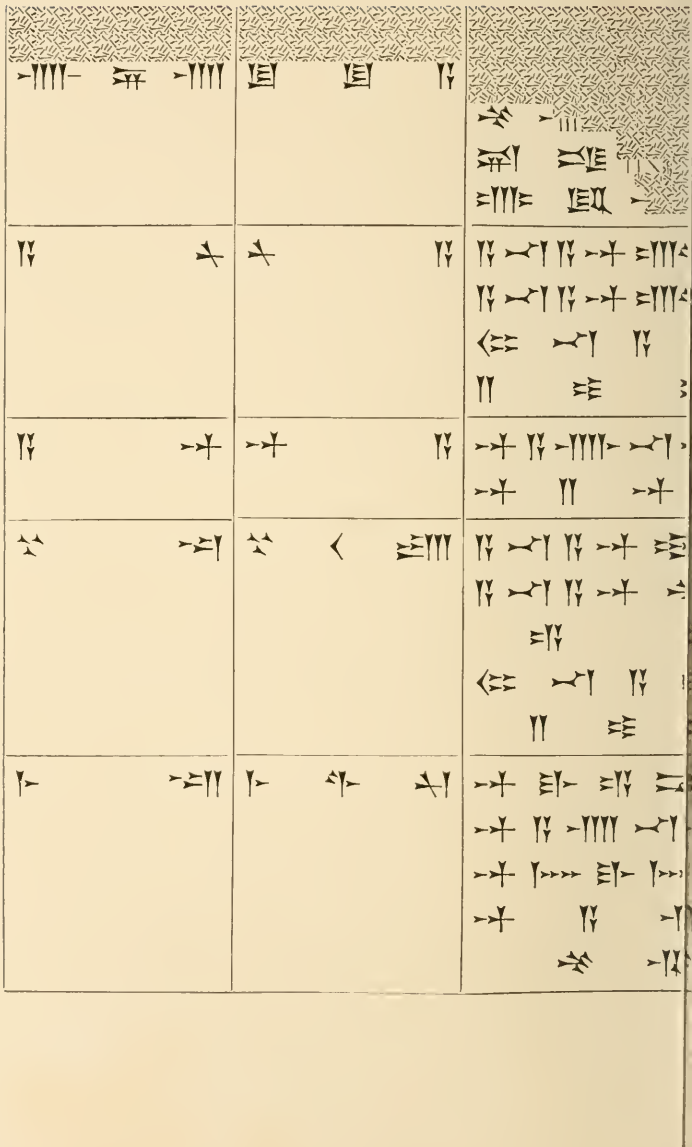
In laying before the *Society* some remarks on unpublished syllabaries, I am compelled to ask the indulgence of members on account of the dry nature of the subject. I am aware that however interesting syllabaries may be to the philologist, they do not rank in general interest with such texts as those of the Creation and Flood. But as a number of unpublished syllabaries still remain in the British Museum, I hope to bring these to the notice of scholars in a series of articles in our *Proceedings*.

The syllabaries were a great help for the first decipherers of the Assyro-Babylonian language and literature, but now-a-days it appears to be thought that they are "exhausted" and merely a subject of study for beginners. The motive which induces me to make a fresh study of them, is that I wish to show the incompleteness of those that are already published, and also the generally unsatisfactory method which was followed in using these precious documents for the interpretation of the magical, liturgical, and religious literature of Mesopotamia.

I need hardly mention the great help which they afforded in the whole development of Assyriological researches. So far back as 1851, when Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert were working out the peculiarities of the Assyrian language by the aid of the Achaemenian inscriptions, they found from the syllabaries, of which a large number were already in England, that not only was their marvellous work of decipherment confirmed, but also that they contained new values for characters, and phonetic spellings of ideographs, and grammatical forms. Also, it was from some of these syllabaries that we obtained the first

PLATE I.

K. 4175 + Sn



57.—Obverse.

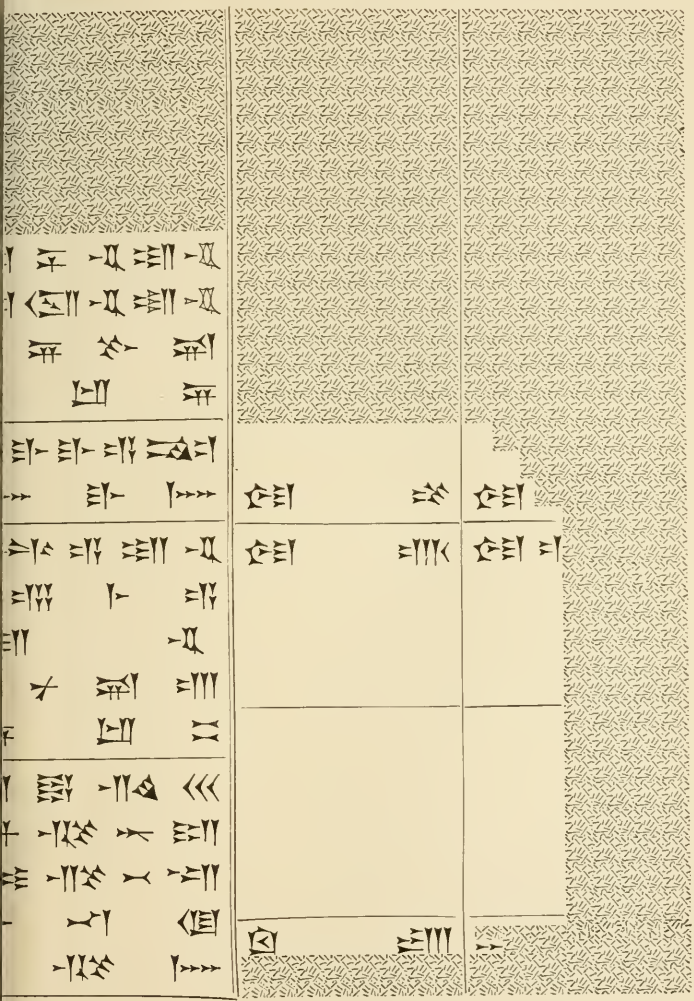


PLATE II.

K. 4175 + Sn

57.—Reverse.

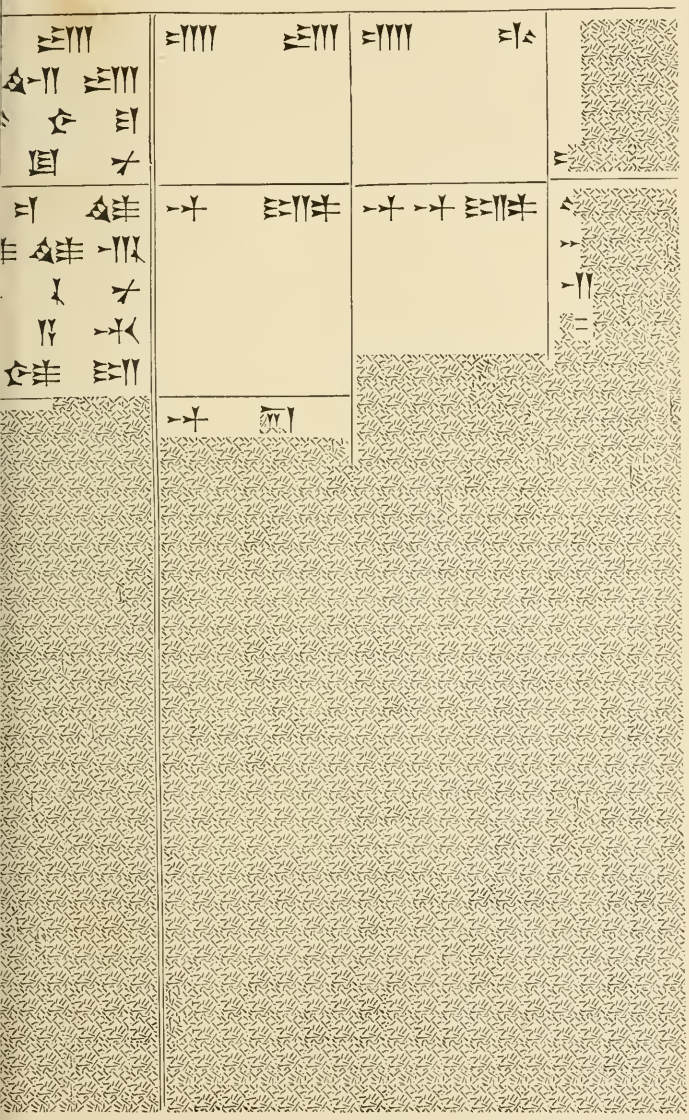


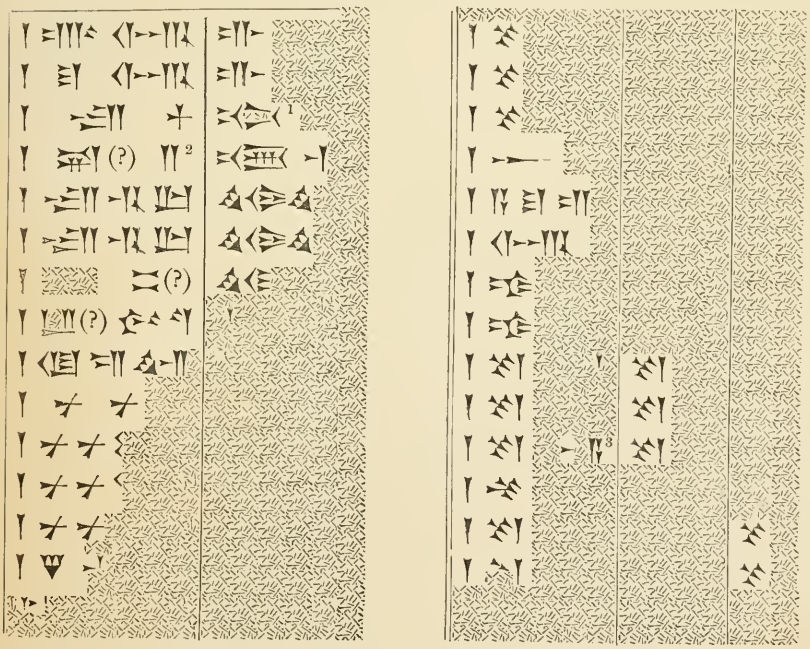
PLATE III.

No. 1. K. 4603.



* ? † STRASSMAIER, *A. V.*, p. 735 : .

No. 2. K. 8276.

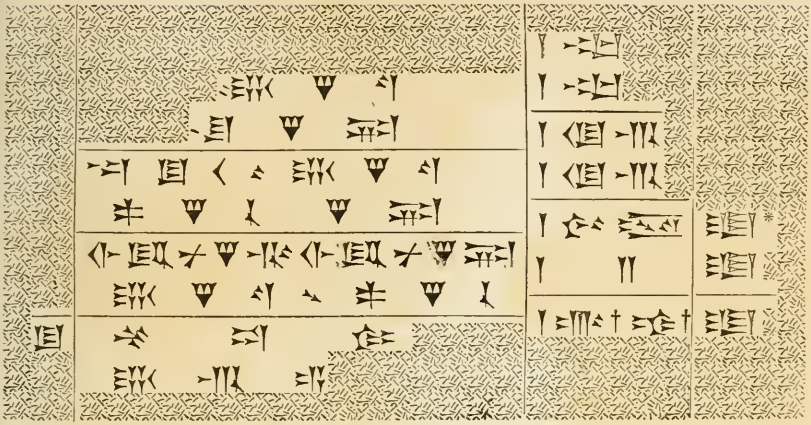


[1] ?. [2] Or (?). [3] possible.

†

PLATE IV.

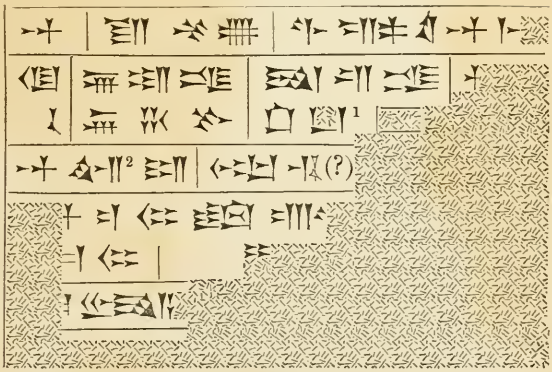
No. 1. K. 8284.



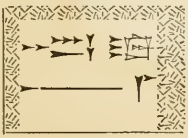
* *See* Sb 1, III, 7.

† Defaced at the lower part.

No. 2. K. 4816.



Reverse.



[1] ?.

[2] Partly defaced, but pretty certain.

idea of the existence of a non-Semitic language, of which there appeared to exist two dialects in the interlinear incantations and hymns. Some of the dialectic forms found upon the so-called "Sumero-Accado-Assyrian" or "trilingual" vocabulary, whose scientific importance was first demonstrated by Dr. HAUPT, were found to occur again in the bilingual texts. One of these two dialects was then called the Babylonian "*woman's language*," chiefly because Dr. DELITZSCH thought that he saw on an unpublished list two characters, , which he read *nak-bu*, and which he evidently compared with the Hebrew word נְקֵבָה, "woman."* His view was also held previously by SAYCE and LENORMANT. I have, however, recently examined the tablet, and found that these two signs do not exist upon it at all; but instead of them there are parts of the ideograph , the true reading and meaning of which we are just as ignorant of as we were twenty years ago.

The above is an example of the value of syllabaries, as several scholars have been content to find confirmation of an important theory in a single indistinct sign of a vocabulary.

To another syllabary we owe a certain arrangement of cuneiform signs made by the ancient sages of Mesopotamia themselves, to which therefore great importance must be attached. I pointed out some years ago, and Dr. PEISER has recently proved in two scholarly papers, that a list of verbal forms published in the fifth volume of the W.A.I. and giving the 2nd person masculine of the Piel-formation of Assyrian roots, is arranged in exactly the same order as one of the principal vocabularies, which contain the phonetic values and meanings of the cuneiform signs upon it. In addition to this there are a large number of sign-lists in the British Museum, which have nothing to do with the phonetic part of Assyrian writing,† but are apparently

* *See* HAUPT, *Die akkadische Sprache*, p. xxviii f. Here and in ZIMMERN's *Busspsalmen*, p. 119, DELITZSCH proposes to read *nagpu* instead of *nakbu*, but nevertheless maintains the explanation of by "*Frauensprache*"; *cf. Lesest.*, 3rd ed., p. 6. In April, 1883, I remarked in the *Literar. Centralblatt*, col. 619: *Eine weitere Frage aber bleibt es, welche Namen wir den beiden Dialekten zutheilen sollen. So lange nicht in einem Täfelchen* emesal *durch* lišân Akkadî *erklärt wird, dürfte hier nach den bisherigen Erfahrungen grosse Vorsicht am Platze sein*, to which we may compare also HAUPT's statement in my *Zeits.*, 1885, p. 269.

† *See* my *Babylonisch-assyrische Literatur*, p. 201, § 108.

specimens of calligraphy giving archaic or imitations of archaic forms of cuneiform characters, and by the side of them the modern written values, and following exactly the same order and arrangement as the syllabaries mentioned above. It may be asked here whether this connection is of any value at present. The answer to this can be easily obtained from the consideration that recently the Babylonian and Assyrian characters have been derived from older forms with the help of one of these sign-lists in archaic characters.* When we remember, however, that the vocabulary, which I have spoken of, is dated in the time of Assurbanipal, that is to say, in the seventh century B.C., and that from this and even later periods, we possess historical texts which were evidently written in archaic style in imitation of the writing of an earlier epoch, with which we may compare now-a-days the custom to print our books in mediæval characters, we must refrain from drawing any conclusions from these lists with respect to the real development of the Assyro-Babylonian writing.

M. TERRIEN DE LA COUPERIE is therefore perfectly right, in following J. OPPERT † in respect of the date of K. 8520, to protest against this method of derivation of the cuneiform signs.‡ How much more then should he himself have avoided taking at random from AMIAUD'S *Tableau comparé* any "ancient cuneiform characters" to be found there, among his selection being not only those of Ḫammurabi, Gudea, etc., of the period of about B.C. 2000, but also some from the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar I, and from the boundary stone published W.A.I. III, 41, about 1200 B.C.,§ and even from the *East India House Inscription* of Nebuchadnezzar II, which appears to contain imitations of archaic signs, evidently copied

* HOUGHTON, in the *Transactions* of our *Society*, Vol. VI; BERTIN, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1887, p. 625 ff.; *see* TERRIEN DE LA COUPERIE, *the Babylonian and Oriental Record*, II, p. 78, l. 4 ff.

† *Expéd. scient. en Mésopotamie*, II, p. 66.

‡ *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, II, p. 80.

§ See for Nebuchadnezzar I my *Lit.*, p. 18, § 11, h, 6; for W.A.I. III, 41 OPPERT, *Rec. of the Past*, IX, p. 103; and *Documents juridiques*, Paris, 1879, p. 117. It is quite surprising that the "well-known head of the Leipzig school of cuneiformists" has not read the translations in this work, from which the interpretation of the Assyrian *contracts* started—until the present year! *Cf.* the statement in DELITZSCH'S *Wörterbuch*, p. 286.

from such syllabaries as we mentioned above, to prove the common origin of the Babylonian and the Chinese characters.*

Having thus given examples of the misuse of the syllabaries, we now proceed to make some positive statements as to their value. Let us look once more at the origin of this section of the Assyrian literature. We must remember that any kind of grammatical argument in antiquity was made from the study of some great and universally admired composition. The Chinese grammatical commentaries started from the careful study of the so-called Confucian collections, the Indian national grammar from the Vedic songs. The Greek, who treated grammar as well as most of their scientific subjects from a philosophical standpoint,† nevertheless drew their notion of grammar first of all from Homer's songs; the Old Testament was the source of Jewish grammar; the Qorān and the divans of the celebrated pre-Muhammedan poets were also the sources of Arabic national grammar. It is not surprising, therefore, that in Mesopotamia, the cradle-land of the oldest grammar on earth, we also find that the religious songs, prayers and hymns, and the exorcisms and incantations form the origin of all grammatical and lexicographical observations. This fact has been pointed out long ago and is well-known. From an examination of the syllabaries we see clearly that almost every equivalent met with in the bilingual incantations and prayers in interlinear form is found again in some of the syllabaries; on the other hand, a large number of syllabaries contain phonetic explanations of words, which have never been found in connected texts.‡ This seems to me a correct guide for

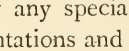
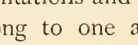
* In *the Babylonian and Oriental Record*, II, p. 87 ff., most of the "archaic Babylonian forms" from which "the old symbols of the Chinese were derived," are taken from the documents of Ḫammurabi, Gudea, and similar ones. The forms for *ig* and *ur* are supplied, however, by the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I (AMIAUD, *Tableau*, pp. 15, 116); the character for *tar* by the same and by the inscription W.A.I. III, 41 (AMIAUD, p. 75); the character for *alpu* "bull," with which the Chinese 牛 [with not quite the "same meaning" but, already in the classic Chinese, that of "an ox, a cow, a bull, kine, cattle" (WILLIAMS), or, generally speaking, all "those animals that the Chinese consider of the *Bos genus*" (MORRISON)] is compared, from W.A.I. III, 41 (AMIAUD, p. 18). The forms for *ilippu* "ship," for *mu*, and for *ban* are taken from an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II (*E.I.H.*); *cf.* AMIAUD, pp. 16, 5, 59.

† *See* BENFEY, *Gesch. d. Sprachwiss.*, p. 101 *ff.*

‡ *See*, now, BRÜNNOW'S *List, passim.*

the method which I should like to follow in printing the unpublished syllabaries.

I propose therefore to arrange the chaos of fragments of such lists in the following manner.

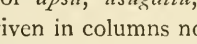
Firstly to collect as many as possible of the syllabaries which show any special reference to some of the published tablets with incantations and prayers. Secondly to give a number of lists which belong to one and the same "series." In the 2nd part of his Dictionary,* Dr. DELITZSCH has mentioned some of the texts which are said to be parts of a series called by the native grammarians " = *nabnîtu.*" Another well-known series entitled " *milû* " is connected with a large number of Omen-texts, and must be separated therefore from the interpretation of the incantations. Another series gives lists of names of gods, probably referring to some liturgical works; another refers to astronomical or astrological calculations; and another forms the fundamental vocabularies.† Of this series I have found not only a number of duplicates but also new fragments.‡ Some of them give us a new redaction of the text differing from that adopted in the hitherto known tablets.§ Finally, there are in the British Museum a few lists of a new kind

* P. 242, *f.* I must confess here, that I think an *excursus* like the one alluded to does not belong to an Assyrian Dictionary, s.v. *ûru* "nakedness," any more than an *excursus* upon the decades of Livy to a Latin-English Dictionary, s.v. *alius* "another." I am sorry, of course, to lay my eyes open to the charge of "a shortsightedness amounting nearly to blindness as to highly important questions relating to the Assyrian language and script."

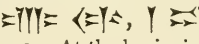
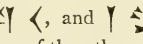
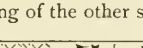
† These are not yet completely (*vollständig*) published in DELITZSCH'S *Lesestücke* (*cf.* 2nd ed., p. v), *see, e.g.*, HAUPT, *Zeits.*, 1885, p. 279.—Even for the 3rd edition of this book the author seems not to have consulted several of the original tablets. The character , *e.g.*, given as the last sign of Sa 3, l. 3, actually belongs to the tablet published as Sa 2, which was verified in the Brit. Mus. as early as 1882 (*cf.* my remark, *Zeits.*, 1885, p. 68). Both the fragments are now joined together.

‡ One of them, K. 4603 (*see pl.* III, no. 1) evidently belongs to the "Sumero-Accado-Assyrian" vocabulary, which has not been remarked, *Lesestücke*, 3rd ed., p. 36. That there are on it so-called "dialectic" forms, however, was suggested, very ingeniously, by ZIMMERN, *BusspS.*, p. 72.

§ K. 8276 (*plate* III, no. 2), a very indistinctly written fragment, on which the order of the signs ,  may be compared with that of Sb, l. 309 *ff.*; K. 8284 (*pl.* IV, no. 1), on which the character  may be especially

the existence of which we had not known; for example one in three columns,* the second of which sometimes gives the characters of the first in aninverted order, thus:  which perhaps will afford some explanations of the puzzling ideographs for *apsû*, *ušugallu*, etc. In another† the equivalents are neither given in columns nor in the form of glosses, but are separated from each other by a vertical dividing stroke.

I hope in printing the most important of these lists to prove that it was quite wrong to connect any kind of syllabary with any kind of connected text. We must classify the latter according to the contents of the former and *vice versâ*, and perhaps in that way make a step forward in respect of the difficult questions raised about fifteen years ago,—I mean the solution of the Accado-Assyrian problem.

noticed; *cf. Zeits.*, 1885, pp. 71, 355, and n. 3. To these we add here also K. 8298, where on the lower part of one side, the character  is repeated about 20 times, in three sections, and at its left the corresponding explanations are given: , , and ; *cf.* BRÜNNOW, *List*, Nos. 9131—3. At the beginning of the other side, we find:



* K. 4175 + Sm. 57; *see plates* I and II.

† K. 4816; *see plate* IV, no. 2.

IRANIAN NAMES AMONG THE ḪETTA-ḪATTÊ.

By Rev. C. J. Ball.

If we examine the list of local and personal names appended to Professor Sayce's paper on "The Monuments of the Hittites,"* we shall see that, while the ten names from the Old Testament have a decidedly Hebrew complexion, most of those which are collected from the Egyptian and Assyrian sources bear a different stamp, and some of them, at all events, strongly suggest an Iranian or, more precisely, a Scythico-Iranian connexion; while others present remarkable coincidences with Armenian names and titles. No one, I suppose, would refuse to recognize the Iranian cast of such names as the Commagenian Kundašpi (B.C. 854) or Kuštašpi, the latter of which obviously resembles the Medic Gushtasp-Hystaspes; while the former may be akin to the Zend Kuñda, the name of a demon, with which Fick compares the Greek Κυθώνυμος, Μαμάκυθος; and Lubarna (Luburna, Liburna), recalls the Medic Sidir-parna and Eparna of Esarhaddon's inscriptions, as well as such common Persian names as Pharnabazus, Pharnaspes, Tissaphernes, Intaphernes. The river-name Orontes, the Arantu of the Assyrian and Arunta of the Egyptian records, occurs as a personal name in Old Persian and Scythian, both simply and in compounds like Ὀροντοβάτης, Ὀρονδάτης;† and may be involved in the personal names Garparuda—Garparunda (Gamgumian) and Girparuda (Patinian),‡ which seem to mean much the same as Tanuvazraka, "strong-bodied" (Sanskr. kṛp, Zend. karĕp, kĕhrp, Huzv. karp, Armen. kérp, Lat. corpus, "body," "form"). Orontes, which also designates a mountain-range, the Zend Aurvañt, now Elvend, means "swift" and "strong;" being identical with the Sanskrit *arvant*,

* *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. VII, pt. 2, pp. 248 *sqq.*

† Orontes (Xen. Anab. 1, 6, 1) or Orontas (*ib.* 2, 4, 8), names of persons, and Tiarantos, one of the rivers of Scythia (Hdt. IV, 48).

‡ To accommodate these names, or rather this name, M. Halévy invents a "zoomorphic deity Parud," of whom he afterwards remarks with unconscious truth, "Le dieu *Paruda* est unique dans son genre."

neo-Persian *arvand*, Armenian *erivar*.* The gentilic designation Patinai or Patinâ'a may remind us of the Persian Pati-zeithes (Hdt. iii, 63) and Artapates (Xen. Anab. i, 8, 28), the Sanskrit *pati*, "lord," Zend *paiti*, and, finally, of the Scythic *oiorpata*, which Herodotus gives as the native name of the Amazons (Οἰορπατα = *ἀνδροκτόνοι*; rather, "men's lords," iv, 110). The *-na* is simply a termination, as in Atrina, Piçina. Tutamu the Patinian recalls Homer's Pelasgian Teutamus (Il. II, 843), and Tautanes-Teutamus, the 26th king of Assyria, according to Eusebius and Moses of Chorni, in whose reign the Trojan War occurred.† "Sasi, son of Mat-uzza," the Patinian, bears a name which is similar to the first element in the Persian Sisi-maces (Σισιμάκης, Hdt. V, 121), Sisamnes (Σισάμνης, Hdt. V, 25; VIII, 66), Sisi-mitres (Σισιμίτρης). In the Commagenian Kili-anteru and Kali-anteru (Tiglathpileser I, *circ.* 1120 B.C.), the first element resembles that of Kalykadnos, a river of Cilicia; Kalynda ("of Kali"), a Carian town; Kolaxais, a mythical Scythian king (Hdt. IV, 5, 7); and perhaps *Kilikia* itself is a derivative from the same term. The whole name is very much like Kelenderis, the designation of a Cilician town.

As to the second element, which appears again in Sadi-anteru, another Commagenian of the same period, it may perhaps be explained by Antar='Attar; *cf.* Āntertâ of the Egyptian monuments. Prof. Sayce aptly compares Asianic names terminating in -andros; this termination, however, is more exactly represented in the Cuneiform spelling of Eteandros, thus: i-tu-u-an-da-ar

* Justi further compares the Lycian Oroandes. M. Halévy strangely assumes that Orontes is a "feminine of אָרוֹן" (*sic*), the Heb. term for "chest," "box"; and that the river was so called, from the depth of its bed (!) With equal strangeness, he reads "Hattin" for Patinâ'a, in order to connect the term with "la divinité nationale *Hat*." He forgets that, although the name Ḫattê is often written with the sign 𒄩 (*pa*, *ḫat*), it is also frequently spelled ḫa-at-tê; whereas the other name is always pa-ti-nâ'a, never ḫa-at-ti-nâ'a, as it ought sometimes to be, if his view were correct. Nor is it likely that the Aprê, now *Ifrîn*, is "un dérivé de עָפָר poussière, boue." The Heb. term means "dust" or "earth," not "mud"; and had the Assyrians heard *êprê*, they would have written it, as *êpru* "dust," "dry earth," is one of their own words.

† The comparison of the Cetei (Odyss. XI, 520) with the Ḫetta of the Egyptian and the Ḫattê of the Assyrian monuments is more doubtful, on account of the single *t* in the Greek name; although the *kappa* for *ḫeth* finds a parallel in the Greek *Kilikia* (Cilicia) as compared with Assyrian Ḫilakki, or the Greek *Kuros* from the Old Persian *Khurush*.

(𒀸𒅗𒁹 𒀸𒌑𒁹𒀸 𒀸𒅗𒁹, 3 R 16, 5, 21).* Perhaps *anteru* is akin to the Armenian *antar*, "forest," or *antir*, "chosen," &c.

As to the *Sadi* in Sadi-anteru, Sadyattes, it may be a by-form of *Sandu* (*cf.* Sangara—Sagara; Gadâra, Old Pers.=Gk. Γανδάριοι). It strikingly resembles, however, the second element of the Scythian proper name Ἀτεμσάδιος, and of Thamima-sadas, the designation of Poseidon among the Royal Scyths (Hdt. IV, 59). *Thamima* means the sea (Sanskrit *tâmara*; *cf.* Temerinda=matrem maris, the Scythic name of the Maeotis, according to Pliny, Hist. Nat. VI, 7, the *μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου* of Hdt. IV, 86); and *-sadas, sadi-*, which occurs also in the Persian Sataspes (?), Satis, Pary-satis, is the Zend shâiti, Old Pers. shiyâti, "pleasure," "delight," "charm." *Cf.* also the Thracian Μαισάδης and Μηδοσάδης (Xen. Anab.).

Catu-zilu or Kata-zilu, also a Commagenian personal name, may be compared with Kat-aonia† and Kata-patuka (Cappadocia); perhaps also with the Lydian Cotys (Hdt. IV, 45), the city-name Cotyora, and the Scythic tribal name Katiari (Hdt. IV, 6). If the allies of the Ḫetta, called Kati or Keti in the Egyptian record, bordered on Carchemish, as stated by Prof. Sayce, they may be represented by the Catanii, whom the classical geographers place on the west bank of the Euphrates in that region, and both terms may be compared with

* Professor Sayce has ingeniously suggested that Atys or Attes is the Syrian Hadad (l.c. p. 286, note 2), and that the latter was originally a Hittite god. But just as Rimmon is connected with the Assyr. *ramâmu*, "to thunder," so Hadad seems to be akin to Arab. كَدَّ rupit, fregit; a term used of the *crash* of thunder, a falling wall, the roaring of the sea, etc.: *cf.* Heb. הִידָד, used of the shout of the vintagers and of warriors, Isa. xvi, 9, 10; הֵד, a shout of joy, Ezek. vii, 7. That Hadad was indigenous among the Semites appears, further, from his ancient worship in Edom, implied by the royal Edomite names Hadad and Bedad, *i.e.* ben-hadad, or perhaps Bel-hadad (Gen. xxxvi, 35; 1 Kings xi, 17). The curious statement of Macrobius (Saturn. i, 23) that Adad or Adadus means "one" in the "Assyrian" (Syrian) language, suggests that his informant may have supposed that Hadad was connected with חַד, "one," the *ḥeth* of which is soft; *cf.* Assyr. *êdu*, "one," *êdiš*, "alone.' The Khubuscian Dadi (*temp.* Šamši-Rammânu), and the Assayan Giri-Dadi or Kigiri-Dadi (*temp.* Assur-nâçir-pal and Salmaneser, B.C. 885–854), recall Scyth. Δάδος, Δαδάκης, Δάδαγος, and Old Persian Dad-arsi, Dâdu-hya. The Colchian Dadi-ilu involves the same name apparently. The name of the last king of Hamath, Ilu-bi'di, is probably equivalent to אֶלְבַּהֲדִי, "El with me," or אֶלְבַּעֲדִי, "El around me."

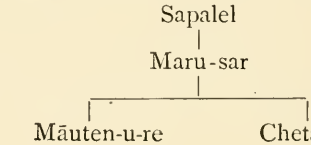
† Kat-aonia is perhaps "home of warriors"; *cf.* Old. Pers. *âyadana*, "dwelling place," with which I would also compare the Adana of Cilicia.

Katazilu. According to Fick, the *katu* in Gallic Catugnatos, Caturix, Vellocatus, Lat. Catullus, Cymr. Cat-môr, Old Germ. Hadu-bald, Hada-mâr, Thracian Cotys, Cotytaris, means "battle"; and "Warriors" is a good tribal name. Kâta, "beloved," is a Zend personal name (masc.), and so is Katu, which is involved in the Parthian Φρανι-κάτης.

Of the Cilician names, Pikhirim reminds me of the Parthian Pacorus (Πάκορος, *temp.* Trajani); Ambaris has the ending of the Persian Bubares (Hdt. VIII, 136), and the Medo-Persian Artembares (Hdt. I, 114; IX, 122). Bares itself occurs as a Persian proper name (Hdt. IV, 203: written Badres, IV. 167). Sandu-arri may involve a term akin to Zend *arrûn*, Arm. *arn*, ἔρραος, ἐρράς, ἀῤῥήν, aries; but a more plausible comparison is offered by the Etruscan Ἄρρος (Dionys. V, 36), Ἄρρους, Ἄρρων, *i.e.*, Aranth, Arunth, Lat., Arruns, Arruntius, the distinctive prefix of a younger son; while Sandašarme, a king of Cilicia (Abp. II, 75), and Sandulitir, a town on the Euxine, equally with Sanduarri, involve the divine title of Sandu, a Cilician divinity, whose name may be connected with the Greek σάνδυξ and σανδαράκη, and so with the Sanskrit *sindûra*, "vermilion." (See Virg. Ecl. iv, 45; Plin. 35, 23). The Lydian Sandanis (Hdt. I, 71) and the Græco-Persian Sandōces, governor of Cyme (*id.* VII, 193), recall the same deity. His epithet Morrheus may be a degraded form of the Iranian Mithras, which appears on a series of Indo-Scythic coins as Miro, Moro, etc. (*cf.* Persian Mihr). As for Sandasarmê, it seems almost to find its double in the Sanskrit Mitraçarman; while the Armenian serm, "seed," prim. serman, suggests that Sandasarmê is a name analogous to Diogenes or Herakleides. Uas-survi (surmê) of Tabal is similar. The inscriptions of Van mention a god Uas.

Prof. Sayce quotes from Apollodorus (III, 14, 3, 1) the legend that "Sandakos came from Syria, and founded the city of Kelenderis in Cilicia, having married Pharnakê, the daughter of king Megessaros, by whom he had Kinyras." The Aryan stamp of these names is evident. Sandakos is an obvious derivate from Sandu, with the common Persian and Greek ending -ka, -kos; Pharnakê closely resembles the Persian Pharnakes; and Megessaros recalls, on the one hand, such names as Megabazus, Megabates, and Megasidras, and on the other, the Old Persian Σεραστασάνης, Siromitres (Hdt. VII, 68), Artasyras (Ctes. IX, 20, 50), Parthamasiris (Dio. Cass. VI, p. 637: ed. Sturz), Sirakes (Σιράκης), a Scythian chief, the Sirakes, a Sarmatian tribe, Syromedia

(Σιρομηδία), a Median district mentioned by Ptolemy, and Oetosyrus, the Scythian Apollo (Hdt. IV, 59), as well as the name of the Cilician river Saros, and the towns Sarsu and Sari of the Karnak lists. The Aryan çara, çira, means "head," "top," "leader" (Armen. sar, "head," "mountain"; New Persian سر; Greek κάρα). I have always felt that the titles of the Ḫetta kings in the Egyptian records were real proper names, and not appellatives; that whatever Ḫettasira and Mārasira might mean, they did not mean simply "king of the Chetta," and "king of the Amorites"; and in this opinion I am happy to have the support of our learned President Mr. Renouf, whose judgment in such a matter is beyond question. Now the coincidence of form between these χetta names ending in -sara, -sira, and the Aryan (Iranian) names just adduced, is striking enough. But a yet more suggestive circumstance may be seen in the fact that the first of the royal χetta-names mentioned by Rameses II actually recurs fourteen centuries later in the Syriac list of the kings of Edessa.* From the old Egyptian texts we get the following succession of χetta kings †:



* Dr. Bezold, who heard this paper read, afterwards kindly lent me his copy of M. Halévy's *Recherches Bibliques* (7e Fascicule). M. Halévy has, it seems, anticipated me in pointing out that a king of Edessa was called Saplûl. If this epithet be simply "le syriaque סַפְלוּל aristoloche," the coincidence between it and the name of the χetta king, can only be accidental. But in all probability neither Sapalul nor Sapalulme has anything to do with the סַפְלָא, a climbing plant supposed to promote child-birth. M. Halévy is inconsistent with himself in explaining Pumame (p. 275) from the Aramean; for he also states (p. 287) that "the Semitic peoples between the Orontes and the Tigris spoke Phenician not Aramean idioms." Most of his suggested derivations are philologically unsound, *e.g.* when he analyses Liburna—Lubarna thus: "*lu* ou *il* simplification de אֵל, dieu, *bar* ou *bur*, qui est le masculin de l'hébreu בִּירָה, forteresse, le suffixe possessif de la première personne pluriel, נוּ—notre." *Bîrah* is more Aramean than Hebrew, and is, besides, a loan-word from the Persian (Pers. *bâr*, *bârû*, "wall," "castle," Gk. βάρις). To derive *Pisiris*, also written *Pisîri*, from פִּשֹּׁר־עִין, is a desperate expedient indeed.

† I quote them from Wiedemann's *Gesch. Aegypt.* (Vol. II, p. 435). Our President has kindly given me the following transcriptions: Sa-pa-re-re (or -le-le), Mā-ur-se-re or Mā-re-se-re, Mā-u-ten-re or Māuterre, and χet-ta-se-re.

Now Dionysius of Tell-maḥrê has the following notice:

"In the year one thousand nine hundred and ninety, there reigned over Urhoi (Edessa), Ma'nû *surnamed Saplûl*, eighteen years and seven months."* The king in question is Arsham, brother of Tigranes I, called by Josephus and Moses of Chorene Monobazus and Manovaz (acc. B.C. 38). And while this late Armenian dynasty preserves thus unexpectedly this remarkable name, the second in the Egyptian series, Marusar or Māursar ("Maura-sira," Marosir, Marasara, etc.), appears to be the counterpart of Sarmaïr, an early king of Armenia, who is said to have been sent by his suzerain Teutamus king of Assyria with an "Ethiopian" army to the help of Priam against the Greeks, and to have fallen in battle at Troy (access. B.C. 1194. See Moses von Chorene: übersetzt von Dr. M. Lauer, p. 53). The inversion of the elements of the name, a process familiar enough in the Hebrew names Ahaziah and Jehoahaz, Elnathan and Nethaneel, may also be paralleled in the Aryan Deva-Mitra and Mitra-deva, Vasu-Mitra and Mitrâ-vasu. The first element in Marusar or Maursar seems to be reduplicated in Marmares, the name of a Parthian king mentioned by Ctesias as contemporary with Astibaras king of the Medes (Spiegel: *Erânisch. Alterth.* II, p. 259); and again in Mermeroes, that of a Persian general of the time of Justinian (*ibid.* III, 412); while the second recurs in Manisares, the ruler of a part of Armenia and Mesopotamia in the time of Trajan (*circ.* 114 A.D.). If we were dealing with Semitic terms, it would be natural to think of the Aramean *mārē*, "lord," in trying to explain the name before us. Mari' was the name of a king of Damascus reduced by the Assyrian Rimmon-nirâri (*circ.* 804 B.C.). But a Semitic etymology being inappropriate, we may think of the widely-ramifying Aryan root MAR "to shine," "sparkle," "flash," and of the stem mâra, "brilliant," "illustrious," which Fick sees in the Gallic Indutio-marus, and the German Mâroald, Mârwin, Wolf-mâr, and the Slavonic Vladi-mîr; or of the root MAR "to pound," "crush," and the Greek *μάρναμαι* "to fight," and the Latin war-god Marmar, Mavors, Mars; or perhaps of the Greek *μᾶνρο-ς* (Hesych.)=*μαρϝο-*, in the sense of "gentle," "mild," (Ahd. maro, maraw-êr, Ags. mearu, mürbe, zart, schwach: Fick), and the Latin family-name Maro, and

* ... (*Chron. Dion. Telmahr.* p. ..., l. 8, *sq.*)

the Gallic chief Maro-boduus. However this may be, the other half of the compound name Maresere or Māursara may obviously be explained by reference to the Zend çara, or sara, which means (1) head, (2) rule, (3) ruler according to Justi, and is identical with the Sanskr. çíras, Armen. çar (sar).*

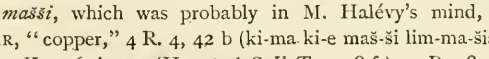
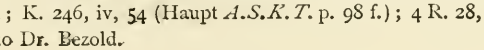
It must not be forgotten, however, that Mar-k is the Armenian name for the Medes of Atropatene (Moses Choren.), and Hdt. (III, 94; VII, 79) names the Mares along with the Moschi and Tibareni, the Colchians and Alarodians, *i.e.*, "people of Ararat," as Kiepert pointed out long ago.

These are not the only names in Prof. Sayce's lists which find an echo in Armenian history, fragmentary as that history is. Menuas (Me-nu-a-še) is probably the same name as the recurring *Ma'nû* of the Syriac list, and, like the Gk. Μίνως and the Zend Manus, and the German god Mannus son of Tuisco (Tac. Germ. 2), would thus mean Man (Sanskr. manus, Mensch, Urmensch: Fick). It is distinct from Manes (Μάνης) the moon-god of Asia Minor, whose name appears in Syriac as Manî (ܡܢܝ). Vaalli, another of the Vannic kings (650 B.C.), is surely a namesake of the Edesseno-Armenian sovereign Wa'al (?), who appears as the 24th king (ܠܐ) in the Syriac (see the list in Assemani B.O. I.). Sarduris may involve the term çira, çar, sar, already explained; while if Mordtmann be right in reading Bagri-duri, we may compare the first half, Bagri-, with the Bakrû (ܒܟܪܘ) of the Syriac list, and with "The wicked Bagris" of *Megillath Antiokos*. Akhš-êri and Êri-šinni (son of Vaallî) both seem to contain the Armenian *air*, "man" (Plato's "Êr the Armenian," Rep. 615). *Akhš-* of the former may be Armen. *ach-k*, Old Persian *akhsha*, Sanskr. *akshan*, *akshî*, "eye"; the *šinni* of the latter may be seen in the Persian Sisinnes, Psusennes. The well-known Abgar is explained as avak-air, "great man," by Moses Choren.

It is not impossible that Gargamis may be a foreign pronunciation of the word which appears in Greek as *pergamus*, with the

* The tall cap or cone on the seal-impression of Tarqûtimmê may, therefore, be read *sar*, without implying that the term is there Semitic. *Vid. infr.* To the above remarks on the name Marusar, I would add another possible connexion, the Zend name Zairi-vairi which Fick explains from zairi, "gelb," "goldig," and vairi, "Panzer." "The golden-mailed" would be a suitable name for a warrior: *cf.* the Gk. epithet χρυσοτευχής. There is also a striking similarity of sound between the Chetta name and the Zend epithet *marâćara*.

meaning "citadel" (*e.g.* of Troy), and as a proper name, like the German Burg and our Bury. In that case, the Heb. Carchemîsh (כַּרְכְּמִישׁ) might be a Semitic adaptation, suggestive of ברך, ברכא, "a castle," "citadel"; the whole denoting, perhaps, "castle of Mîsh," or "Mash." Stephen of Byzantium states that Oropus (Ὠρωπός), the modern Gerābīs, was formerly called Telmēssus, or Telmissus; and G. Hoffmann has remarked upon this: "Es liegt nahe Τελμησσός (auch Τελμισσός) = תלמש zu setzen"; but his note, which mentions that towns in Lycia and Caria, and a river in Sicily, were also called Telmessus, destroys the plausibility of this suggestion. The name is probably Aryan, like Prymnessus, Lyrnessus, Termessus. Moreover, it still remains to be proven that *Gerābīs* is the site of Carchemish; and the Egyptian spellings Qarqamesha Karkamāsha * rather suggest that the Semitized form of the name indicated "town or fort of Chemosh"; compare the Assyrian Kar-Dadda, Kar-Salmanuššir. Tiglath-pileser I actually writes Kargamis, not Gargamis.† Prof. Sayce has suggested a comparison of the ethnic name Gamgumai with the second element in the term Gar-gami-s. This may be right and, if so, the name is certainly Aryan, for Gamgumai (Gamgumâ'a) may be traced to the R. gham, "earth," from which springs the primitive ghaman "man," strictly χθονιός, as seen in the Latin homo, homini-s, humân-u-s; Gothic guma, stem guman-, "man;" old Norse gumi, old High German gomo, como; new High German gam in Bräutigam. Like so many other ancient tribes, therefore, the Gamgumâ'a called themselves,

* Both are found, but in the second form the bracketed vowel is doubtful. Prof. Maspero gives , "Qàrqàmishà," in his interesting tract *De Carchemis Oppidi Situ*. Paris, 1872. Golenischeff copied  Karkamāsha (*Zeitschr. Aeg. Spr.*, 1882, p. 146); a citation for which I have to thank Mr. Renouf.

† With all respect to M. Halévy, "Gargamisha" is *not* the cuneiform spelling of the name; and although, for aught I know, "Garkamish" may have been "la forme indigène," it is, at present, supported by no external evidence whatever. The Targumic *karkhĕmîshâ*, "lead," probably got its name from the town, not *vice versâ*; if indeed it be not, as Levy, *s.v.* suggests, connected with כרכומא, "copper," χαλκὸς, χάλκωμα. And what authority is there for "the Assyrian word *kemashu*, "lead"? The Assyrian term for "lead" is *anaku*, and the expression *kê maššî*, which was probably in M. Halévy's mind, renders the Accadian ZABAR, "copper," 4 R. 4, 42 b (ki-ma ki-e maš-ši lim-ma-šiš). See also Brünnow, 7814; K. 246, iv, 54 (Haupt *A.S.K.T.* p. 98 f.); 4 R. 28, 12 a. I owe the references to Dr. Bezold.

in proud self-consciousness, "Men." If Kummukh-Commagene be not a growth from the same root, I would refer it to the root *kam*, whence we have Zend kâma, "wish," "desire," Huzv. kâmak, Armen. kamim, "to love," kamk, "desire"; a root to which Lassen has referred the Cappadocian Komana (*Z. D. M. G.* x, 377). The final-*k* is a common Persian and Armenian suffix; *cf.* Kamirk, the Armenian name of Cappadocia (=Gomer, Gamer of Gen. x). The Old Persian personal names Artakamas, Artakama, Abrokómas, which also involve the root *kam*, "to love," suggest the same connexion for Kar-kamash; but *cf.* Armen. *gargam gargami*, "bent," "curved." The town may have lain on a bend in the river, or have been crescent-shaped.

Panammu is very much like the Carian Panamyes (Παναμύης); and Sulumal has the same termination as the Carian Kond-malas (Κονδμάλας).

To return to the Egyptian records; T'awat'asa (Brugsch: Zauazas) is not unlike the Carian Ταύσας, and the Sarmatian Zizais (Ammian. Marcell. xvii, 12), with which Zeuss has compared the Persian Τίθαιος (Hdt. VII, 88). "Thaadir," "Thaadil" or rather Tâ-âtar (or Titar) is perhaps related to Old Persian *âtar* "fire"; *cf.* Atrina, the name of a Susian rebel against Darius. If we ought rather to transcribe Titar, the Scythian river Ti-arantus has the same prefix; and -tar, -târ, is a common Iranian suffix, and Ti-asba is a god mentioned in the inscriptions of Van. Tartisbu and Aakitasbu perhaps involve the Iranian *açpa*, "horse"; Pers. *asp*, *asb*. Māt'arima or Māt'arma ("Maizarima") is somewhat like the Median Mazares (Hdt. I, 156, 161); while its second half recalls the statement of Herodotus that *aríma* is Scythic for "one" (IV, 27; explaining the tribal name Arimaspi), the Homeric Arimoi, and the Ermê of Tarqutimmê, as well as the Lydian word ἄριμα, "mountains" (the Zend hara, Old Pers. ara). At any rate its termination is Aryan; *cf.* Sanskr. agrima from agre, "first"; Zend Çairima, the name of a country, from çara "head." As to Kamāit'a ("Kamaiz"), the leader of the mercenaries at the battle of Kadesh, his name may be satisfactorily explained from the common Aryan root kam, "to desire"; Sanskr. kam; Zend kâma, "wish," dat. kâmâica, an almost identical form; Armenian kamk, kamatz; Old Pers. kâma, Pahl. kâmak; Neo-Pers. كام. The ending is the same as that of the Old Persian Vaum-iça, Vomises; a termination referred by Fick to the root ish, içaiti, "to wish," or iç, "to have as one's own"; along with the prefix içat- in Içat-

Vâçtra, a Zend proper name. In regard to the Tarḫu- or Tarqu-, in Tarḫulara, Tarḫunazi, it seems almost to demand comparison with the Roman Tarquinius, and Etruscan Tarchnas, and Virgil's Tarcho or Tarchon, the Etruscan ally of Eneas (Aen. VIII, 506, 603; XI, 727), as well as with the Cicilian Tarcondemus and Tarcondimotus. That the Etruscans were of Lydian origin is stated by Herodotus, who tells us that, in the time of Atys son of Manes, a dearth drove half the population of Lydia to emigrate under the leadership of the king's son Tyrsenus (Hdt. I, 95). It will hardly, therefore, be pronounced fanciful to suggest that the second element in the two names under consideration,—lara, may be akin to the Etruscan praenomen Lar or Lars or Larth, the title given to a first-born son as opposed to Aruns, an appellation of the younger: *e.g.* Lar Tolumnius rex Veientium (Cic. Phil. IX, 2); Lars Porsena (Liv. II, 9). The title appears to have denoted "Lord" (See Otfried Müller Etrusk. I, 405). We are also reminded of the Lăres, deities who in the Etruscan religion appear as guardians of particular towns and localities (Müller, *id.* II, 90 *sq.*), but more commonly as the household gods of Roman families; and of Laran, the Etruscan Ares. *Cf.* also the Asianic town name Laranda ("belonging to Lara"?.)

Our evidence thus far seems to point to the conclusion that the Chetta or Ḫattê of northern Syria represent not a Semitic but an Aryan stock, and very possibly an off-shoot of the original population of Armenia, which might naturally enough overflow in a southward as well as a westward direction. At all events, the names thus far discussed appear to be predominantly Aryan; and to them we may add Pisîris, or Pisîri, king of Carchemish (Gargamis) B.C. 738, which resembles the other names in *-sira*, and perhaps involves Zend *pish*," to "strike," Old Pers. *pis*, or *pesha*, "battle," "slaughter" (*cf.* the Zend epithet peshôçara); Sangara, or Sagara (we see this inserted *n* in Armen. Mindas = Midas), an earlier sovran of the same city, which Prof. Sayce has already compared with the river-names Sagur and Sangarius, and which is perhaps also akin to *sagaris*, a Scythian* and Persian weapon (Hdt. I, 215; Xen. Anab. IV, 4, 16), also used by

* Herodotus tells us (IV, 59) that the Scythians worshipped "Ares" under the symbol of an *acinaces*, or short straight sword; and Lucian (Tox. 38) gives *νὴ τὸν ἀκινάκην* as a Scythian oath. Perhaps the *sagaris* also was a symbol of the Scythian war-god, or of some other kindred deity.

the Amazons (Xen. *ibid.*); Mita, the Moschian, with which Prof. Sayce aptly identifies the Phrygian Midas, and which is also a Zend participle; and Ursâ, the Armenian, whose name echoes the Persian Arsâmes (Old Pers. Arshâma), and the Parthian Arsaces, which, like Khsayârsa and Dadarsi, involve the term *arshan* "man." The name of Sapalulmê (vê) the Patinian (B.C. 854), which rings like that of Sapalul, the Chetta contemporary of Ramses II, and that of Sapat'are his brother, as well as the name of the town Khisasapa, may involve the word Sabos (Σαβός, Steph. Byz. s.v. Σάβοι), an equivalent of Sabazius, a Phrygian god identified with Zeus and Bacchus (*see* Hesych.).

Païsa ("Pais") has an Iranian ending (*cf.* Parsa, "Persia"; Vomises, Wu*m*'isa), and may be akin to Zend paêça, "form" (root pîç), whence the old Pers. Pisiya-uvâda, the name of a district; the Zend personal name Piçina; and the old Pers. Cais-pis (Fick).

Târḳatât'asa ("Thargatha-zas") is curiously like Targitaos, the mythical ancestor of the Scythians (Hdt. IV, 5), and the obscure Thāigarchish, an Old Persian month; and several other names preserved in the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments involve what looks like the same element, Tarḳa or Tarqu. Thus we have the town Tarḳael,* taken by Seti I, and Tarqûtimmê of the famous seal-inscription. With Prof. Sayce, I believe it highly probable that this Tarḳa, Tarqu, is identical with the Tarḫu in Tarḫu-lara and Tarḫu-nazi (princes of the Gamgumâ'a and Melidi-Melitene, towards the end of the eighth century B.C.); and I would compare the term with the Parthian *torkis*, "king," which seems to be involved in the name Sanatrucius (Σανατρούκιος—Σανατρούκης) or Sanatroices (Σανατροίκης).† Spiegel has observed that the names of the Parthian kings are all "érânisch," with the exception of this one, which is still unexplained.

* The two apparently related names Tarḳan and Tarḳannasa ("Tharganunas," or "Thargannas") seem to indicate the root tark, "to twist," "squeeze"; *cf.* the primitive tarkana implied by the Greek ταργάνη, σαργάνη, "plaited work," (Hesych.); Old Pruss. tarkne, Binderiemen; Ksl. trakŭ, Band, fascia (Fick). But "Tarchan" or "Tarkan" was the title of a high dignitary among the Turks and Bulgars. (Ταρχάν, Menandr. p. 384; Ταρκάνος, Const. Porphyr. *de caer. aul. Byz.* Reiske, p. 393; quoted by Zeuss, *die alte Deutsche und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 726.)

† See Joh. Mal. Chronogr. (ed. H. Hody, Oxford, 1691, p. 351), according to whom Meerdotes (Μεερδότης = Mithradates) king of the Persians invaded the eastern border of Rome in the time of Trajan, and dying, owing to a fall from his horse, ἐποίησε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Σανατρούκιον Ἀρσάκην ὅ ἐστι

(Gramm. der Huzvâresch-Sprache, p. 8. Vienna, 1856.) G. Hoffmann (Auszüge aus Syrischen Acten Persischen Märtyrer. p. 185. Leipzig, 1880) says that this Arsacid royal name occurs also in the age of the Sassanides, and cites *βασιλεὺς τῶν Ὁμηρίτων Σανατοίρκης*, from Theoph. Byzant. Phot. Bibl. 64. I incline to connect *tor-kis* tar-qu with the Armenian *dēr* (tair) "lord," with which I would also compare the Gk. tyr-annus; *cf.* Armen. *deran*, adj. The -k is then afformative. At the same time, it is a curious fact that the Tirhaka of the Bible, the Egyptian Taharka, is also called Tarqû (tar-qu-u) by Assurbanipal (Smith's Abp. 15, 52); and it must not be forgotten that an Assyrian or Egyptian, in reproducing foreign names, would be likely to assimilate them to forms with which he was more familiar. The result of such a process is sometimes a complete disguise of the original name. Further, as I have tried to show elsewhere,* Prof. Sayce's lists present some names which are most probably Semitic, *e.g.* Hamath, Kadesh, Khilbu (Haleb), Piâunuel (a Penuel?), Atbana, Ataḳar, Atuḳeren; to which we may add Dadilu from the Assyrian list, as is clear from the spelling da-di-i-lu, *i.e.* "Dadi is god," דדיאל, which is related to the Hebrew אלדד, as Nathanael to Elnathan. The same mixture appears in the original sources; Tiglath-pileser II, for instance, enumerates the princes of the land of Ḫattê who paid him tribute in 738, as follows (3 R 9, 50 *sqq.*), Kuštašpi of Kummuḫ, Rezon of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, Sibitti-baal of Gebal, Urikki of the Kûâ'a, Pisiris of Gargamis, Eniel of Hamath, Panammu of Samahla, Tarḫulara of Gamgumâ'a, Sulumal of Melidi, Dadiel of Kaskâ'a, Vassurmê of Tabal, etc., ending with Zabibieh, queen of Arabia. Here we have, as Schrader notes, a medley of Asianic and Semitic personages,

βασιλέα, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ· περσιστὶ δὲ Τορκὶμ βασιλεὺς ἑρμηνεύεται. One of this king's generals was called Gaggaris (Γάγγαρις), or Gargares (Γαργάρης).

Volkmar (Das Buch Judith, p. 81) thinks Sanatrucis means "Mit-Regent"; *cf.* prep. sama, hama, *σὺν*, *σάν*. But perhaps sana- is the element we see in Sanskr. Sanaçruta, Sanaka, Lat, Seneca.

Suidas: II, 2 p. 677: *Σανατρούκης*, king of Armenia.

Seder Olam Rabba (p. 122 f., ed. Genebrardus, Basileae, 1546) inserts a סנטרוק between Seleucus and Antiochus.

John Mal. XI, p. 357. Trajan slew Sanatrucius King of the Persians, and Parthemaspates succeeded.

* In my paper entitled "The New Hieroglyphs of Western Asia," in the *Church Quarterly* for July, 1885, p. 271, and *Proceedings*, Feb., 1887.

The names thus far selected from the lists are not all which suggest Aryan comparisons. "Sirasvi, king of the Babarurai," for instance, reminds one of the Persian Seroshvai, and "Arta-sirari" leaves little doubt of its Iranian character. Another king of Nahri, "Parusta, of the Cimarusai," bears an obviously Iranian designation; *cf.* the Zend Pourusti, and the Old Pers. Parysatis. "*Aramis*-sarilâni," "Aram," "Arame," recall Aramaïs or Armaïs, Aram, and Ara, among the mythical early kings of Armenia;* and may, further, be related to Iranian proper names like Armaiti (Sanskr. Aramati), Ara, Armamithres. "Ardara, of Ustassi" may be compared with the Lydian Ardys, and the Zend ardu, "mild," which appears in Old Pers. Ardumanis, and Sanskr. ṛdu, "mild," ârdra, "moist." Lastly, as to the word *kamru* or *kamlu*, which Prof. Maspéro has stated must be the Chetta term for "house," it presents no difficulty as an Aryan term, but appears to be identical with Zend *kamara*, Arm. *kamâr*, Phryg. κίμερος, Lat. camera, "vaulted chamber"; while the "bek" in Sathekh-beg, Suki-beki, and Baal-bek, may be compared either with Sanskr. *bagha*, Zend *bagha*, Old Pers. *baga*, Huzv. *bagh*, Phrygian βαγαῖος, "God," or with Sanskr. *bâgha*, "share," "lot," "luck," "good fortune," Zend *bagha*, Armen. *bagin*, "portion," "piece." Baal-bek, in the latter case, might mean much the same as Baal-gad, or it might denote "Baal's portion." The name Bakhiani may also be connected with bagha, bagh, "God." Sargon mentions Bagadatta as a ruler of Melid; and Strabo tells us the south of Cappadocia was called Bagadaonia ("home of the gods").

* It is possible that other names already discussed are explicable from the Armenian. Thus Maresere resembles *meraser*, "of our nation," nostras; and Chettasere may be Chettaeogenes, "Hetta-sprung" (ser', "kind"). Or the termination of both may be -sēr, "loving," as in *zavagha-sēr*, "loving one's offspring." Mautenure or Motour may perhaps be compared with *matenauor*, "book-man," Beauclerc, or *motauor*, vicinus, propinquus; and Sandu-arri with *aryev*, "sun," or *ari*, "valiant." Sapalul may involve a term cognate with *lour*, "news," "fame," "voice," or with *lir*, "fulness," *liouli*, *lievli*, "full," "abundant"; and the termination of Sapalulme resembles that of *ash-mē*, from *ash*, "right-hand," *tsach-mē*, from *tsach*, "left-hand," and the pronominal *im-mē*, *ur-mē*. Sapa-t'are may involve *dzarai*, "servant"; and Irchu-lini, the name of the last king of Hamath, may be compared with *arḫai*, "king," and *lini*, "he becomes," "is made." Bakhiani may be simply Armen. *bagean*, Theognis.

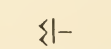
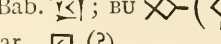
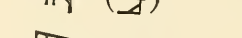
NEW READINGS OF THE HIEROGLYPHS FROM NORTHERN SYRIA.

By Rev. C. J. Ball.

In attempting the problem of decipherment, I have ventured to make some use of the linear Babylonian, taking the forms almost entirely from the fragment of inscribed marble here presented as a photograph, and comparing the Cypriote syllabary, which I believe to be related to the Babylonian script. The following table will, I think, go far to justify this belief; and may, perhaps, be considered interesting for its own sake, independently of the object for which it was constructed, as bearing on the question of the origin of the Cypriote syllabary.

	Linear Babylonian.	Cypriote.
A		The Babylonian sign is, apparently, doubled for symmetry.
I		 ; *cf.*  *yi.*
U		 The Babylonian sign doubled.
KA GA	 *	 *ka.*
GE		 *ke.*
KU		*ko.*
TE		*te.*
TI		*ti.*
PA		*pa.*

* This character is turned upside down.

	LINEAR BABYLONIAN.	CYPRIOTE.
PI	 (Animal's head with ears erect?)	 *pi.* (The two ears alone?)
PU	Ord. Bab.  ; BU  Linear (?)	(?) *pu;*
LU (M)		 *la.*
LU		*lu;* *lo.*
RI		 *ri;* *re.*
IR		
RU	 (Sargon I)	 *ru.*
UR		
MI		 *mi.*
	 IM	*me.*
MU		 *mu.*
NU		*nu;* *no.*
VE	 (ME)	*ve.*
SA	 (ŠA) (A cup or bowl.)	 *sa.*
	 IS	
SE	 ŠE (An ear of corn.)	*se.*
SI	ŠI	*si.*
SU	ŠU (? the fist)	*su.*
	UŠ	
ZA	(four)	*za;* *zo.*

THE SEAL (?) OF TARCONDEMUS.

The small round object known as the "Boss of Tarkondemos," of which we possess only a cast, has been suspected by some antiquarians, and rejected by others. But whatever may be thought of the "original" thin silver plate, it is difficult to suppose that the inscriptions upon it were mere forgeries. It is much more likely that they were copied from some genuine antique. The latest handling of the hieroglyphs on this object, which we may perhaps take to be the impression of a seal, is that by M. Golenischeff in last month's *Proceedings*. Prof. Golenischeff's treatment of the problem is, as was to be expected, both fresh and instructive; but it appears to be defective in the following respects:—

(1) It somewhat misrepresents two of the six characters;

(2) It misapprehends the order of the characters, and misapplies the *boustrophedon* arrangement which distinguishes the sculptures;

(3) It takes no account of the nearest analogies, but assigns values to the characters on purely *à priori* grounds, which are not exhaustive of the probabilities of the case; *e.g.*, the last three signs might conceivably be *dim-mi-i;*

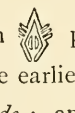
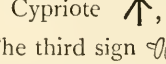


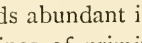
(4) And, like other attempts, it assumes too exact a correspondence between the Assyrian transcription of a foreign name and the name itself.

The first thing we notice on examining the two identical groups of hieroglyphs is that they are each divided into two smaller groups of three by the sign  in front, and by the sign  behind the figure. As this sign occurs elsewhere (Gerab. III) thus , without the small projection, we may assume that the small addition indicates the end of a word or syllable, in this case the end of the proper name. The characters behind the figure appear to present a better arrangement than those before it, the projecting arm and lance making it necessary to place the in an unusual position. The small line, however, marks the end of the sign, and the fore-finger of the figure seems actually to point to this sign as following the two nearest the head.

If now we take  for the royal name, how shall we apportion the values suggested, on the one hand, by the Assyrian transcription Tarqûtimmê, and, on the other, by the Greek transcription Tarkondemos? In connection with this question I have already pointed out (*Proceedings*, March, 1887) that DARA, DARAĠ, is an Accadian term for antelope, the Assyrian *turâḫu*, and Syriac *tārōḫā* (*see* Syll. S^{b} 377). We may further compare the Greek δορκάς, now called ζαρκάδι, and the by-forms δόρξ, ζόρξ, as also the Sanscrit *ṛça* (= arka, irka? according to Pictet), and the Greek ἴορκος and ἴυρκες, which last is explained by αἶγες ἄγριοι. The antelope's head may be taken to signify the sound *tarkhu;* and the difference between this and *tarqu* (*cf.* Tarḫulara) is not to be insisted upon (*cf.* Old Persian *Khushuja* = Greek *Kossaioi;* Latin *Tarquinius* = Etruscan *Tarchna*, and the adj. *Tarcontius*).

We may also suppose that the antelope's head sometimes had the shortened pronunciation *tar;* in fact, it does not require any great effort of imagination to see in the old Babylonian sign , *tar*, the remnant of an outline of such a head, with the horn slanting backward at the top.

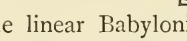
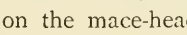
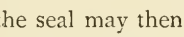
The second sign  presents some likeness to the Babylonian , *di*, of which the earliest linear form would be , and to the linear  *de;* and the form is not altogether remote from Cypriote , , *ti;* I therefore assign to it the value DI.

The third sign  () may be compared with Cypriote  *ma*, and perhaps with Babylonian , *u* (*wa*?). The Cypriote syllabary affords abundant illustration of a similar transition from the stiff straight lines of primitive writing to more elegant curvilinear forms. Prof. Sayce has suggested to me that Cypriote , *mo*, may preserve a trace of an older form of this sign (?). I thus read the name TARKHU . DĪ . MA.

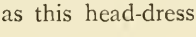
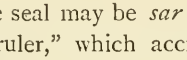
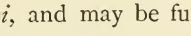
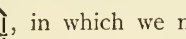
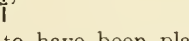
Of the three signs in the second group

 or 

the tall cone or cap, by its relative size and position nearest to the royal figure, demands attention first. Prof. Golenischeff makes it about the same size as half of the double sign  which stands

beside it. A glance at the woodcut of the seal will make it clear that he is wrong. Even in "Jerab. II, 1, 1," to which he appeals, this sign is considerably taller than the other; and in that place there is an obvious reason for making it somewhat shorter than here. Professor Sayce has already identified this symbol as the royal head-dress, signifying "king," and the use of it on the Gerâbîs inscriptions seems to establish this conclusion. The shape of the symbol, however, as contrasted with the  of Gerâbîs, may suggest a comparison with the linear Babylonian  or , as it appears on the mace-head of Sargon I. The cross-bar of the character on the seal may then indicate the junction of the sign , GAL, "great," with , LU, "man." (The Babylonian sign must, of course, be set upright, as in other instances, though in this case reversely.) I do not, however, lay stress on this last suggestion, as this head-dress is similar to that of the figures at Boghaz Keui.

The word indicated on the seal may be *sar* (*çar*); *i.e.* the Aryan *çiras*, *çara*, *κάρα*, "head," "ruler," which accidentally agrees with the Semitic *sar*, Assyr. *šarru*, "king"; or it may be some other term of like import.

The second sign in this group, , corresponds very well with the linear Babylonian , IR, the later , and the Cypriote , *ri*. It must be read *towards* its opening, as appears from the similar characters of Gerab. I. The third sign, , closely resemble the Cypriote , *mi*, and may be further compared with the old Babylonian , in which we may suppose one half of the original figure  to have been placed above the other in order to avoid the appearance of two characters. As the Accadian word thus symbolized meant "darkness," the hieroglyph perhaps pictured mountains, and referred to the effect of mountains in casting shadows and shutting out the light.

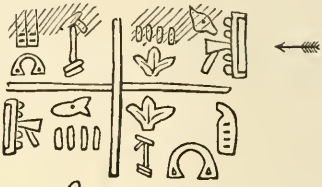
Thus the second group may be transcribed SAR-ER-MI. Now the Cuneiform of the rim ought probably to be read ME(VE)-E TAR-QU-U-TIM-ME SAR MI (?) ER.* I transcribe the ideogram for "country" by MI, assuming that the Cuneiform text is not Assyrian, and comparing

* See an admirable paper by Mr. A. Amiaud, ZA, I, 1886, p. 274.

Gerab. I, 1, D and Gerab. II, 1; and I suggest as a tentative translation: "The noble Tarkhudima, king of the land of Er." With VEE compare the Armenian *veh*, "great," "noble;" and with SAR, the Armenian *sar*, "head," "summit." For the first element in the name Tarqutimme, see my former paper, pp. 11, 12; the second may be referred to the Armenian *tima-gh*, "face," "presence," or *time-l*, "to run."

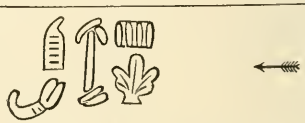
THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GERÂBÎS.

In the best preserved of the fragmentary inscriptions from Gerâbîs, we have the following groups of signs:—

Line 1, col. 3 and 4: (*a*) 

Line 2, col. 3 and 4: ⟶ (*b*)

Lines 4 and 5, col. 1: ⟶ (*c*) 

(*d*) 

In a second inscription from the same place we have:—

Line 2: ⟶ (*e*) 

Line 3: (*f*) 

A third inscription gives us in its opening line:—

(*g*) 

The arrows indicate the direction of reading, which, as was pointed out long ago by Dr. Hayes Ward, is *towards* the faces.

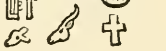
Now a little consideration will make it evident that in these six groups of characters we have an identical expression repeated; and that this expression is a proper name, followed by an hieroglyph denoting "king," is a natural hypothesis to proceed upon. We have already agreed to assign the value of "king" to the tall cap, which reappears in the present inscriptions at the end of our groups. The characters preceding it may, therefore, contain a royal name. Now the third of these characters is , also written , and  , which last reminds us of the  of the seal. Accordingly we may suppose that it has the same value, viz., MA. Similar variations of form abound in this rude and uncouth script; sometimes to the extent of almost obliterating the identity of equivalent characters. The next character in the lines which I have marked (*a*), (*b*), (*d*), is , which appears in (*f*) under the more elaborate form of  This is evidently a plant of some kind; and the form in (*a*), (*b*), (*d*), is sufficiently like that of the Cypriote character , which has the value *se*, to warrant comparison. This comparison and the inference which follows from it is strengthened when we further compare the linear Babylonian  ŠE, originally ; and remember that ŠE, *še'im*, means "ear of corn." *Cf.* also the linear Bab.  ZIK, a jar or vessel for containing grain.

The next character in (*a*), (*b*), (*d*), (*f*), is the common  (or : but the stone is so worn in the last place that I cannot be sure whether the sign there is  or). With this it is natural to compare Cypriote , , which has the value *ti*; and the linear Babylonian , originally , which has the same value.*

* As TI meant "life" in the presemitic language of Babylonia, this figure may perhaps be compared with the symbol , so frequent on Phœnician monuments; and this, again, with the *Frôhar*, or *Fravashi*, the guardian spirit of Mazdeism, whose symbol on the Sassanian coins is  and . The original of this emblem is clearly the winged representation of Ahuramazda, as seen above the head of Darius at Behistun. The symbol occurs on the body of the horse of Chosroes II at *Takht-i-bostan*, figured in Rawlinson's *Seventh Mon.*, p. 612; and other things which recall the supposed Hittite symbols may be seen in the same well-known work; *e.g.*, the standard of Varahran IV is this:  which is very much like the so common at Boghaz-Keui; while the form of another standard there  resembles the of the Sassanian coins

Thus we get MA-SE-TI for the second half of the name as it is divided in (*c*), (*d*). It remains to consider the first half, which is written  or . The character  resembles the linear Bab. , , RA; and the symbol which follows, and which I take to be a closed hand with the thumb extended, reminds me that the Babylonian sign ID, IT (), originally represented a hand (*see Trans.*, VI, 2, 470). The Cypriote , , , *ta*, , , *to*, , , *tu*, may perhaps be compared, and the Egyptian  *ṭ*, is at least a coincidence. In Armenian *ṭaṭ* means "palm" of the hand or foot (*cf.* Egyptian *ṭet* or *ṭot*, "hand"). Mr. Rylands, however, considers the symbol to be an animal's head, viz., that of a hare (Turk. *ṭa-wshan*); but the form in Gerab. II especially seems unfavourable to this view. Assuming the justice of these comparisons, we conclude that the first half of the royal name in our first and second inscriptions is RA-TA, or, sounding the inherent vowel before the R, AR-TA, the well-known element in so many names of Iranian origin; and the whole designation AR-TA-MA-SE-TI, or Artavasdes, the name of an Armenian (Arsacid) sovereign, contemporary with Tarcondemus of Cilicia, the friend of Mark Antony.

This reading of (*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*) (*f*) is confirmed by (*e*). Here we have the important variant:—



That is to say AR-TA-MA-AZ-DA-(?)

The animal's head in the fourth place, instead of the plant  seemed awkward for my view, until, with Mr. Rylands' help, I had determined from an examination of the stone itself that it was the head of an ibex, with a much larger horn than appears in the lithograph. This gave me the appropriate value AZ, which I inferred

and sculptures; *cf.* also the ornament on the crown of Isdigerd II (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 310), where the orb of the sun is placed *above* the crescent moon, as in the emblem at Boghaz-Keui. The mural crowns and the eagle head-dress of the Sassanian sovereigns present other curious parallels; and the long streamers attached to the diadems of Artaxerxes I and his son Sapor (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 65) are wonderfully like the supposed royal head-dress of the stones from Hamath.

from the Zend *aza*, *iza*; Pahlavî *azî*; Pers. *azarik*; *c.f.* Sanskrit *aǵâ*, Greek *αἴξ*; Armen. *ayz*; and even the Heb. עֵז, Arab. عنز, Phenician *ἄζα* (Stephen of Byzantium).

Of the last two characters, the upper one is pretty clearly , although both are much defaced. In my former paper I inclined to the value D (DA, DI, or DU?) for this character, and the present case seems to require it. The shape of the last sign can hardly be determined at present; it may be  or . I have, therefore, written a (?), instead of suggesting a value.

The third inscription furnishes yet another variant. The form of the characters differs remarkably from that which we have just considered; but the name appears to be substantially identical. If our former conclusions hold, there can be little difficulty in recognizing AR-TA-MA(VA)-AZ in the group (*g*); and Artavaz is a legitimate contraction of Artavasdes.

Ger. I begins with the group . The inscription on the lion with .

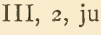
The second group omits the head and arm, a sign clearly analogous to the Egyptian hieroglyphs denoting speech, action with the mouth, etc.

We may assume the identity of these two groups and restore  in Ger. I; see line 3, col. C, line 5, col. D (=  of Merash =  of Ger. III). This expression then will be either a verb or a verbal noun denoting some kind of speaking or speaker; and we note in passing that it is important as indicating the order in which the signs must be read, viz., *always from top to bottom*, as in the proper name already deciphered.

At Ḥamath we have instead . Hence it appears that the head and arm are equivalent to  or , as might be expected in a hieroglyphic script.

We have already assigned the values NI or NE and MA to the first two signs. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that

the Aryan root NAM means "to bow down," and that Zend *nemañh*, Pahl. *namaz*, means "salutation," "homage," "worship;" *cf.* Turkish *nemazin*, "prayers."

Lastly, Ger. II begins with a conventional form of the head  corresponding probably to the head with protruded tongue of Ger. III, 2, 4; and this is followed by a long vase or phial  much resembling some familiar Assyrian examples, and repeated in Ger. III, 2, just before the royal name. This vase would therefore seem to have the value NI or NIM. It is at least curious that the Old Babylonian , primitive , NI (Assyrian *šamnu*, "oil"), probably represents an oil-flask. The open neck of the phial suggests the *pouring forth* or utterance of speech.

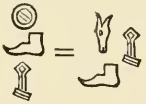
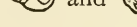
What is the value of ?

Gerabis I, 2 D, has  between  and the royal name. In 4 A we have instead .

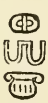
But Ger. III, 3 has in the same position only . We infer that  =  or .  appeared to be *da* or *ṭa* in Ger. III, 2 (the royal name); and  may be compared with Cypriote  RE or  SI. This gives the value TAR or TAS for or . Now on the Marash lion we have (line 1) the groups  and  and in the second line  all forming part of one and the same proper name.

That the goat's head has the value *tar* we have already inferred from the Boss of Tarcondemus; and the plant  clearly has the

* This character is really , though the cross-lines have left very little trace of themselves on the casts.

same value as the  of Ger. I, and the  of Ger. III, viz. ŠE, or perhaps AŠ, EŠ. The latter value will give AŠTAR or EŠTAR for . Now as  it follows that  and  being probably a determinative prefix, we conclude that  is written phonetically in the second group by the signs which follow it, viz. . Now the Persian for "ass" is *astar; cf.* Armenian *êsh*, *ishean*, *ishear;* Turkish *èshek* (mule *èsstèr*). Thus the foot appears to have the value AS or ES, and  the value TAR; and the three groups are variously written *D.P.* AS-TAR-TAR-R, *D.P.* AS-TAR-AS-TAR, and ASTAR-AS-TAR-AŚ-TAR. (As  or  and  = *da*, *ṭa*, we see that and  and its variant on Ger. III must involve R.)

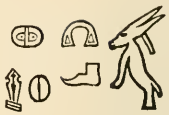
The first word on the lion's back  thus appears to be NE-MA-TAR, perhaps "worshipper."

We may now consider the first half of the royal name, which immediately follows this opening word. It is . I think this, which occurs also in H I, 3, is DADI, written thus: DADI-DA-DI. Elsewhere we find  *god* DADI-DI* (front of the lion, line 2; Tyana, line 3).

 resembles the linear Babylonian form of DA.

Dad-astar combines two well-known names of Oriental mythology, viz., Dadi or Hadad, and Ištar or Ashtoreth, *i.e.*, the sun and the moon or Venus. *Cf.* 'Attar-'athé, Atergatis.

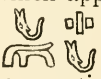
* The sign for the god Dadi is apparently a serpent (*see* Hamath I). The serpent is a well known symbol of life.

On the front of the lion, line 2 *ad fin.*, we see  Applying the values thus far supposed, we read "the goddess TAR.MA.R.AŠ."

That the  follows  is clear from Ger. I, 3, D,  as well as from its position on the casts. The hare appears to be the symbol of the goddess of Marash. (Ashtar-Cybele?)

Lastly, Hamath V has the groups  (line 2);  (line 3 at the beginning, and again in the middle); and (in the first line of the so-called Hamath IV)  This deity is DE.VA.AS.TAR. The first element, *deva* or *div*, may be compared with Zend *deva* "demon," and Armen. *di-k*, *di-tz*, *di-otz*, "false god."

In the first group it is written *god* DE.MA.AS.AS.TAR, in the second *god* DE.MA.AS.AS.TAR.TAR; in the third *god* DE.MA.AS.AS.TAR. The redundancy will not surprise those who are familiar with the general peculiarities of hieroglyphic scripts.

In Ger. III, 2, the royal name and ideogram are followed by two signs which appear to denote "country," after which we have the group  that is, if I am right in seeing in the repeated symbol a conventional form of the bent arm (an identification accepted by Professor Sayce), and in the second sign an equivalent of the Cypriote  *me*, AR-ME-NE-AR, "the Armenians."* This is again followed by the ideogram for "king"; and this by three symbols (a club and two forms of the extended arm) which may represent the Armenian word *vazrouk*, Old Persian *vazraka*, "strong."

* The symbol transcribed ME appears identical with the fifth sign in II, I, II, III. It has been called a grasshopper, but is perhaps a bee (Armenian *me-gou*; *cf.* Greek *melissa*).

Ger. II, 1, gives the reading SAR AR-MI MI-III. The head of the sheep (not calf, much less bull) seems to indicate AR or ARA or perhaps UR; *cf.* Sanskr. ur-ana, Zend ar-rûn, "sheep" ("ram," "ewe"), Pahl. varéh, Armen. arn, Pers. ar-ran, Greek ἀρν-ός. The second MI is broken at the top, but not so as to destroy its identity. The symbol ||| which follows it may be the numeral III (Armenian er, err, eri, er-ek); or it may be the sign of the plural, like the Egyptian 𓏺𓏺𓏺. If MI be the symbol for "country," MI-ER may mean "country of Er"; *cf.* Plato's "Er the Armenian" (Rep. 615).* But perhaps MI-MI is simply a redundant writing; and AR-MI-ER means Armenians. In Ger. I, 1, D, we have only SAR MI ER-R, "king of the land of ER."

Decipherment apart, I regard these results as fairly established :—

(1) The inscriptions are to be read *towards* the faces (this has been denied by a recent writer);

(2) Symbols placed one above the other are to be read vertically downwards from top to bottom, and this order is invariable;

(3) Like the Egyptian, the character is partly ideographic, partly phonetic, and often highly redundant;

(4) The important inscription Gerabis I is to be read continuously across the four columns marked A, B, C, D in the photograph. This is evident from a comparison of line 2 C, B, with line 5 A, B. No single line, therefore, is complete.

I may here make my acknowledgments to Mr. Rylands for much patient assistance in determining and copying half effaced symbols; and to Mr. Pinches for information respecting many of the Linear Babylonian characters.

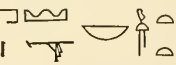
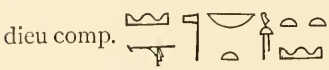
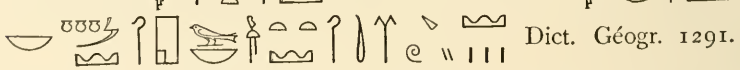
* The name Armenia is ARMINA in the inscription of Darius, and NA is perhaps a mere termination, as in the personal names Piçina, Atrina.

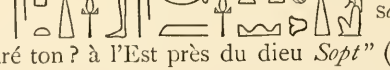
ON THE WORD SEB OR KEB.

Charlottenburg,
le 4 *Mai*, 1888.

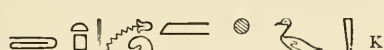
Très-cher et honoré Collègue,

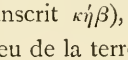
Je profite du départ d'un jeune savant allemand qui va se rendre à Londres pour vous communiquer une observation assez curieuse. Il s'agît du mot  dont le sens mythologique n'est pas soumis à des doutes, mais dont la lecture *Seb* ou *Keb* demande de nouvelles preuves. Voici un exemple qui milite en faveur de *Keb*. Parmi les nombreux textes qui couvrent les murailles du temple d'Edfou, il en est un dont la science doit la publication à Monsieur le Chevalier de Bergmann (voir ses "Hieroglyphische Inschriften," planche lxvii). Il commence par des conjurations et maledictions adressées à l'ennemi du dieu solaire. L'auteur inconnu de l'inscription s'est efforcé, à cette occasion, à donner à sa composition le caractère poétique, particulier à l'époque Ptolémaïque, par le moyen de l'alliteration. Vous allez reconnaître l'exactitude de mon affirmation par l'examen des premières phrases du texte en question :

a.  Ḥi mn-*k* *m* *ȧ*mn*t* *χr* Ḥu, "est refusé ton débarquement à l'ouest près du dieu *Hou*" (Divinité très-connue comme patron du septième nome de la basse Égypte, dont la métropole porte le nom de ; pour le dieu comp.  Mar. Dend. IV, 79—  Dict. Géogr. 1291. L'identité de avec est prouvée par de nombreux exemples.)

b.  sopt ȧbs-*k* ab*t* *χr* sopt, "est préparé ton ? à l'Est près du dieu *Sopt*" (dieu tutélaire du nome de l'Arabie, le vingtième de la basse Égypte et titulé des centaines de fois).

c.  RÂ PeGS*k* *m* Pe χr RÂ, "est donné que tu sois craché au ciel près du dieu *Ra*."

d.  KB TO*p* *m* TO χr KB, "est doublé le crachement (?) contre toi sur la terre près du dieu *Keb*."

En étudiant la dernière phrase, quelque soit le sens qu'on voudrait lui attribuer, on se convainc que l'allitération de , c'est-à-dire  *kb*, en copte ⲕⲱⲃ, au passiv ⲕⲏⲃ, duplicare, duplicem esse, correspond très-exactement à la prononciation *keb* (en grecque transcrit κήβ), mais non à *Seb* du mot qui sert a désigner le dieu de la terre.

Agréez, cher maître,* l'assurance de la plus haute admiration de

Votre fidèle collègue,

H. BRUGSCH.

À Monsieur LE PAGE RENOUF.

* Haud equidem tali me dignor honore.

It would be egregious folly to forget that Dr. Brugsch had produced works of the highest permanent value years before any one of the Egyptologists now living had written a line. These works have been indispensable guides to all of us, and if in the interests of science some of us have occasionally to dispute some of his conclusions, we should never forget that it was from his hands that we have been furnished with the weapons we wield against him.

P. LE P. R.

Account of the Manner in which two Colossal Statues of Rameses II at Memphis were Raised.

By Major Arthur H. Bagnold, R.E.*

Immediately to the east of the village of Mîtrahîneh (ميت رهينه), which occupies a portion of the ancient site of Memphis, situated about fourteen miles south of Cairo and on the west bank of the Nile, is a large depression which retains the waters of the inundation until the end of February. This depression, thought by some to be the site of the Sacred Lake of Memphis, probably however only indicates the position of the Great Temple of Ptah, for in the course of excavations, of which I will speak presently, the pavement of the temple, or its court, was found in the centre of, and eight feet below the surface of the depression. The elevated road which forms the approach to the village runs east and west along the south side of this basin, and immediately to the north of this road was discovered a colossal statue of Rameses the Great, doubtless one of those spoken of by Herodotus and Diodorus.

The discovery was made by Messrs. Sloane and Caviglia in the year 1820, and an excellent cast was made of the head: this cast is now in the British Museum. (*Vide Plate.*)

The Colossus, which when found was resting on its face, is carved from a single block of fine crystalline limestone, closely resembling marble—very dense and compact, with fine veins of quartz running through it.

This stone may have come from the quarries at Feschn or from those at Old Cairo.

The figure is unfortunately broken off below the knees, and the searches hitherto made for the feet have proved fruitless. We may, I think, assume that they were broken up and burned into lime by the Arabs when the ruins of Memphis were ruthlessly destroyed to find material for the construction of Cairo.

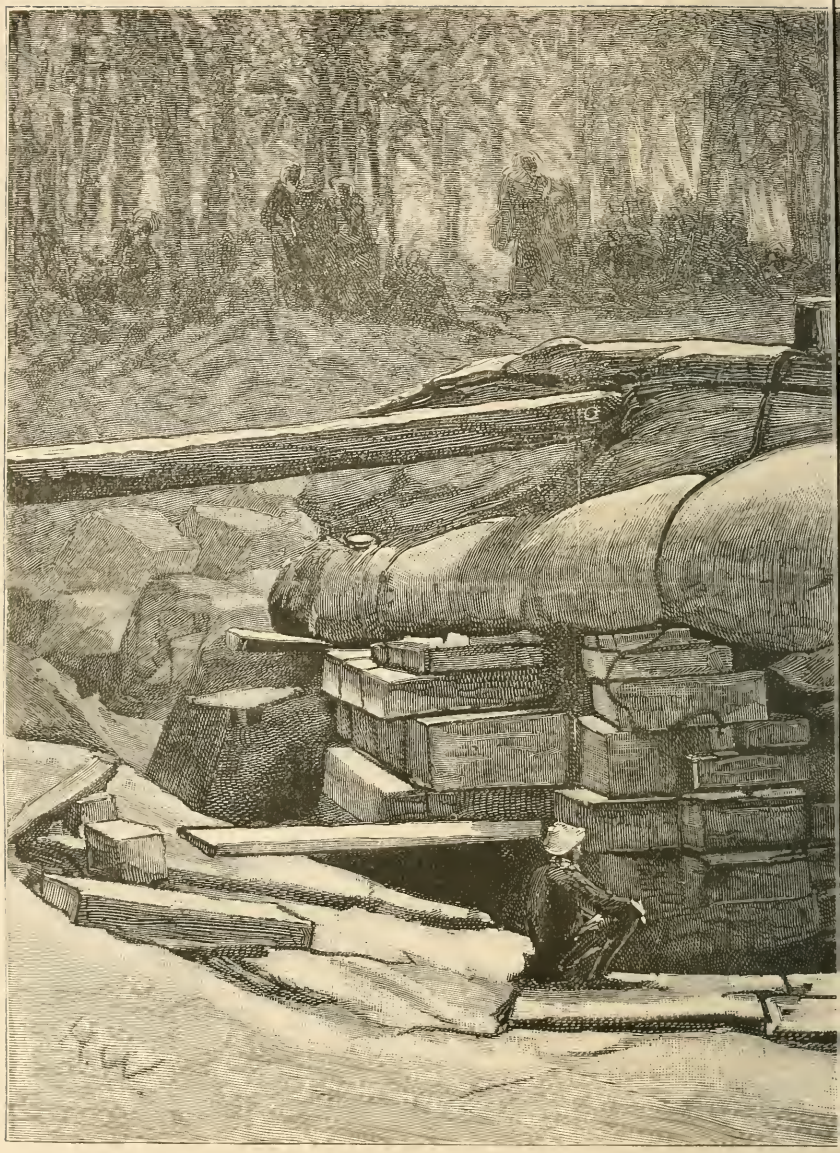
* The Society is indebted to Major Bagnold for the use of the blocks illustrating this paper, some of which he has had specially prepared.



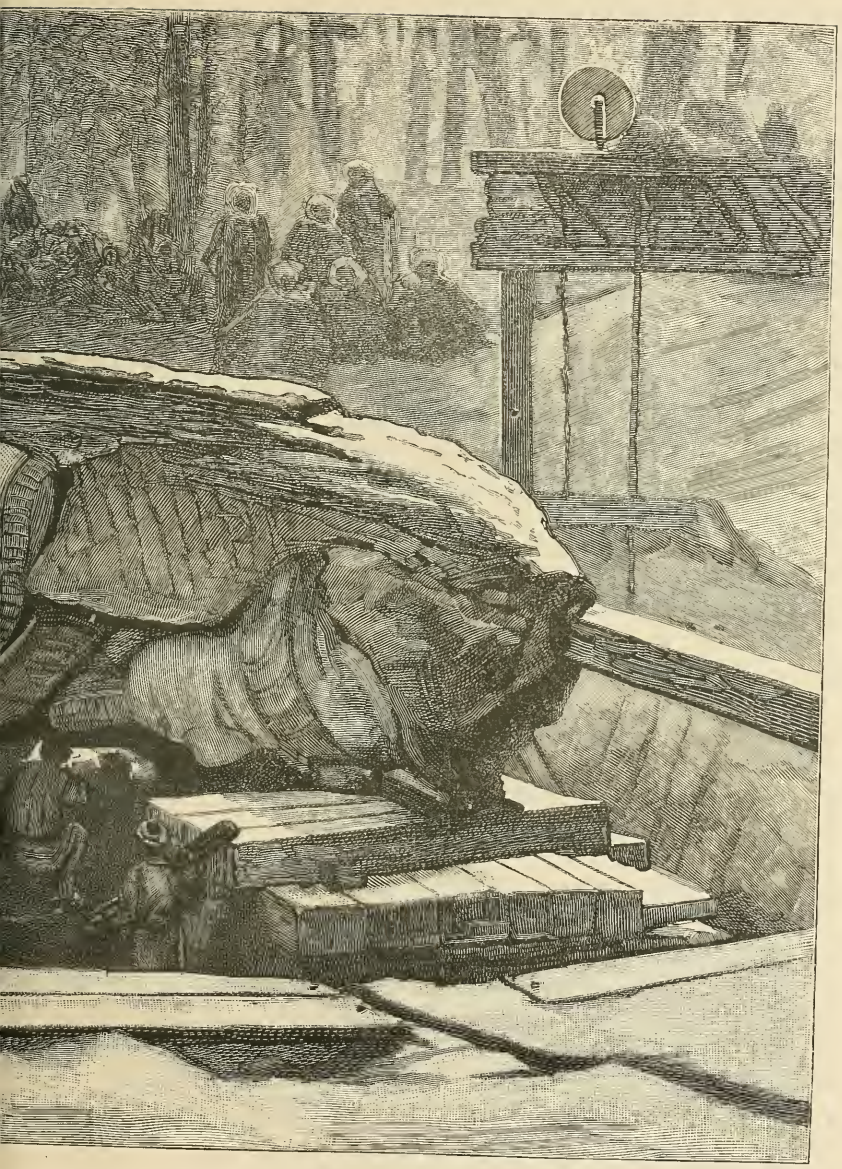
Colossus of Rameses II as it lay in the Water, befor



WAS RAISED, FROM A DRAWING BY HENRY WALLIS, ESQ.



COLOSSUS OF RAMESES II DURING THE PROCESS OF



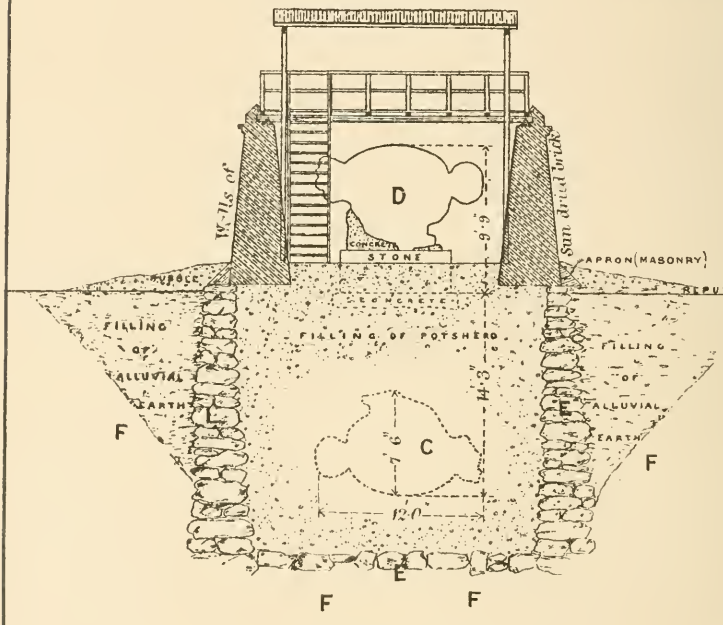
ISING, FROM A SKETCH BY HENRY WALLIS, ESQ.

BUILDING

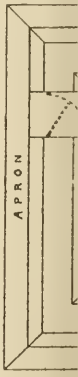
FOR PROTECTION OF C

RAMI

SCALE



SECTION ON LINE A-B



C. *Represents approximately the original position of Waist of Statue (face downwards)*

D. *Represents the present position of waist of Statue. (face upwards)*

E. *Stone packing to separate potsherd from Alluvial Soil*

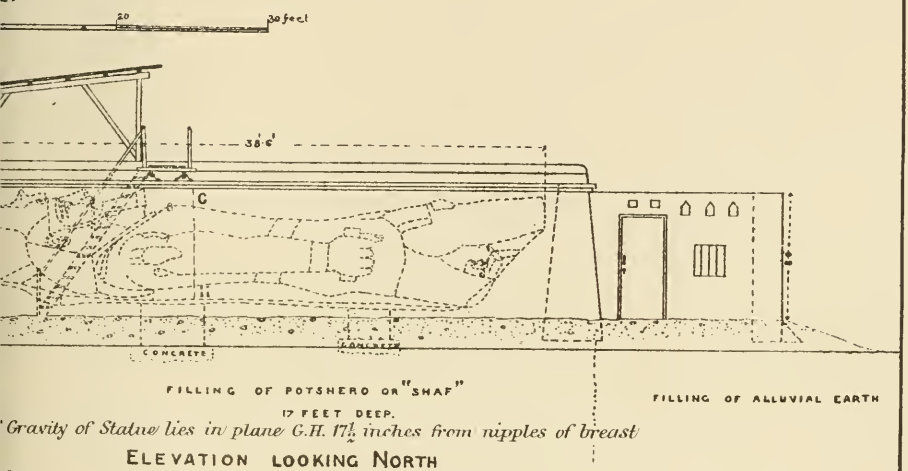
F. *Alluvial Soil, partly deposit and partly embanked*

MITRAHEENA,

OSSAL STATUE OF

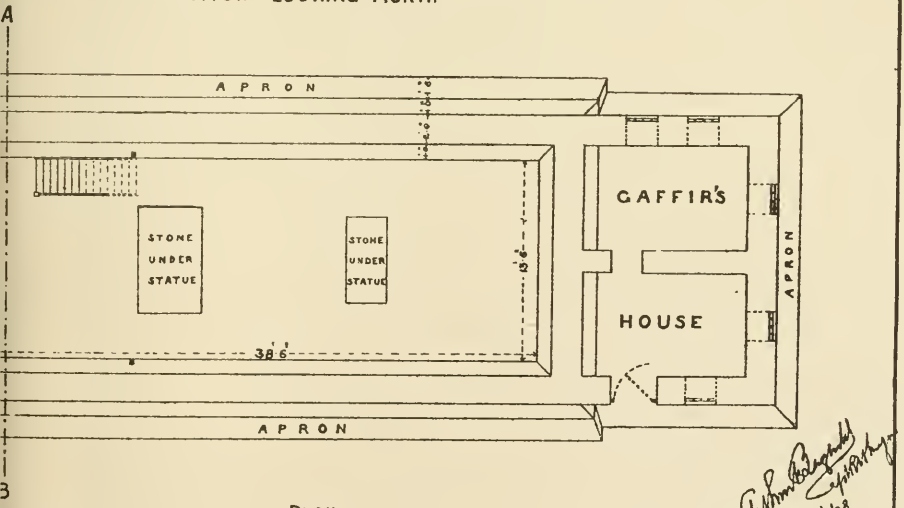
ES II.

ET



Gravity of Statue lies in plane G.H. 17½ inches from nipples of breast

ELEVATION LOOKING NORTH



PLAN

8/8/88



HEAD OF THE COLOSSUS OF RAMESES II, FROM THE CAST IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



Colossus of Rameses II, Reduced from a Photograph.

I have not succeeded in tracing any account of the original discovery by Messrs. Sloane and Caviglia, but a tradition is recorded in the guide books* that this magnificent piece of statuary was presented to the British nation by Muḥammad 'Âli, on condition, however, I believe, that it should be removed.

As the Colossus in its present mutilated state weighs close upon 100 tons, the condition was never fulfilled, and for fully sixty years tourists have seen only a weathered portion of the back emerging from a pool of water. Fully assured that this shapeless mass of limestone was the celebrated statue, they and their donkeys have passed on to visit the more interesting Necropolis of Saḳḳâra.

Mariette says of this statue† :—

"The statues of Rameses are so common that Science would attach no importance to this one were it not that the head, modelled with a grandeur of style which one never tires of admiring, is an authentic portrait of the celebrated Conqueror of the XIXth dynasty."

He also says :—"There is every reason to suppose that it stood facing North against a pylon" . . . "A second Colossus must have corresponded with this one on the other side of the entrance."

I cannot agree with these latter remarks; the remains of the pedestal foundation (now buried) clearly indicate that the statue faced *either East or West*, and the fact that the back was boldly decorated with hieroglyphics, does not support the idea of its having stood *against* anything; this would obviate the necessity of its having stood by the side of an entrance, and consequently of there having been a fellow to it.

Two attempts have been made to raise the heavy mass into a position in which it could be examined and inspected more easily: one by Mr. Garwood, then Locomotive Superintendent of the Egyptian Railways; the other by Mr. Anderson, C.E., on behalf of a nobleman who is now dead, but whose name I have unfortunately forgotten. Neither of these attempts were successful, mainly owing to the fact that the appliances at the disposal of the engineers were not sufficiently powerful.

General Sir F. Stephenson was, from the commencement of his command, particularly anxious that this "Art Treasure" of the British nation should be rescued from its undignified position, and

* Baedeker's *Lower Egypt*, p. 361.

† *Itinéraire de la Haute Égypte*, p. iii, and note 1.

in the early period of the English occupation a somewhat crude proposal was made to haul it into an upright position by means of ropes and chains.

In January, 1887, *The Graphic* published a sketch * by my friend Mr. H. Wallis. The sketch represented the art treasure correctly as seen by the majority of tourists, and all that was shown of the statue resembled a sort of stone crocodile basking on the surface of a pool of water.

The accompanying letterpress taunted the British army with inaction in the matter, and our gallant General forthwith informed his Commanding Royal Engineer that he wished the statue raised.

The execution of the work devolved upon myself. It was first intended to erect the statue *in sitû*, but in spite of some very handsome donations from H. H. The Khedive, Their Excellencies Nubar Pasha, Tigrane Pasha, Yakûb Pasha Artin, General Sir F. Stephenson, &c., &c., the funds obtained by subscription did not reach the amount necessary to carry the project into execution, and a more limited programme was adopted.

Work was commenced on the 20th January 1887; the hole in which the statue lay was pumped out by means of two shadûfs kept going night and day.

This hole, the excavation made by the original discoverers, was 100 feet long by sixty feet wide at the top; the statue measured thirty-eight feet six inches in length and twenty-seven feet in girth, and its head was considerably lower than its legs. The centre of the back, showing the faint remains of hieroglyphics on a large scale, was six feet nine inches below the average inundation level, the statue being seven feet six inches thick at this point.

On the 31st January I arrived at Bedrashên (البدرشين) in a steamer, bringing with me a corporal and two sappers of the Telegraph Section, Royal Engineers, under my command, to act as foremen. In the steamer we brought 200 fir blocks each 12″ × 12″ × 12′ 6″, 300 railway sleepers, two 20-ft. baulks, four 8-ft. baulks, a chain pump with horse gear, two 30-ton hydraulic jacks, four 40-ton hydraulic jacks (kindly lent by the Governor of Malta), two 100-ton hydraulic jacks (lent by the Railway Administration of Egypt), twelve double-headed iron rails, and a variety of other tools and appliances,

* Now reproduced with this paper.

camp equipment and materials,* including apparatus, &c., for placing our camp in telephonic communication with Cairo.

By the 4th February the pump was in good working order, and a platform of crossed sleepers got in under the head.

After much jacking down of this platform into the mud, and much driving of wedges, the head was raised one inch.

Gradually as we got the weight little by little on platforms of crossed sleepers, the excavation under the statue proceeded from the head towards the legs, until the 19th February, when it was level† both ways, and the whole weight was resting on our timber platforms bedded in the mud.

A large excavation was then commenced in search of the missing feet, and the lifting process was fairly commenced.

The number of native workmen varied from 10 to 30 according to requirements, exclusive of a small army of village boys which was employed collecting broken potsherds from the ruins of Memphis hard by. As each timber support was removed the vacant space was filled up with this material finely broken up and punned down.

The first vertical lift of three feet took us ten days, at the end of which period we abandoned the search after the feet as useless. A camp was formed at Mîtrahîneh on the 28th February, and having collected a good supply of potsherd we commenced lifting again on the 4th of March. Pumping ceased on the 11th March, and by the 16th April the total lift was seventeen feet, the process having been continuously the same. The legs and head were alternately raised about two feet at a time. Three supports or piers of timber blocks and sleepers were employed, and so arranged that any one of the three could at any time be removed to allow for the getting in of the potsherd beneath the statue.

Some 500 cubic yards of this material closely packed and rammed formed a bed about 40′ × 20′ in plan, on which the Colossus rested. The surface of this bed was now level with that of the adjoining road. Four side struts and one head strut were employed to steady the mass laterally and longitudinally as it rose, and on these struts rough gantries of rails were arranged to facilitate the shifting of the weighty jacks.

* A complete list of these appliances will be found in an appendix at the end of this paper.

† A second sketch by Mr. H. Wallis, afterwards published in *The Graphic*, and representing the statue at this stage of the work, is reproduced with this paper.

The native workmen directed by the Sappers showed much intelligence in the works, and used English wheelbarrows, picks and shovels to good effect.*

About 200 yards to the north-east of the spot where the work described had been carried on, there appeared above the surface of a depression in the soil the left shoulder and crown of another Colossus of pink granite. This Colossus was discovered by Hekekyan Bey in 1852 when excavating for the London Geological Society. It is smaller than that before referred to—weighing only about sixty tons—is broken off above the ankles, and its nose is mutilated; but as I considered it quite worth getting out of the reach of the waters of the Nile, I volunteered to move it for the Bûlâq authorities, and to this end M. Grèbaut provided a sum of £20 from his slender budget.

The work was commenced on the 17th April, and proceeded simultaneously with that on the limestone Colossus, to which we will now return.

As the subsoil water was now getting low, a well was commenced, and a brickyard started to produce 100,000 sun-dried bricks for the construction of the enclosure wall to protect our work.

The right side of the limestone statue was gradually lowered 48° until the stumps of both legs were level. Greased skidding was placed under head and legs, and on the 6th May we pushed our friend twelve feet to the southward to allow for the completion of the turning movement. Pushing at him with jacks on the south side, with a good bed of sleepers under the right arm, he reached the vertical on the 13th May, and struts and jacks having been properly arranged on the north side to take the weight, the statue lay over 10° in that direction by the evening. This was a very delicate operation, but was performed by my able foreman, corporal Sleigh, assisted by sappers Sharpe, Peckham, Christmas and Boswell, without a hitch. In this position were taken the full-length photographs, one of which is reproduced with this paper.

In five more days he was lowered successfully on to his back, and was much in the same position as now.

* I mention this, as many European engineers in Egypt maintain that the native workmen are unable to make profitable use of European tools and appliances, more especially when carrying out earthwork: a selected Egyptian Fellâḥ will when properly shewn, however, wheel a barrow with good effect.

Subsequently, two very large stones which had formed part of the ancient pedestal were placed under the statue, as shown in the plate; these stones were themselves bedded in cement concrete, the statue itself being bedded in concrete upon the stones.

A strong enclosure wall was then built of sun-dried brick. At the east end of the enclosure a small two-roomed house was constructed for the use of a watchman (or غَفِير). Doors with strong locks were provided for this house and for the enclosure. A staging or gallery easily approached from within the enclosure by a flight of wooden steps was erected above and across the end of the beard.

From this gallery the magnificent proportions of the statue can be well viewed.

A sun-shade of galvanized corrugated iron was fixed over the breast and head, and finally a notice in English and Arabic, painted on the door, fixed a tax of two Egyptian Piastres (about 5*d.*) on all visitors. This tax is collected by the watchman, and forms his sole reward for continuous attendance and for executing such minor repairs to the enclosure as may be necessary from time to time. The plate represents the final disposition of the work.

I will now return to the second Colossus of pink granite.

In removing the earth and *débris* on each side of the monolith we came down upon a floor of large blocks of stone through which the Colossus had crushed in its fall. This is the floor I referred to as indicating a temple site.* The back of the figure is quite flat and incised in very bold hieroglyphic cartouches and titles of Rameses the Great.

The getting out of this statue was a comparatively simple affair. First, after sufficient excavation, we jacked it over on to its flat back, then raised it and placed it on oak rollers running on sleepers. It was then partly pulled with wire tackle and partly

* M. Grébaut proposes to gradually trench up the whole of this site, and it is expected that many interesting discoveries will be made. The operation is a difficult one to arrange, as the site forms the principal maize-field from which the village of Mîtrahînch obtains its supplies of that cereal. A narrow strip will have to be taken up annually and compensation paid—the half of this strip will then have to be excavated and the earth thrown out on to the other half—this earth being thrown back into the excavation before the inundation.

pushed with hydraulic jacks some sixty feet up an incline of one in seven. A gentler slope was then reached, and it was found that the oak rollers crushed, and greased skidding had to be substituted. A rough road was cleared southward to the summit of a neighbouring hillock (كوم), in reality a mud-brick ruin. Hauling tackle was then alone employed. To a wire strap passed round the beard were secured two treble 8-inch blocks, a flexible steel wire hawser* (about as thick as my little finger) was rove through these blocks and through two double and one single block secured as far ahead as possible. This gave an initial power of 12 to 1. Both ends of the hawser were brought out to crab capstans, each worked by four to eight men. The progress of our sledge and its burden varied from five to fifty-seven feet per day, and on the 25th June the statue was in position, having been moved 130 yards horizontally and lifted vertically twenty-three feet five inches. It was then bedded down on three supports, so arranged that the inscription on the back can be easily inspected from below. The crown was placed upright beside the statue, a life-size double bust of Ptaḥ and Rameses, found in process of excavation, keeping it company.

The statue is of pink granite from the Aswân quarries, and has been covered all over with a fine skin of lime (چونا), which was probably used as a basis for pigment of some kind.

The crown and part of the forehead are in a separate block, weighing about $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons, but unfortunately a slice has been wedged off the lower end of the block, probably to form a millstone.

The block was originally secured to the head by a huge mortice and tenon joint.

The cartouches on this statue are almost precisely the same as those on the limestone statue, but the pectoral ornament shows signs of having been cut over some other ornament, so that it is probable that the Colossus has been misappropriated.

The wristband of the right arm still bears the original red and yellow pigment with which the cartouches had been decorated.

The right hand grasps a seal of office (described by some as a scroll).

The left hand holds an object which I take to be a purse.

* Composed of 6 strands round a central hemp core, each strand being made up of 12 steel wires, each ·032 in. diameter, themselves laid round a hemp core.

On the right side of the left leg is carved a small figure of a son, probably Meri-en-Ptaḥ, and on the left side of the leg is a very beautiful life-sized carving of Bent Anat, her name and titles being fully set forth.

M. Grébaut has had a plaster matrix made of this carving, and has promised me a cast for the British Museum.

A large quarry crack extends diagonally through the left arm, and the dovetailed slots in the granite show that metal cramps have been employed to prevent further mischief. Further excavations will probably bring the feet to light.

Yet another monument was rescued from the alternate action of the Eastern sun and the waters of the summer flood.

A stela of the XXVIth dynasty measuring $10' \times 5'\ 2'' \times 2'\ 6''$, and weighing ten tons, was dragged up from the low ground and erected facing the north beside the granite Colossus. This stela is thus described by Mariette :—"Apries had increased the endowments of the temple of Vulcan, and had enlarged the temple itself, for the service of which he had made several lakes or canals. The stela was intended to preserve the remembrance of those benefits."

I have not given a detailed account of the limestone Colossus, as the photographs and sketches will speak for themselves.

A few hints as to the gear necessary for moving heavy weights may however prove useful.

In lifting or pushing there is no machine so handy as the *hydraulic jack*, which, if once in good order, can be manipulated by any native of ordinary intelligence.

For packing, *railway sleepers* are very handy. *Short blocks* of fir ten to twelve inches square, and thirty to thirty-six inches long, are exceedingly useful for building up supports. They can be built up like bricks in a wall. These sleepers and blocks should however be carefully cut to uniform sizes, otherwise difficulty and delay is experienced in the building up.

Oak pieces are necessary to distribute the strain of a jack over several sleepers, and to use between the jack-head and the object moved.

Sawyers dogs are necessary to bind the timber pieces, &c., together. *Iron rails* can be advantageously used for a variety of purposes. In hauling, whether up hill, down hill, or on the level, I think that greased skidding is superior to rollers, especially on soft ground. Hemp rope is of little use for heavy work. *Flexible steel*

wire hawsers are superior in every way. They run well round blocks, and grip well on a capstan, do not stretch, and are very reliable when of good quality.

Blocks should be specially selected to suit the cordage used, whether of hemp or steel. *Hooks on blocks are risky* good strong eyes with shackles are infinitely preferable. Some *stranded steel wire* (say 3-strands of 18 S.W.G.) is very handy for making straps and binding generally.

For hauling on cordage, whether of wire or hemp, nothing in my opinion, beats the *crab-capstan*, which should, however, be made as light and portable as possible. (This class of capstan is much easier to fix than is a winch.)

An *hydraulic pulling-jack* would also at times be of great use for short heavy pulls.

It seems to me a wicked waste of money * to employ scores and fifties of natives to shout and haul on tackle, when a few picked men can do the same work with a winch or capstan or jack.

Let us now consider the ultimate destiny of the two Colossi now reposing on their backs at Memphis.

The pink granite Colossus is, I think, very fairly secure where it now lies. The Egyptian Department of Antiquities intended to build an enclosure around it, and I hope this work is either done or in progress. As its nose is mutilated, I do not think it will suffer much from the natives, and the tourists will have some difficulty in incising the hard Aswân granite.

The beautiful figure of Bent Anat carved on the left leg is well worthy of careful preservation, and with this view I was particular to impress on the natives of the neighbourhood that this carving represented that daughter of Pharaoh who rescued their prophet Mûsa from the waters of the Nile. It is not my fault if they now think that any damage done to her face will cause the image breaker to be smitten with blindness, his first-born to die, and his women-kind to be barren.

As to the limestone Colossus, no pains or expense should, if necessary, be spared to prevent any possibility of further mutilation.

The excellent state of preservation of the face and body and right side renders this work of art almost unique.

* The method generally in vogue in the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, for want of a stock of suitable appliances.

Many have wished that it should be re-erected *in sitû*. To my mind this would be an absolute folly. To rear up a huge figure of a man so that it would be conspicuous to many densely populated villages of Egyptian Musselmans would be to court its destruction, for it must be remembered that it is not superstitious ignorance that causes them to injure such works of art, but it is rather that they are driven to such acts by the puritanical anti-idolatry which is at the very root of their religion.

There is no engineering difficulty in shipping the Colossus to England. It is no more difficult to handle than is a 100-ton gun, and I do not think the move would be a very costly one if properly managed.

But on arrival where should we put it? I do not think that such a weight would be allowed over the London streets. Again the money already spent (some £280) was subscribed on condition that this art treasure of the British nation should remain in Egypt, and if we decide to remove it from Egypt we must commence by refunding this money, a proceeding which would cause much offence. The stream of sentiment on this question is running very strong. I understand that there is actually a probability of the New York Obelisk for example being brought back to Alexandria.

The Bûlâq Museum buildings are not suited for the reception of objects of the height of our Colossus. Perhaps some day, however, the Bûlâq Museum will be either removed or greatly enlarged. Would not this masterpiece of the Nineteenth Dynasty then more fitly keep company with the splendid portrait of Chephren, and with the Shêkh-El-Beled, rather than with the dismal surroundings of our smoky city?

For the present therefore let us leave well alone. Our art treasure might yet be further protected where it now rests. Further embankments might be made to ward off the effects of a very high flood. A more suitable and permanent structure might be built, and the statue entirely protected from the fierce summer sun.

Perhaps three years' residence in Egypt has made me somewhat Egyptian, but I must confess that I think we should do better to urge the reorganization of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, than to endeavour to bring any of Egypt's choicest monuments to these shores.

Why should not all the existing monuments of Egypt be

gradually rescued from the ever rising floods of the Nile—from the summer sun—the damp night mists, and the driving sand ?

I contend that by judicious enclosing, and by the imposition of fairly heavy fees on tourists * visiting these monuments, funds could be obtained to maintain a real conservancy.

It is, I venture to think, our direct duty as occupiers of Egypt to promote action in this direction, and if by my humble efforts at Memphis I shall have in any way encouraged others to pursue the course I have just indicated, I shall then look back upon my work with justifiable pride and pleasure.



APPENDIX.

List of Camp Equipment, Tools, Appliances, and Materials employed in raising the two Colossi at Memphis.

ARTICLES.

Camp Equipment.

	No.
Bedsteads (portable), bedding, camp kettles, chairs, tables, &c., for 4 Europeans.	
Tents, Indian pattern, Double-Pole (Cotton)	1

Tools.

	No.
Carpenters' tools, complete in chest sets	1
Masons' tools, complete, in chest sets	1
Axes, pick	10
Bars, boring, $1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6'$	2
,, crow, 5′	2
Bars, crow, 4′	2
Hammers, sledge	6
Mauls, wood, iron-hooped	10
Stones, grind	1
Tape, measuring	1
Vices, standing, 36 lbs.	1

Appliances.

	No.
Barrows, wheel...	12
Blocks, "Bothway's," 8″ single	1
,, ,, ,, snatch	1
,, ,, ,, double	2
,, ,, ,, treble	2
,, malleable iron, 4″ double	2
,, ,, ,, 5″ snatch	2

* Messrs. T. Cook and Son took 800 tourists up the Nile during the winter of 1886-7 ; everyone of these probably visited Memphis *en route*, besides many more hundreds who made the excursion from Cairo.

	No.
Buckets, iron, galvanized, ...	4
Cans, water (for filling jacks)	2
Carts, Maltese	1
„ tip	2
Cordage :—	
Hemp, tarred, 6″ fathoms	20
„ „ 3″ „	250
„ „ 1½″ „	113
„ white Manilla 2″ „	120
Hemp, spunyarn, 3-thread lbs.	10
Steel, flexible. 1½″ fathoms	113
Capstans, "crab," frames, etc.	2
„ „ bars	4
Chain-cable, ¾″.... fathoms	4
Drums or reels, for wire rope....	1
Dogs, iron, sawyers', 12″	40
Gauges, pressure, hydraulic (to indicate to 3 tons per inch)....	1
Hose-pipe, india rubber, ¼in. yards	10
Jacks, hydraulic (Tangye's) 30-ton	2
Jacks, hydraulic (Tannett and Walker's), 40-ton	4
Jacks, hydraulic (Tangye's) 100-ton	2
Ladders, light, 15ft., in 2 pieces	2
Pumps, "Bastier," chain, 2½in. with horse gear, to lift 20ft.	1
Rails, iron, double-headed, with chairs....	12
Rammers, iron-headed	6
Rollers, oak 3′ 6″ × 6″	60

Materials.

Cotton waste	50
Cement, Portland barrels	as required.
Grease, cart or wagon.... cwts.	2
India rubber sheet, ¼″ thick lbs.	10
Iron, galvanized, corrugated, sheets	30
Lead, red lbs.	4
Lime cwts.	as required.
Nails, iron, spike 8 in..... lbs.	10
„ „ „ 10 in..... „	20
„ „ cut, 2 in..... „	10
Oil, Rangoon gallons.	2
„ sweet „	6
„ kerosine „	6
Screws, for wood, 1½ in. doz.	6
Tallow, Russian lbs.	100
Timber, fir :—	
Blocks, 2′ 0″ × 12″ × 12″	200
Baulks, 20′ × 12″ × 12″	2
„ 8′ × 10″ × 10″	4
Plank, 9″ × ½″ ft. run.	150
*Sleepers, 7′ × 10″ × 7″	300
Timber, oak :—	
Pieces, 5′ 0″ × 11″ × 5″	6
Wire, steel, galvanized, 3-strand, 18 S.W.G. cwt.	1

* Wedges were made from these as required: one sleeper being cut into four wedges.

The above list is intended as a rough guide for any person who may set out to raise or move some heavy monument.

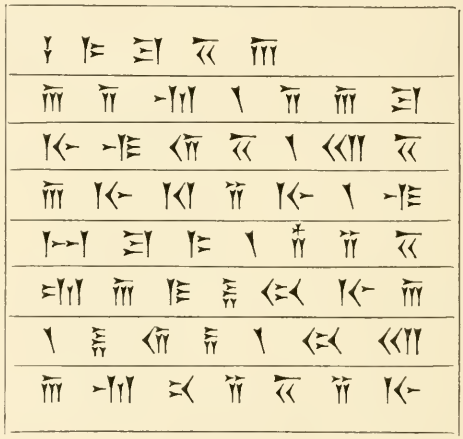
ON A BABYLONIAN WEIGHT WITH A TRILINGUAL INSCRIPTION.

By E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A.

There is in the Babylonian collection of the British Museum a green basalt weight of the time of Darius for 2 manas, 1 shekel; it is inscribed with a trilingual cuneiform inscription in Persian, Susian, and Babylonian. So far as I know it is unique. The object measures 2 × 1⅝ × 1¾ in., and is numbered BU. 257; it weighs 2,573 grains Troy.

The texts read:—

I. Persian.



Transliteration.

1 II K(a)-r(a)-sha-a

2 A-da-m \ Da-a-ra

3 ya-va-u-sh \ Kh-sha-

4 a-ya-th-i-ya \ va-

5 z-ra-ka \ V-i-sh

6 ta-a-s-pa-h-ya-a

7 \ p-u-tŭa \ Ha-kha-

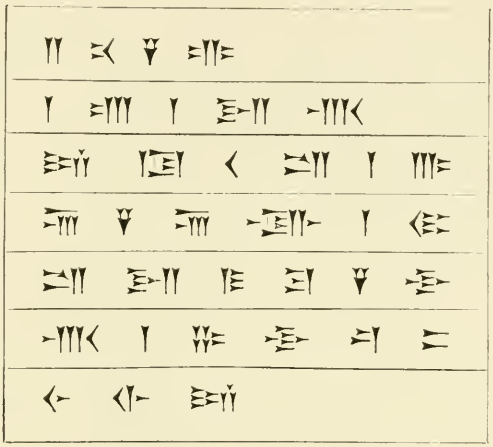
8 a-ma-ni-i-sh-i-ya

That is, II Karashâ (?). Adam Dârayavaush Khshâyathiya vazraka Vishtâspahyâ putŭa Hakhâmanishiya.

Translation.

"*Two I (am) Darius, king great, Hystaspes' son, the Achaemenian.*"

II. SUSIAN.



Transliteration.

1 II No(?)-ša-m

2 I U Da-ri-

3 ya-va-u-š ko(?)

4 ir-ša-r-ra Vi-

5 iš-ta-aš-ba ša-ak-

6 ri A-ak-ka-man-

7 n(i)-ši-ya

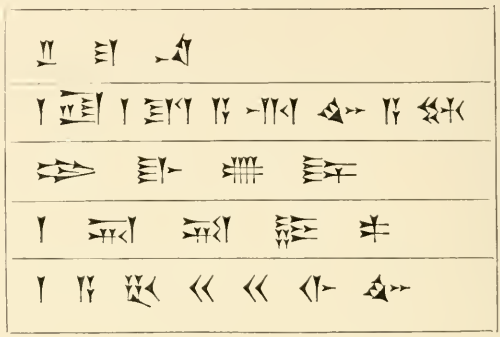
That is, II Nošam(?) I u(?) Dariyavauš ko(?) iršarra Vištasba šakri Akamanišiya.

Translation.

..... *Darius, king great, Hystaspes' son, the Achaemenian.*

The transliteration is chiefly that laid down by Norris. According to Dr. Oppert the ideograph for 'king,' 𒈗 should be read *unan* or *sunku*. See *Le Peuple et la Langue des Mèdes*, p. 46.

III. Babylonian.



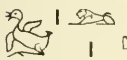
	Transliteration.	*Translation.*
1	𒐐 ma-na	*Two-thirds of a mana,*
2	I ṭu 𒹭 Da-a-ri-'i-a-vuš	*one shekel. Darius,*
3	šarru rabu-u apil	*king great, son of*
4	𒹭 Uš-ta-az-pa	*Hystaspes,*
5	𒹭 A-ḫa-man-niš-ši-'i	*the Achaemenian.**

* 'Achaemenian' is here spelled as in the inscription from Kermân, l. 4. See Bezold, *Die Achämininschriften*, p. 81.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE EXODUS GEOGRAPHY.

By Max Müller.

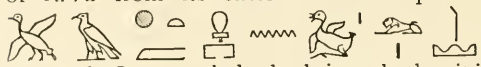
I need not explain how difficult, from the want of monuments and the nature of the country, is the geography of the whole Delta of Egypt, and especially that of the western part, about which the most celebrated Egyptologists are very little in harmony. M. Naville's excavations have now fixed an important point as certain, and enabled us to draw conclusions for the geography of the eastern frontier, which is so important and interesting also for the unlearned, because of its connection with Biblical traditions, and, above all others, with the much discussed and difficult question of the Exodus, or at least the geographical traditions for it. For it is even now not more determined than the land of Sukkot, at the end of the Wadi Tumilât, and with the following attempt to fix another point in the frontier-line, I can give nothing else than some preparatory remarks for future studies.

No town of the eastern Delta frontier has greater importance than  *θa-ru*, which was not only its largest town, but also the principal point for the defence of the entrance to Egypt, therefore also for the military and mercantile roads to the East. Some remarks about it I was obliged to make in the essay on the great stele of *Ḥar-m-ḥebe*,* in which is contained the remarkable fact, that in the time of this king *θa-ru* was a predecessor of the later Rhinocolura as a colony of deported criminals, who were marked by the cutting off of their noses, and probably settled, not in the town itself but in the eastern country around the little forts. For the situation of *θa-ru* I could and can give no indication. Brugsch wished to identify it with Tanis—Zo'an,† and has repeated his opinion very frequently but with no convincing reason. Dümichen, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 258, *sequ.*, has refuted it definitively, and it seems to be given up

* At this moment under the press for the *Aeg. Zeitschrift*.

† The most unsustainable of all comparisons is that with צוֹעַר, צֹעַר Ζωάρα, Ζηγώρ, which is so well known to have been situated in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. And how can an ע be inserted?

also by others. But the position at the end of the Wadi Tumilât (Dümichen's map, p. 242) is not to be maintained after Naville's discoveries, which certainly would have shown some indications of the neighbourhood of *Oa-ru*, had it been near the country of Sukkot.

Apparently it must be situated in a more northern country and not too far from Pelusium, because behind *Oa-ru*, the land both of civilized Canaanites and nomadic Bedouins began; and according to the strategic purpose, not in a more southern country than the Birket-Timsâḥ, or even according to the modern roads, the Birket-Ballâḥ, but the last supposition I will express only as a thought. I do not venture to use the canal (?), which divided the proper town of *Oa-ru* from its eastern fortified part "the fortress of *Oa-ru*":  in the way commonly followed. I cannot help doubting whether it is really an artificial canal as is so often supposed. In the famous representation of Seti I's return to Egypt (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 128, Burton, *Exc. Hierogl.*, 36, etc.) it is a narrow water, because it is bridged over between the two parts of the town, but its character is that of an old and stagnant branch of water derived in southern direction from another branch of the river, which flows from west to east (in the representation, one could believe the contrary). Not only the immense number of crocodiles in it but also the reedy margins* seem to express that character, and besides I can find no indication of an excavated canal in the inscriptions. At least, nobody could be less the founder than Seti I, who found in his first year that line of water, but it must be an old one, or *Oa-ru* would have been formerly without water. I do not know whether it is possible to trust the accuracy of the Theban artist and to believe that *Oa-ru* really was so closely near the crossing of the two branches, which could not be elsewhere than in a north-western direction from Daphnæ. But he may have taken liberties also with approaching that point, as he certainly did with the little fortresses. Then that would be the best place where the great

* E. Meyer, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 279, declares the reed to be palisades. I know no example of palisades of that form, and suppose that the ornaments on the margin of the water  must represent reed, which commonly has the form . Brugsch has the same opinion, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 459. The form of the reed is according to the drawings unusual, but I find no other explanation.

road from the east crosses the narrowest part of the water between the Birket Ballâḥ and the lake of Menzaleh, where Brugsch in his map of Lower Egypt would find the place of *'At-sestu*, only a little more in an eastern direction. But I feel it strongly, that with maps it is not possible to obtain an intelligence of the formation of the country without personal knowledge of it, for the small branches of water have mostly changed their course and especially all the conditions in the north-eastern angle of the Delta seem to be now quite different. Therefore I will revoke this *quite hypothetical* supposition most willingly in favour of any other place which corresponds to the conditions demanded by the sculptures of Karnak.

The first of them is the neighbourhood of an extensive water. That is confirmed also by Pap. Anastasi IV, 15, 7, where are mentioned



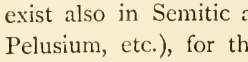
"*ân*-fishes eviscerated of *θa-ru*."*

An export of prepared fishes indicates of course more than a little canal.

But the principal point is the situation on the extreme frontier, for it is the last Egyptian town, and the small fortresses for the protection of the great road and its springs and cisterns, which Seti's artist represents by contraction of all distances, as in the closest neighbourhood of *θa-ru*, are regarded as Syrian places, as we see from their enumeration, Pap. Anastasi I, 27. All kings reckon the commencement of their campaigns from the day of passing the eastern gates of *θaru*, as Seti I (L. D. III, 126 and 128) and Ramses II ( song of the battle of Qadeš, Karnak, line 7). For our purpose it is enough to know that.

* Certainly not "*Zor-Tyrus*," which can be written only  *t'a-ira* or similarly, not *θa-ru*. That afterwards in the XXth Dynasty the confusion of  and  became complete, should not induce us to form the rule from this abuse. In the most barbarously written of all lists, that of Ra'mses III (D.H.I. I, 11, 12), , *θa-ân-ra can* be a צור, but it is neither necessary nor probable.

Nobody will contest that *θa-ru* is no Egyptian name but a foreign and of course Semitic one. That is proved by the constant syllabic orthography with the two signs (antiquated in Egyptian words)  and . Also the determinative of a foreign country  is not without significance. That *θar* is no Egyptian root is clear. Almost all the names of the frontier are Semitic (as Migdol, Sukkot), or exist also in Semitic and afterwards Greek translation (as Àmt Sin-Pelusium, etc.), for the population was always mixed, a fact long proved and emphasized by most Egyptologists.*

But nothing is so difficult as the transcription in Semitic letters of syllabically written words, the signification of which is not determined. The more easy question is here, whether  represents a ר or ל. Fortunately we have a variant for the word שְׁרִין  *θa-ra-i^{u}-na*, which shows that if any distinction between *l* and *r* was made† the Egyptian pronounced here an *r*.

Extremely difficult is the value of  in the imperfect and soon much confused syllabic system. Formerly it was commonly regarded as a mere variant of , *t'a*, and only Erman (Aeg. Zeitschr., 1883, 64) has pointed to the real old Egyptian value *θa*. Unfortunately this notice has found no sufficient estimation (in spite of the mention, page 22) in Bondi's book about the Semitic words in Egyptian,‡ which is to be quoted on this question, and therefore I try to explain again what till now is known of this question.

* Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher Mosis*, etc.

† Till now I can find no rule for this question, for nobody has proved what was the original pronunciation of . In the New Empire the Egyptian may have had *r* and *l*, but how it came that only in Demotic is made a very arbitrary distinction by means of separating  for *l* and  for *r* (originally both sounded *ru*), and whether attempts were made to separate the two consonants also in a former period, is quite unknown.

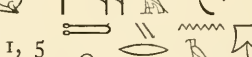
‡ "Dem hebräisch phönizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter." Leipzig, 1886. I wonder that this useful book has been so little noticed. Undoubtedly it is the greatest progress in that respect since Brugsch's studies in his "Geographische Inschriften." I would only wish that the collection of Semitic words were a quite complete one.

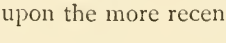
The pronunciation of the old consonant  is not certain, and I doubt whether the comparison with the lisped *th* is quite sufficient. Its consequent pronunciation belongs to an almost prehistoric time, for in the end of the Old Empire (Vth and VIth Dynasty) the greater part of all were changed into ,* the smaller afterwards into , or better the , which had originally in the scale of consonants its place between and , was amalgamated to the two most cognate consonants. To the rarer case, where it becomes , shall apparently belong all words with the sign , *θa* (the only exception seems for *θau*) according to the opinion of the scribes in the New Empire.

But theoretically was not regarded as being quite identical with , *t'a*. Still in the Middle Empire these two signs were well distinguished, and therefore in syllabic writing expresses not a kind of *t* but of *s*, and is used for another Semitic consonant as , *t'a*, or , *t'i*, which stand mostly for . How far in the New Empire that was conventional or founded upon the living pronunciation in Egyptian words, is difficult to decide. Even in foreign words, which have become the property of the vulgar language, the distinction is not long kept, *cf.* (L.D. III, 10a; Bologna, pap. 1094, 6, 8; 11, 10; Harris, 500, *verso* 2, 10, etc.), or (L.D. III, 183b, 219c; Liebl. dict., 388, 975; Mariette, Abydos III, 1140; Pap. Turin, 85, 2), which in the XXth Dynasty is often written (L.D. III, 218c, D.H.I. II, 47a, R.I.H. 209). Thus in Coptic all similar words

* In that way Erman's remarks (Ä.Z., 1882, 9) are to be completed. Even in the inscriptions of the pyramids this fact is remarkable, *cf.* Unás 209 (*nθr* Ttá 202, etc.), Ttá 321 = Unás 504, ("this oil") Unás 60. The treated by Erman seems to be originally *stp* (Ppi 39, 183, 123, Ttá 287, etc. L.D. II, 92 l.), for *sθp* (Unás 595, Ttá 303, 329) is rarer.

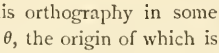
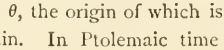
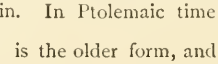
show ϫ for *θ*. Perhaps in the commencement of the New Empire the distinction was still heard in pronunciation. But even before the XXth Dynasty it seems quite traditional and difficult for the scribe.

The common  without addition of vowels has commonly no other value than *t*, even in foreign words.* The Semitic value is, as in the whole syllabic system, announced by three syllabic signs: , *θa*, , *θu*, and , *θi* (rarely used).† Only the vowel is different, the consonant is always the same, and Bondi is with the separation of *θa* from *θu* quite wrong. His examples for *θa* he himself compares with Semitic ט. Besides, we see that best by a variant: the word , *θa-ra-i^{u}-na*, "cuirass," is written, Pap. Mallet, 1, 5  *θu-ira-na*, therefore is *θu*=*θa*.‡ Variants with *t'* as  (D.H.I. I, 5 61, of the end of the XIXth Dynasty) are not correct,§ apparently they depend upon the more recent time.

* How it comes that in this orthography in some cases (*but not generally!*) , *tà* (later *të*, *ti*), and , *θ*, the origin of which is so utterly different, can be changed, I cannot yet explain. In Ptolemaic time was regarded as *ti*. If ,  is the older form, and not , we can reduce the Coptic ϫωωρϵ : ϫωρ to a *tiore*, *tiorre*, which would suggest the supposition that the reasons for the change of *θ* into ϫ were similar as those of Latin *t* into Italian *z*. I give this remark with all reserve.

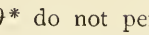
† In the whole system only one or two of the syllabic signs were used, mostly those with *a*; those with \\ were always less favoured. But in some cases it seems that the simple letter is regarded as equivalent of the *i*-form as here, perhaps, for .

‡ *Cf.* also Anast. V, 16, 2, Sall. I, 6, 7.

§ Other examples of this mistake: perhaps , Hierat. inscr., pl. 16, = , pl. 18. Is , Brugsch, W., 738, etc., derived from נָצַח, Piel, "præcinere"?

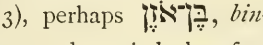
The question would be much easier, if we had a knowledge of the actual early pronunciation of .

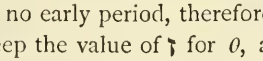
Its Greek transcriptions with τ and ϑ* do not permit us to decide what preceded the Coptic ϫ, dj. That in former time it expressed ד and צ makes it doubtful whether it corresponded accurately with one of both letters.

Considering that *θ*, as syllabic sign, has at least a similar value as *t'*, and more that of an *s* (ס, see below), we could believe that it corresponds very closely with ד. Unfortunately the examples for *θ* and ד are rare. Till now is known only  = אֵרְזֶה, and I can add only one of no certain value, the name , *bi-n-à-θa-na*† (Mariette, Abydos II, 50; III, 113), perhaps בֶּן־אֹזֶן, *bin-ozn(i)*. The second form is isolated and of no early period, therefore I am not sure whether it is possible to keep the value of ד for *θ*, as the point from which the others could be derived.

The regular value of *θa*, *θu* is that of an *s*. I regard it as the only correct one. Examples for ס:—

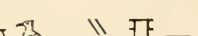
, *θu-ru-tà*, סֹלֶת, "meal."

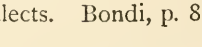
, *θa-ra-t^x-na* (or *θu-ra-na*, *vide supra*). סְרִיוֹן, "cuirass." (Bondi, p. 87, but not to be placed with *t'a*.)

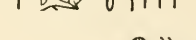
, *θa-ka-ira*, סְגוֹר, "closure, wall." Most remarkable is that we find the same word (Anast. V, 19) as

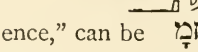
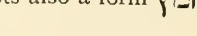
* With σ I know no certain example. ζ, z, ç were wanting in that period, and for the Persian and Greek consonant the Egyptian must use the composition , *ns*.

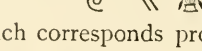
† Not "Ben-Mat'ana," as it was read.  has in words of Egyptian, or at least earlier origin, the value of the Middle Empire ; in words which are not older than the Neo-Egyptian it is ⲛ, . I cannot determine its peculiarities; it seems to form the middle between , that is ⲛ without accent, and the long .

, *s-ga-ira* with *s* (*k* and *g* exist also in Semitic dialects. Bondi, p. 88).*

, *ka-θa-tà*, כְּסֶת, "covering," Bondi, 51.

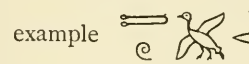
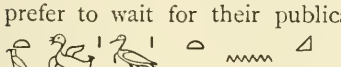
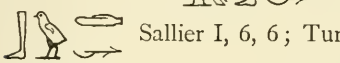
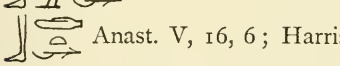
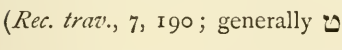
The word  *χi-m'a-θa* D.H.I I, 22, 27, "force, violence," can be חָמָס (more in the Arabic sense), but in Hebrew exists also a form חמיץ.

Also  *θu-fi*, סוּף, Coptic ϣοοϥ, and which corresponds probably with סְכוֹת† are here to be named with some words which at a later time preserve *θ* as *s* without the inherent vowel, as  *θrri* "agger obsidionalis" (Piänχi, 32; Aeg. Z., 1875, 7), סֹלְלָה and *θtf* "to pour out," שָׁדַף (Aeg. Z., 1882, 94; *Rec. de mon.*, 3, 41, etc.), although the last is the same as the Egyptian root .

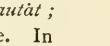
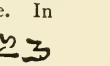
* Here I must remark that the use of *θ* as *s* can be almost wholly avoided. It seems often to depend upon the taste of the scribe. Thus in Dḥutmose III's list of *Upper Rθnu* we find no certain example of it (No. 4 is once corrupted), whilst in his list of Naharin it abounds. Still more significance has its wanting in the list of Šošenq. It seems not casual that we find there likewise no *s*, with exception, perhaps, of the mutilated name No. 51 . I conclude that the redacting scribe had the opinion that Semitic *s* must be always *š*. No earlier scribe would have transcribed the name שׂוֹכֹה of Juda otherwise than *su-ku(ė)* or similarly, for not only every שׂ, but in many cases even every שׁ becomes in Egyptian,—but he gives (No. 37) , *ša-ău-ka* (KW). In other respects he is pretty accurate, so that his treatment of the sibilants has certainly a signification, perhaps also for the confusion of *s* and *š* in *θ* which is mentioned below. For the traditional orthography of words frequently used this liberty is restricted.

† I suppose the original orthography has been abbreviated according to calligraphic reasons. Certainly Ebers (Aeg. Z., 1885, 49) is right even if this equation should not be confirmed. The critic of the *Athenæum* seems to have no knowledge of Egyptological literature, because he contests so well known facts.

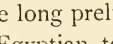
This value of ס has been remarked partially already by Brugsch (Aeg. Z., 1875).* It forms the rule for the syllabic values of *θ*. But considering the fluctuation between the sibilants and the following examples, I declare that *θ* corresponds also with an Hebrew שׁ. Others may decide whether this was effected by a pronunciation of *θ* which is between *s* and *š* (which would explain the transition into *dj*, ג), or by the influence of other Semitic dialects.

The example  (sic) *θu-pa-ira* for שׁוֹפָר, "trumpet," is explained by a variant=סוֹפָר, which in Hebrew does not exist. But also the above-mentioned *θ'ri'n*, *θa-ra-i''-na* has in Hebrew שׁ. The Bible contains only in Jeremiah two examples for כְּרִיּוֹן, but four times שְׂרִיוֹן, three times שִׂרְיֹן, and even in the Book of Job, with its peculiar character of language, שִׂרְיָה. Therefore we must take the two examples literally for the equation *θ*=*š*. I will add only the most certain of the other examples I collected; all the others are found unfortunately in mutilated passages, and I prefer to wait for their publication.—Pap. Anast. II, 7, 2, I find  "the thrashing-stick." The identity of *θa-ba-t* or *θa-bi-t* with the word שֵׁבֶט, which commonly is written  Mallet, 1, 7; Turin, 39, 7;  Sallier I, 6, 6; Turin, 3, 10; Harris I, 6, 6;  Anast. V, 16, 6; Harris, 500, 10, 3,† seems evident, even if the third consonant is a *t* and no *d*, for we find also  (*Rec. trav.*, 7, 190; generally ט is sometimes *t*, sometimes *d*). The

* Very strange it is, that the Egyptian used for the Semitic ס with preference a peculiar sign, whilst his own *s* was by the Hebrews always represented with ס, *cf.* סַפִּירוֹס, פַּתְרוֹס, רַעְמְסֵס, חָגָס, תַּחְפַּנְחֵס, אָסְנַת, סַוְגֵה, etc.

† The gender is in Coptic masculine, but in earlier time "*commune*" as in Hebrew, therefore we find often the feminine termination ⌓, which here (also after מרכבת, etc., very often, Bondi, Nos. 24, 37, 38, 50, and pag. 46 *qautât*; Bondi should have mentioned this frequent use) is a mere determinative. In Demotic texts the feminine use predominates. Setna 4, 35; 5, 38.  *šbtë* does not express it, but Chron. Paris 3, 28  *te-šbotë't* (= *šbôt ?*) does so doubly.

t here, where probably the first word has no accent, must sound and is no simple *e*.

With these examples I propose the transcription שׂר or שׂור for our *θa-ru*. The form צר is not possible after all that has been said above, and also זר is not probable, in so old a name only סר, שׂר or שׂר can be proposed. As to the vocalization, it seems according to the orthography that of the common words with two radicals: *θôr*. Egyptian ô is in all Semitic dialects represented by וֹ or וּ, *cf.*  early *kâš*, later *kôš*, ϰⲱϣ, Hebrew כּוּשׁ, Assyrian *kûsu* (*kûšu*), etc.

After these long preliminaries I propose to identify our *θaru*, *Sôr*, *Šôr* with the Egyptian town שׂור ("the wall") named in the Bible. An old tradition about its situation is not preserved. The LXX transcribe only Σούρ, therefore also Josephus (Antiqu., VI, 7, 2) seems to guess with his "Pelusium," the more because this town is probably סין. But nothing disagrees with the above proposed identification. According to 1 Samuel xv, 7 is שׁוּר אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם Σούρ ἐπὶ προσώπου Αἰγύπτου (LXX), the first of all Egyptian towns, more an advanced place *before* the frontier line than a place *in* it (?) and the end of the land of Amalek, therefore more in the northern or middle part of the frontier. That it was a fortress is expressed by the name, and is the common opinion. All squares with *θa-ru*, also the form of the name after the above given explanations. The Egypto-Semitic form may be rather an Arabic سُوْر, but in Hebrew the corresponding form can well be a שׂור.*

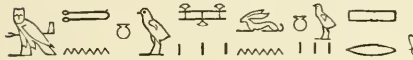
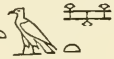
The explanation of the name is clear by the connection with the name of the "Wall of Egypt" which is mentioned in the papyri of Petersburg (Aeg. Z., 1876, 109) and Berlin I, as "the wall of the prince which forbids the Asiatics to invade." It was built therefore already in the Old Empire, at least in the VIth Dynasty. Whether it is mentioned in Unâ's inscription (line 15) cannot be said with certainty. That the principal point of this fortification received the Semitic name "the wall" is very clear. The name *θôr* will be Semitic and may come from the commencement of the New or the

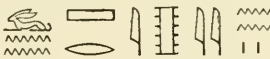
* Of course I do not affirm that we have here really an *Arabic* form, but nobody will contest that already in that time Semitic dialects met in the isthmus of Suez, and that the little uncertainty in the distinction of the sibilants there must increase for the Egyptians.

end of the Middle Empire. Although it is not necessary for the present argumentation, I will mention that originally the name may notwithstanding have been Egyptian. I regard the word שׁוּר as borrowed from the Egyptian. Assyriological friends affirm that in Assyrian it is wanting,* a Semitic root is not to be found and therefore, I suppose that it comes from the Egyptian *šr*, *šre*, *šrâ*† "to shut off, to seclude." Examples of such Egyptian words, which then are reimported as Semitic, are frequent. Here I renounce to enumerate them, because I hope to show in another place that the Egyptian influences upon the Canaanitish and afterwards the Hebrew dictionary (apart from primitive connections of the African and Semitic languages) are much stronger than is commonly supposed.

I give the whole identification provisionally to direct the attention of other Egyptologists to it. Before the real confirmation, I will draw no conclusions for the mention in the Exodus route (Exod. xv, 22), etc.; also without exact determination of the place of *θôr*, for which, I repeat, I will propose no hypothesis, that would be mere guessing. Perhaps another will prove that, for which here I can give only hints.

* *Proceedings*, X, 220, note 30?

† Commonly of impassable ways, *cf.* Stabel Antar (*Rec. trav.* 6) lin. 14 , L. D. III, 140*d* 

. . Of secluded men, Harris I, 75, 9, . The Arabic and Syriac form of שׁוּר would be borrowed from the Canaanitish.

AN ASSYRIAN RELIGIOUS TEXT.

BY B. T. A. EVETTS.

The tablet printed as Plate 67, No. 2, of Vol. IV, of the *Inscriptions of Western Asia* (now numbered K. 3972), which is also partly reproduced with explanations in a text published on Plate 47, Vol. V, has excited some interest among students of Assyrian. It has been transcribed into Hebrew characters by Halévy (*Doc. Rel.*, 1882 p. [195] ff.), translated in full by Prof. Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 535, f. 1887), and explained, with a translation of some passages, by Mr. Pinches ("Academy," Jan. 21, 1888); while one of the same passages had been translated by Prof. Haupt in 1881 (*Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 194, 1880–2). It therefore seems worth while to publish the text of a duplicate (K. 2518) which gives twenty-one additional lines, as well as parts of seven lines completing the colophon. Of the text already known and published, the duplicate reproduces seventeen lines on the obverse with variants in almost every line. The reverse is much mutilated, giving only the beginnings of twenty-five lines, of which twenty-two correspond to lines Rev. 44–65 of the published text, and the colophon as given below. I do not offer any translation of a document belonging to a class which at present defies all attempts at interpretation. The success which has hitherto attended such attempts is illustrated by the fact that the one passage of K. 3972 (W.A.I. IV, 67, l. 61) which has been independently explained by three writers, appears each time as containing an entirely different statement.

Haupt. "He who lived last night died to-day (*Wer verwichene Nacht lebte, starb heute*).

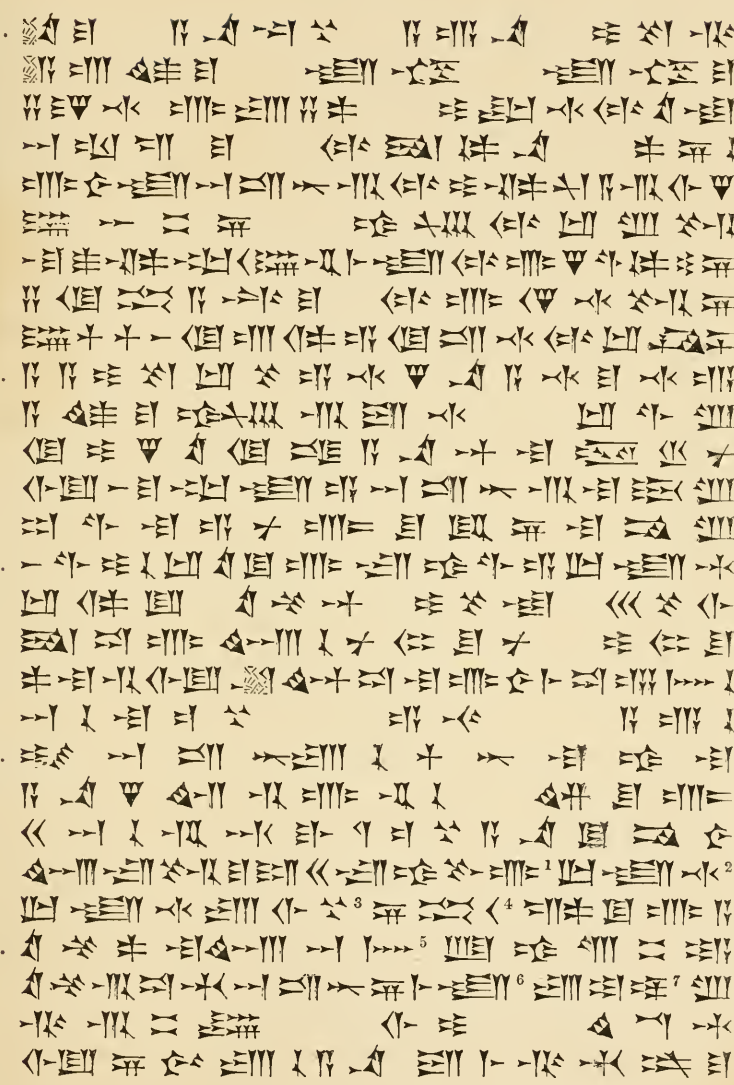
Sayce. "That which has lived and died at evening does he (the god) renew."

Pinches. "(the God) who in the earth lived, died, renewed (himself)."

And Prof. Sayce and Mr. Pinches, who have treated the whole document, differ as widely as possible both as to grammar and sense. The former sees in it a Prayer, while the latter discovers in this "important" text the Meditations of an Ancient Hero who has conceived the "Messianic Idea."

PLATE I.

K. 2518.

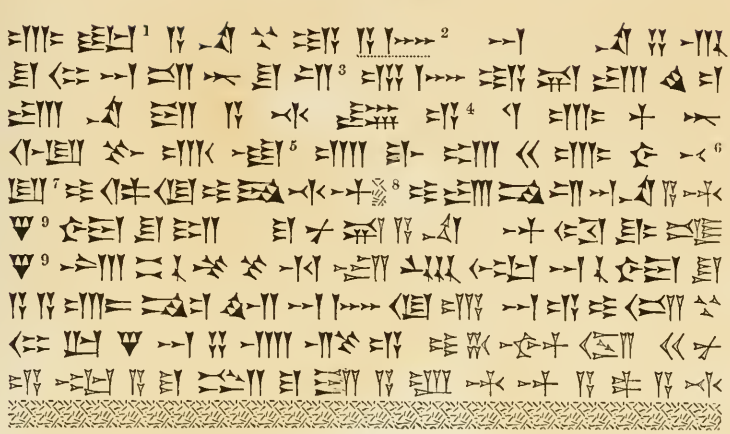


Variants from K. 3972.

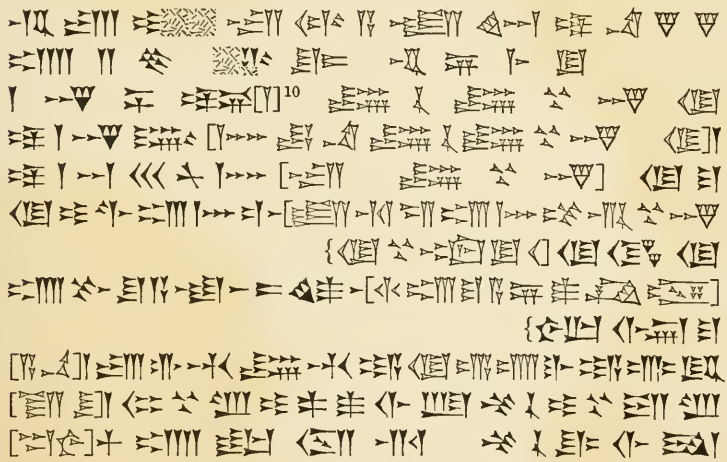
[1] . [2] . [3] . [4] . [5] Wanting. [6] . [7] .

PLATE II.

K. 2518—*continued.*



COLOPHON.



[1] . [2] . [3] . [4] . [5] .

[6] The characters in outline are restored from K. 3972.

[7] . [8] Nothing is wanting after . [9] .

[10] The characters within brackets are not restored from K. 3972, but from the common Colophon.

EGYPTIAN AND BASQUE MARRIAGE CONTRACTS.

By Miss Simcox.

The singularities of Egyptian marriage law, which have been so fully described by M. Révillout, evidently cannot have originated in the days of decadence to which most of the surviving documents belong. "Cette manie des maris Égyptiens de toute abandonner à leurs femmes," as he calls it, cannot have been borrowed either from the Persians who tolerated it, or the Greeks who were scandalized and endeavoured to restrain it. At the same time, if the marriage contracts of the Ptolemaic period represent immemorial Egyptian usage, we should expect to find some traces of such usage in the literature and monuments of earlier dynasties; but Egyptologists as a class would be more keenly on the look out for these traces, and would find it easier to identify them, if the real nature of Egyptian institutions could be more clearly understood,—if we could discover the *rationale* of the usages which appear so paradoxical on the surface, though they cannot certainly have been wanting in practical convenience and utility, since they were associated with one of the longest-lived civilizations which mankind has known.

In the typical Egyptian marriage contract the husband secures to his wife various annual allowances, minutely specified, and constitutes his and her eldest son heir of all his property present and to come. M. Révillout's valuable work will be familiar to every one interested in the subject, and we need not reproduce his account of the minor varieties of usage existing side by side. The above, with its consequence, in making the father virtually only a trustee for his children, is the essential peculiarity. If the father did not in this way make over his property to the eldest son of the marriage, he might make it over to his wife, either directly or by pledging his whole property as security for a debt, very possibly fictitious, and which at any rate he did not mean to repay, so that the forfeiture was intended to take effect. It is equally difficult at first sight to understand why such a system came to be adopted, how it can have worked, and what advantages it possessed: and as long as these points remain unexplained we may be sure that we have not got to the bottom of the mystery.

Now there is one, and we believe only one, community in the world which resembles Egypt in according exactly the same proprietary rights to women and to men, and in the still surviving marriage customs of this singular and very ancient people we may possibly find a key to the Egyptian problem. We have in the Basques the last, westernmost survivors of the first historic wave of population flowing from the East before the dawn of Greek and Roman civilization; whether the Basques and Berbers are akin, and whether both belong, with the Egyptians, to one great race, and whether such a race should be called Cushite, Hamitic, proto-Semitic, proto-Caucasian, or by some other name, need not be discussed at present. The marriage customs of the modern Basques* are as old as Strabo, and as we have no reason whatever to suppose them to have been invented in Spain, it requires very little exercise of the imagination to carry their origin back to the ages when echoes of the usages of Babylonia and Egypt supplied the Mediterranean peoples with their best or only guide in the paths of civil and domestic order and law. Strabo says of the Iberian Cantabri: "Men give dowries to their wives and the daughters are left heirs, but they procure wives for their brothers."† Some of the Basque districts have customary codes known to have been reduced to writing as early as the 13th century, and the ruling principle in all of them may be briefly described as *primogeniture without distinction of sex*, "Que prumer filh o filha deu heretar." The family property of course consists in the farm or homestead which the household occupies and cultivates. On marriage, the first-born, heiress or heir, becomes "coseigneur," and is entitled at once to half the patrimony, not as a portion that can be taken away for separate use, but in joint or common ownership. If the elder couple is long-lived, a third generation may be admitted to partnership in the same way. The younger children are entitled to a portion or dowry if they marry, and this is provided by the elder brother or sister out of the family funds, if the original householder, father or mother as the case may be, is dead or has abdicated. In this sense it is still

* Most of the following particulars are derived from a series of papers by M. Eugène Cordier, published (I think) in vols. 14 and 15 of the *Revue historique de Droit français et étranger*, of which some account appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* for May, 1878.

† Book iii, c. 14, § 18.

true that "the daughters are left heirs, but they procure wives for their brothers." The provision for the younger children is facilitated by another singular usage. Heirs and heiresses are not allowed to marry, at least if they do, one or other must renounce their inheritance; thus the eldest child and heir of one family marries a younger child or cadet of another. Such *cadet* is called the *conjoint dotal*, as distinguished from the *conjoint héritier*. If two younger children marry, they retain control of their respective dowries, but usually agree to hold all acquisitions after marriage in common, in which case they are called *meytadés*.

In practice nothing could be more strictly conservative than the effects of this singular body of customs. Families do not die out, the number of family properties is not diminished; the legal inferiority of the *conjoint dotal* produces little or no inconvenience, since the *conjoint héritier*, of course, makes a marriage of inclination, and the enforced partnership of father and son does not disturb the family harmony when fixed and familiar custom regulates the conduct of each generation, and the married heir has every inducement to behave to his father as he will wish his own son to do to himself when in the same position. Such a system of family law seems well-suited to Egypt, where family affection was strong and articulate, and the struggle for existence less severe than in the Pyrennees, so that the interests of the family could be maintained with less self-denial on the part of the younger children than is required among the Basques. Whether we are justified in interpreting Egyptian marriage contracts by the analogy of Basque custom depends upon the amount of direct evidence in favour of certain usages being common to the two peoples. In Egypt sons and daughters shared alike in the inheritance; the eldest son stood *in loco parentis* to his younger brothers and sisters, and even during his father's life, on his own account and theirs, was virtually joint owner or co-trustee with his father for the family property. The importance attached to primogeniture goes back to the first ages of monarchy: "eldest son" is a recognized, quasi-official title in the tomb-inscriptions of the first six dynasties, the ancient sage Ptaḥ-hotep, is careful to call himself "the eldest of his race," and the god Thoth was so habitually regarded as standing in that relation to Horus, that "eldest son" is treated as a synonym for his name. With regard to daughters, it is well known that under such circumstances "they were left heirs" in Egypt as among the Cantabri, but we do not know whether the

eldest *child* necessarily inherited as such, or whether the succession of the eldest daughter implies the absence of sons. This is a point which might probably be determined from accessible sources, if Egyptologists would kindly consider the genealogical notices and indications which come before them in connection with it. The strongest argument in favour of some Egyptian equivalent for the Basque custom of pure primogeniture is furnished by the deed of the reign of Darius Codomanus published by M. Révillout, in which the children of two brothers are represented by the eldest son of one family treating with the eldest daughter of the other. This proves that the eldest daughter might be made heiress, but not that she was so normally; on the other hand the cases in which the daughter's name takes precedence or in which she seems to be the heiress are more numerous than they would be if the eldest daughter only counted failing sons. It would be interesting to know in this connection whether when the king married his sister it was usually, as in the case of the brothers Thothmes, that she was the eldest child and natural heir: and as such marriages were not in Egypt, as among the Incas, peculiar to the royal family, the same question will apply to private persons also.

In the tomb of Khafra-ankh, for instance (Lepsius, Denkmäler, ii, 8), the eldest daughter is represented embracing her father's leg, while his two sons stand hand in hand, one being described* as "the eldest son of his loins," and the other as the "son of his loins, *meri-f*," rendered "preferred," because he inherited. Was the daughter the eldest child, and did the preferred son marry her and inherit on that account? Egyptologists very naturally print and translate only such portions of the inscriptions as promise to be of general interest, but as M. Maspéro somwhere observes, there is no saying what apparently trivial details may prove to be of scientific importance in some way, and unless everything is reproduced, the negative conclusions reached by those who know the monuments only at second hand must necessarily be worthless. There are several genealogies in which a supernumerary woman's name appears at intervals, and the most obvious explanation is that in such cases the direct line is continued by her.

The frequency of claims to inherit through the mother's father has been taken to indicate a general recognition of descent in the

* In M. Pierret's most useful descriptive analysis of the plates which, it is to be hoped, will be continued and completed before long.

female line only, or the system of so-called *Mütter-recht.* But our earliest information shows us eldest sons inheriting from their father, and as a matter of fact, while Egyptian women as daughters are regarded as equal to their brothers, and as wives are regarded as equal to their husbands, it is as wives rather than as mothers that they acquire fresh and special rights and dignities. M. Révillout and his disciple M. Paturet have already made this observation, and the point is placed beyond a doubt by the table of precedence which M. Maspero is publishing in the *Journal Asiatique*, where the king himself, his wife, his mother, and his children appear in that order. The property of both parents was, as a rule, equally divided between the children, sons and daughters sharing alike, the eldest son (or daughter) only administering for the rest, if the family continued undivided. As a consequence, of course, mothers had, as a rule, as much property to bequeath as fathers, and the children's rights to the maternal inheritance were no doubt the same as to the paternal, the mother, like the father, being described in certain deeds as acting for the children. She also appears, at least equally often, as countersigning or consenting to the children's legal acts. If however the mother were superior in rank or wealth to her husband, the eldest son would naturally inherit from her or her father rather than his own.

We do not know of anything in Egypt answering to the Basque rule against the intermarriage of heirs and heiresses, which indeed would have little meaning except in the case of small communities of peasant proprietors. The property of the Basque *époux dotal*, however, might by most local customs be disposed of by will, and it is very probable that the Egyptians prevented the accumulation of estates by allowing one of the younger children to inherit any lands or offices coming through the less wealthy of the two parents, as an equivalent for his share in the joint family estate. Among the Basques, when magistracies were attached to special families, the heiress might be represented by a son or husband, and we know that hereditary governorships passed in Egypt in this way through the mother who did not exercise them herself, while the custom of dividing the inheritance equally among the children would prevent all such honours being monopolized by the eldest. Egyptian and Basque custom agree in circumscribing the authority of the *pater-familias;* they differ in so far as the Basque custom overlooks the wife, unless she has property

in her own right, and makes the partnership of the eldest child independent of the will of either parent; while in Egypt it was by a contract with the wife that the husband took her firstborn into partnership, and it was open to him instead of sharing the estate with his son to assign it to his wife, leaving it to her to make the customary assignment to the elder child in trust for the rest. The earliest marriage contracts which have reached us are the most meagre, and contain only a general undertaking to do all that belongs to a lawful marriage (*le faire à toi mari*, as M. Révillout renders it). Common law or custom no doubt fixed exactly the position of an "established wife," and it is our misfortune that the first written deeds treat this as too well known to need specifying. But if we read the Egyptian deeds by the light of living Basque usage their purpose becomes clear and reasonable enough. The typical Egyptian triad consists of father, mother, and son. Egyptian civilization is essentially domestic; the family is the unit and it consists of these three members; to them, therefore, as a group, and not to any one of the three, the property of the family was considered to belong. It might be administered by one or other parent according to circumstances, but custom, backed by the double force of law and inclination, decided that such administration should be in the interests of the children of the marriage. This is evident from the deeds themselves. In the family of pastophores, whose history is traced by M. Révillout, it was the regular thing for the husband to make over his property to his wife, either all at once or by degrees, while she in due course made it over to his son, and he again to his own wife with the like result. This is done equally in cases where the contract expressly bars the intervention of sons or daughters. A wife who was thus endowed to the disadvantage of children by a former marriage (one of whom signs the contract), having no children of her own, made her husband's nephew his heir,—presumably a younger nephew, as his brother succeeded their father,—so that the grandfather's property was again equally divided. When Egyptian women of loose character began to marry Greeks, of course the old conservative custom lost its character and gave opening to various abuses, but on the whole it seems extremely probable that by ancient Egyptian usage the "established wife" acquired as such an interest in her husband's property, present and future, similar to that possessed by the children; that in fact she was constituted by the

marriage trustee for *all* the children, as the eldest son or daughter was for the rest. The penalties stipulated in Egyptian contracts on the husband's taking another wife, are evidently intended to protect the children against having to share their parents' property with the children of another woman, and we get an exact counterpart to the children's consent (demanded in the Tale of Setnau, and formally accorded in various deeds) in the Béarn custom which allows a widowed *gendre* (*i.e.*, the cadet who has married an heiress) to bring a new wife to the house of the first with, but not without, the consent of her children. There is a very curious contract of marriage in the reign of Darius I, in which the usual stipulations are inverted, the wife speaking of the man as being established as her husband, acknowledging the receipt of a sum of money as dowry, and undertaking that if *she* deserts or despises him a third part of all her goods present and to come shall be forfeited to him. Such a document would become perfectly intelligible if we suppose it to represent the contract between an Egyptian heiress and a younger son, the Basque *conjoint dotal;* the penalty is imposed alike in the case of both parents for the same reason, namely to ensure the children of the marriage against disinheritance through the misconduct of the richer parent. It is noticeable that the two deeds which suggest the closest parallels to Basque usage belong to the Persian period, when native usage was less confused and corrupted than under the later Ptolemies.

The variations of Greek and Demotic contracts are such as would be most intelligible if we suppose the terms to be conditional on the relative position of the spouses. The annual pension or alimony promised to the wife seems to have been regarded in the light of interest on her portion. It is possible that in Egypt as elsewhere the *status* of a wife depended on her having brought a dowry, and that any wife who did so was lawfuly "established" and entitled, by common or customary law, to the joint ownership of her husband's goods,* with remainder to his and her first-born. This

* In a love song translated by M. Maspéro (*Journal Asiatique*, 1883), we find the co-proprietorship of the wife treated incidentally as the sign or symbol of complete union. "O mon bel ami, mon désir c'est [que je devienne maîtresse de] tes biens en qualité d'epouse, c'est que, ton bras posé sur mon bras, tu te promèneras à ton gré." The whole tone of the poem is too impassioned to let it be supposed that the lady desires her brother's property for its own sake, only, such ownership being of the essence of wifehood, she mentions it as synonymous with the marriage for which she sighs.

virtual *régime de communauté* would apply equally if the wife were the landed proprietor or chief heiress, though in that case it would be necessary to pledge the whole property of the *communauté*, instead of part, as security for her contribution. Unless she was necessarily, as wife, co-proprietor with her husband, it does not appear why her consent should have been required, as it was, to the mortgage executed by her husband for her own benefit. The Greeks might well exclaim that the wife was given authority over the husband, when it was usual for the wife to endorse her husband's deeds while he did not endorse hers. But whatever may have been the case in primitive Babylonia, gynæcocracy did not prevail in historic Egypt, only complete equality, and the above provision becames reconcilable with such equality if we suppose something like the Basque rule—one family, one property—to have prevailed. If this were so the married couple might be partners in regard to the family property, and yet the *conjoint dotal* retain independent control of his or her portion; and in such a case the wife, though not the wealthier partner, would have to endorse her husband's deeds affecting the family property, and yet be free to deal independently with her own smaller possessions;* and a corresponding privilege would be enjoyed by the husband of the contract of Darius I, referred to above, just as, among the Basques, the younger children have more complete control over their portions than the heir over the family estate.

There are traits in Welsh and Irish law which might naturally be explained by Iberian influence on the Kelts, and in these we trace a distinct affinity to the spirit of Basque and Egyptian usage. In Wales especially the *status* of the wife depended on her possession of property: the "espoused wife" was one who brought an *agweddi* or dowry to her husband, and she alone was entitled to the half-share of all his goods, including even the corn, which seems to have been regarded as the most honourable or valuable part of the property; "no wife in the world is to have a share in the corn except an espoused wife." Another peculiarity of Welsh law bears a suggestive resemblance to the three separate kinds of payment usually promised in Egyptian marriage contracts. Besides the

* The distinction between hereditary estates and personal income is clearly marked in the contracts relating to formal offerings belonging to the 13th Dynasty, and published by Professor Erman in the *Zeitschrift fur Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, 1882.

agweddi or portion given with the wife, and representing her share of the family estate, there is the *cowyll*, answering to the "woman's gift" or *Morgengabe*, and a third element, less frequently met with, the *argyvren*, answering to the Roman *paraphernalia*, and the "toilet" and "pin-money" of the Egyptian deeds.

These parallels do not of course prove a genealogical connection between the three sets of customs, but they may help to vindicate the sanity of Egyptian husbands by showing that the national customs were conceived as much in the interests of fathers and sons as of wives. Anyway these notes will have served their purpose if they induce M. Révillout and the other "masters of those who know" all the wisdom of the Egyptians to keep a look out for early texts bearing, however slightly, on the points raised, viz., the rights of the eldest child, whether son or daughter, during and after the parent's life; the place, in order of seniority, of the child who inherits from the mother's father; and the difference, if any, in the marriage contracts of elder and younger children. Such references may exist and yet be overlooked until their bearing is understood. Thus in the maxims of the scribe Ani * there is clearly a reference to the partition of the ancestral property among the children and the qualified ownership of the elder, who is cautioned not to say of his house, "This comes from the father of my mother," as if it were his alone, for it has to be shared with his brethren, and only a part falls to his own lot; and similar passages might be quoted in illustration of other usages the character of which has been already ascertained.

* Translated in Chabas' *l'Egyptologie*. Chabas says, from my "father and my mother," but Brugsch and de Rougé agree in the more characteristic reading of the text.

BABYLONIAN TABLETS FROM TEL EL-AMARNA, UPPER EGYPT.

By Prof. A. H. Sayce, M.A.

Egypt is the land of archæological surprises. The last discovery has been that of a number of Babylonian cuneiform tablets. During the winter of 1877–8 about 200 of these tablets have been offered for sale at Cairo and Ekhmîm by native dealers who had procured them in Upper Egypt. A considerable number have been obtained by the Boulaq Museum, 160 by the Museum of Vienna, and a still larger number by Danninos Pasha; and a few have been purchased by M. Urbain Bouriant, the Director of the French Archæological School in Cairo. Through his kindness I am able to give an account of the tablets as well as translations of them. He has permitted me to take copies of all those which were in his possession up to the time of my departure from Cairo, and to publish them in the Proceedings of this Society. It will be seen that they turn out for the most part to be despatches sent to the king by his officers stationed abroad.

The natives who offered them for sale agreed in declaring that they came from Tel el-Amarna or its immediate neighbourhood. Tel el-Amarna represents the site of the city of "the heretic king" Khu-n-aten of the 18th Dynasty; it was built during his reign, and deserted soon after his death, on the return of the Egyptian monarchs to the old worship of the Theban Amen. According to Prof. Erman a hieratic note attached to one of the tablets now in Vienna states that the collection had been transferred from Thebes to the new capital of Khu-n-aten.

None of the tablets belonging to M. Bouriant are quite perfect, and we must therefore await the examination of those in the other collections I have mentioned before we can satisfactorily settle some of the questions they raise. But enough has been established by Drs. Winckler and Lehmann, after an examination of the tablets at Vienna, to show that the collection is one of extraordinary interest. It includes letters from various Asiatic kings addressed to

two Egyptian monarchs Nimmuriya and Napkhururiya, in whom Prof. Erman has no difficulty in recognizing the 3rd and 4th Amenôphis of the 18th Dynasty (Neb-Mâ-Ra and Nofer-kheperu-Ra).* Several of them refer to the princess Teii the wife of Nimmuriya, that is to say Tii, the mother of Khu-n-aten or Amenôphis IV.

Among the correspondents of the Egyptian monarchs is Burna-buryas of Babylonia,—whose date I have given in my *Herodotos* as B.C. 1430, thus making him a contemporary of Khu-n-aten,—as well as Dusratta of Mitanni, the father-in-law of the Pharaoh. A hieratic note identifies Mitanni with Naharina, which played so important a part in the Asiatic history of the 18th Dynasty before the rise of the Hittite power. As Prof. Schrader points out, Mitanni is the Mitâni of Tiglath-pileser I, which lay "in front of the land of the Hittites," and the Egyptian Naharina is consequently the eastern bank of the Euphrates between Carchemish and the mouth of the Belikhos. Dr. Winckler has found Mitanni several times associated with the land of Khani-rabbat, "Khani the great," so called to distinguish it from another Khani nearer to Babylonia.

Certain of the tablets or letters are written from Byblos, Simyra, Megiddo (Makida), Acre, and Ashkelon, and one of them—in which mention is made of the city of Dunip, the Tunep of the Egyptian texts—asks for speedy assistance against the advancing forces of the Hittites.

The revelations which may be expected from this extraordinary discovery need not be described. It shows that western Asia was a scene of literary activity in the 16th century before our era, and that Babylonian at that time occupied the place afterwards taken by Aramaic as the language of diplomacy and science in the civilised East. The form of writing used on the Kappadokian cuneiform tablets—of which I hope to be able before long to communicate some more to the Society—is now explained. It preserved the script once employed as far north as Asia Minor by the educated classes of society.

One of the tablets copied by Dr. Winckler informs us that the king of Mitanni sent a *targumannu* or "dragoman" along with the

* See the *Sitzungsberichte der K. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,* xxiii (1888): "Der Thontafelfund von Tell-Amarna" by Erman and Schrader.

messenger by whom it was conveyed. It is the first instance of the word that has yet been discovered.

Equally curious is the mention of the name Masu or Moses in one of M. Bouriant's tablets (VI, 17) a century before the date of the Exodus according to the Egyptologists. It will also be seen that we may read the name of the Hebrews in another (I, 6).

These tablets however are not the first cuneiform monuments of Babylonian origin which have been found in Egypt. In the winter of 1883 Professor Maspero showed me three cylinders of clay inscribed with Babylonian cuneiform characters which he had recently purchased from an Arab, and deposited in the Boulaq Museum. As the Arab had stated that they were found in the neighbourhood of the Suez Canal, I concluded that they had come from Tel Defenneh, the Pelusiac Daphnê of the ancients, which guarded the frontier of Egypt on the east. I expressed my opinion in the *Academy* of January 19th, 1884, p. 51, and two years afterwards it was verified by Mr. Flinders Petrie's excavations on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Mr. Petrie discovered the pavement of brick "at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes," where Jeremiah hid "great stones" in token that Nebuchadrezzar would hereafter set up his throne above them. As the cylinders all bear a stereotyped and badly-written inscription, which has no reference to Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Egypt, they must (as I remarked in the *Academy*) "have been intended merely as memorials of his conquests to be left in the countries he overran." They formed, in fact, part of a set of four buried at the four corners of the pavilion he erected in the frontier city of Egypt.

One of them begins as follows: "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, the son of Nabopolassar king of Babylon, am I. Ê-Makh the temple of Nin-Makh, of Anu his god and of Merodach, (the temple) of Anu, (the temple of the daughter) of Anu, the supreme, in Babylon, the city of my sovereignty, and the temple of US-US, with bitumen and brick I built." The others similarly relate to the erection of buildings in Babylon.

M. Bouriant's tablets are written in cursive Babylonian, with the exception of one, the handwriting of which is Assyrian rather than Babylonian. The clay of which the tablets are composed varies a good deal, some of it being the coarse gritty clay so often found on the banks of the Nile. None of it has been baked in a kiln.

The most curious portion of M. Bouriant's collection are two

large fragments belonging to what must have been a tablet of enormous size and of square or rectangular shape. It contained an inventory of the property possessed by the government in Upper Egypt. It is probable that all the pieces belonging to it will be recovered, since the two fragments in M. Bouriant's collection have evidently been cut out of the original by the natives after their discovery of it.

Now that cuneiform tablets have been found, it is possible that papyri inscribed with cuneiform characters may also be brought to light. However this may be, it is desirable that all the tablets which have been in the market during the past winter should be examined as soon as possible.

No. I.

Written in large characters on a small tablet of dark-coloured clay.

OBVERSE.

1 a-na sarra bil-ya
To the king, my lord,

2 bil-ya Samsi-ya
my lord, my Sun-god,

3 Samsu sa is-tu
the Sun-god who (is) from

4 AN yu-me-(e) lu
the god of day, verily

5 D.P. Pi-da-as amilu
Pidas the man

6 sa ali Dil-bar-lu-gil
of the city Dilbar-lugil (?),

7 arad bil-ya
the servant of my lord,

8 II sarri
the two kings (of) . . .

9 sa sepâ mati
which (is) at the foot of the land of . . .

10 a-na-a sepâ (sarri) bil-ya
to the feet of the king, my lord,

11 Samsi sa is-tu
the Sun-god who (is) from

12 AN yu-me-e VI SU
the divine day, six times

13 u VII TA-A-AN
and seven times

14 lu-u is-ta-kha-khi-in-ni
verily {one / he} has subjected unto me.

2. It is interesting to find the scribe addressing the king as "Sun-god" in Egyptian fashion. The Egyptian monarch was not only the son of the Sun-god Ra, but he was also identified with Ra himself. The additional statement that "the Sun-god rises from the divine day" breathes an Egyptian rather than a Babylonian spirit, and the name Pidas is not Assyro-Babylonian. The Assyrian king

Shalmaneser II, however, calls himself "the Sun-god" (W. A. I. III, 7, 5.)

6. The characters composing the name of the city may be read in so many different ways that it is impossible to determine what is the correct reading. The first character may be either *dil* or *as*, the second *bar* or *mas*, and the fourth *gil*, *rim*, *rin*, *khap*, &c.

8, 9. It is unfortunate that the names of the localities mentioned are destroyed.

10. We must notice the spelling of *anâ*.

REVERSE.

1 amilu TUM ra-bu (?) *The chief (?) officer*	7 is-ti-lu *has put the question*
2 sa sarri bil-ya *of the king my lord,*	8 ki pi pi-te-su *according to his open mouth*
3 sa is-tap-ra-am *as to what he sent,*	9 ma-rab ma-rab *very earnestly.*
4 sarru bil-ya Samsu *the king my lord the Sun-god*	10 a-nu-ma a-na za-ru *Now (is the time) for the sowing*
5 is-tu AN yu-me *(rising) from the divine day,*	11 [zi-]ri sarri sa *of the seed of the king, which*
6 a-na ya-a-si *to me*	12 [it-] ti-ya *(is) with me.*

1. The last character of the line may be a badly-written *sarru*. In that case the title of the officer would be expressed by the two ideographs TUM and RA. We can hardly read *ibra sarri*, "the friend of the king."

8. The phrase seems to mean "by word of mouth." In two other tablets (IX 14, X 21) the scribe, deceived by the fact that the character *pi* had the value of *a*, has written *a pite* instead of *pi pite*. A similar error has been committed in Obv. 12 of this tablet, where a false ideograph has been used to denote the idea of "times," because it had the same phonetic value *su* as the ideograph which ought to have been employed.

10. *Anuma* is elsewhere (IV 12) written *anumma*, i.e., *anúma*. It is another form of *enuma* from *ânu* or *ênu* "time." The pronunciation with *a* militates against Lotz's suggestion that it is connected

with the Arabic *hhîn*. The last character is too distinctly formed to allow us to read *anuki*, which Dr. Winckler has shown is used for the first personal pronoun in some of these tablets. *See* No. XI, 20.

No. II.

A small flesh-coloured tablet, much injured.

1 (a-na) sarra bil-ya
(*To*) *the king my lord*

2 (u) Samsa u ili-ya
(*and*) *the Sun-god and my gods*

3 . . . dhe-ma eli
. . . *news concerning*

4 Nam (?)-pi-pi arad ki-it-ti
Nampipi(?) the servant of justice

5 (sa) sarri bili-ya
(*of*) *the king, my lord.*

6 (?D.P. H-)ip-ri sepâ sarri bili-ya
Apries(?) under the king my lord

7 a-na sepâ sarri bili-ya
at the feet of the king, my lord

8 u Samsi u ili-ya
and the Sun-god and my gods

9 VII SU U VIII TA-A-AN am-khats
7 *times &* 8 *times I smote.*

10 (as)-te-me a-na-at
I have listened to the despatches

11 (sarri) bili-ya u ili-ya
of the king my lord and my gods

12 eli
. . . . *concerning* . . .

13 . . . a-na . . .

14 i

15 bili u . . .

16 . . mi-ki sarri bili-ya
. *the king my lord*

17 (u) mati-su
(*and*) *his country.*

4. The name may also be read Khu-za-am, but the first character is not clear, and it is doubtful whether the reduplicated *pi* is to be considered as one character (*am*) or as two.

The expression "servant of justice," meaning "trustworthy servant," occurs elsewhere in these tablets and is sometimes replaced by *arad asirti* "servant of righteousness." It is very unfortunate that the commencement of the proper name is lost. My restoration would fit the line very well, but it is tempting to read (*amil*) *Ibri* "the Hebrew."

9. The scribe has written the wrong ideograph to express the idea of "times," owing to the fact that it had the same phonetic value (*su*) as the correct one. See above.

It is doubtful whether we should read *amkhats* or *amqut*, both

words having the same signification. Possibly the scribe intended either to be read.

10. The last character but one, though written *ut*, seems intended for *na*, since *apar abi* "the covering of the fathers," or *atam abi*, would yield no sense. *Anatu* is shown by W.A.I., II, 40, 41, to signify "an inscribed monument."

17. One of the peculiarities of these tablets from Tel el-Amarua is the attachment of the determinative affix of locality KI to the ideograph of country as well as to the names of places which are already preceded by the determinatives of country and city.

No. III.

Small square flesh-coloured tablet with minute handwriting; much damaged.

1 (a-)na sar-ri bili-ya
To the king my lord,

2 (a-)bi-ma at-ma
my father also, I speak

3 . . . khi ?-il ardu-ka D.P. A-ru-di
I il, thy servant, Arudi

4 (sepâ sarri) VII TA-A-AN u VIII TA-A-AN am-khats
(*under the king*) 7 *times and* 8 *times, I smote.*

5 sa śi-pu-na ebus
. *when a raid he made,*

6 D.P. Mil-ki ma-ar D.P. Ma-ar-ra-tim
(*even*) *Melech the son of Marratim* ["*the salt-marshes*"]

7 a-na mat sar-ri bili-ya,
against the country of the king my lord,

8 mu-khi-ru tsabi ali Ga-tur (?)-ri KI
commanding the forces of the city Gaturri (?),

9 tsabi ali Gi-im-ti KI
the forces of the city Gimti,

10 u tsabi ali Ki-il-ti KI
and the forces of the city Kilti.

11 Tsa-ab-tum mat ali Ru-bu-te KI
He took the country of the city of Rubute ("*princes,*")

12 pa-da-ka-at mat sar-ri
dependent on (?) *the country of the king,*

13 a-na amili kha-bi-ri
for the men confederated,

14 u i-na-an-na ap-pu-na
and again entirely

15 ali Sad-u-ru-ru-si KI
the city of Sadu-rurusi [or "*of the country of Ururusi*"]

16 ali bit D.P. NIN-IP . su-mu Mar-rum
the city of the temple of Uras: called Marru:

17 ali sar-ri pa-da-ka-at
the city of the king dependent on (?)

18 a-sar amili ali Ki-il-ti KI
the place of the men of the city of Kilti;

19 u XII alani sar-ri a-na napalkati-va
and 12 *cities of the king* (*he led*) *into revolt, and*

20 XII a . . ma ra gur (?) . . . pi . . ti
12

21 u sar-ru
and the king

22 u
and

23 pa-da-ka-at mati amili
dependent on (?) *the country the men*

24 X kha-bi-ri
10 *confederates*

25 sa (?) na mad (?) an-ni-sam
. *this*

EDGE.

1 u . . iz ki . . .
and

2 sar-ri a-na mati
of the king to the country . . .

3. The last character may be a misformed *ki;* in this case the name would be Aruki.

4. The characters in this line are particularly badly formed.

5. *Śipuna* must be a derivative from *śapanu.*

6. The scribe has evidently misunderstood the Semitic expression, "the king, the son of the marsh-lands," *i.e.*, "the inhabitant of the marsh-lands," and has turned Milki *(melech)* into a proper name, making Marratim the name of a person. Since Marratim was the designation of the marshes at the mouth of the Euphrates, and was consequently familiar to every Babylonian, it would appear that the scribe must have been an Egyptian. The names of the cities which follow show that the marshes in question were the sand-dunes of the Philistine coast. The "milki" or *melech* seems to have been named Arudi.

8. *Mukhiru* is the *nomen agentis* of *akharu.*

The second character composing the name of the city seems to to be intended for *tur;* at all events I can suggest no other identification for it. Its form may throw light on the origin of the Persian cuneiform letter *p.* With Gaturri the name of Gedor may be compared.

9. Gimti is associated with Ashdod by Sargon. Delitzsch has identified it with Gath.

10. Kilti may be the modern Kilâ, which is supposed to represent the Biblical Qeilah, which was in southern Judah (Josh. xv, 44).

11. *Tsabtum* may be translated: "there was taken." Rubute would be Rabbah in Hebrew, possibly the Rabbah of Judah mentioned in Josh. xv, 60.

12. The signification of *padakat* is approximately fixed by the context, but I have never met with the word elsewhere.

16. *Marru* is the Aramaic מָרֵא, "lord." The fuller form Μάρνα-ς is found on coins of Gaza as a title of Zeus.

24. Can these *khabiri,* or "confederates," be the people of Hebron? In ordinary Assyrian the initial *kheth* of חבר is lost.

No. IV.

A tablet of fleshy colour; greatly injured.

1. a-na sar-ri bil-ya
To the king my lord:

2. ina sumeli-ya Samsu KI-NE (kiluta)
on my left hand the Sun-god fire

3. ya-ru-uts-va its-ra arda-(ka)
let fall (?) and injured (?) (thy) servant,

4. amil ali Gesdin-din-na-KI arad
a man of the city of Gesdinna ("wine"), the servant

5. rabi sa sepâ-ka
of the officers who (are) under thee.

6. gid-di-sa-ka e-si-ka
Thy holiness I worship.

7. imiri sa sepâ bil-ya
The asses which at the feet of my lord

8. VII SU VII TA-A-AN
seven times seven

9. a-kim(?)-mi a-na-ku arad sarri
I collected (?) (even) I the servant of the king;

10. is-tu sa-ri-ti
from the stables (?)

11. sarri bili-ya ur-ru
of the king my lord I brought;

12. u a-nu-um-ma i-na (mati)
and now in (the country)

13. sar-ra bili-ya
of the king my lord

.....

3. *Yaruts* may be connected with the Arabic أرض, "to be low," and *itsra* with יצר. But compare also *uritsu*, "offspring."

4. The first character in the name of the city may be the Babylonian form of , *gur*, but this is unlikely, and we must read Gesdinna or Kurunna, the *din* being repeated twice. The name signifies "the city of wine."

6. *Qiddisa* seems to be קדש, and *esika*, a synonym of *nasaqu*.

9. The second character in this line is the Assyrian , *khar*, *mur* and *kin*. Here it ought to possess a phonetic value terminating in *-m*, and should probably be read *kim*. In this case the word would come from *kamu*, "to bind" or "collect."

10. With *sariti* compare the שרות or "caravans" of Ezek. xxvii, 25.

It is possible, however, that this tablet really refers to the conveyance of wine. The person mentioned in it belonged to "a city of wine." *Imiri* may signify "homers" of wine, *sariti* being "a wine-cellar." But the mutilated condition of the tablet makes anything like certainty out of the question.

No. V.

A small rectangular tablet of white clay, minutely written; much injured.

1 a-na sarra bila ban - u - (a)
To the king the lord who created (me)

2 ab-lu a-bi al-ki (u)
as a son to my father I went, (and)

3 IX u VII a-na sepi sarri Nu-(qu?) am-khats
9 *and* 7 *(times) at the feet of the king Necho (?) I smote,*

4 a-na-ku . . MES is-tu su-tin-ni
even I. The news (?) from the Soudan

5 sarru be-el-ya il-te-me
the king my lord has heard.

6 sa al-ka-su sarru a-na
When I went to him the king to

7 arad-su (D.P.) e-mu-ki
his servant emuki

8 ya pi sa iq-bi
. *(according to) the word which he spoke*

9 um-(ma) su-par e-te-bu-us
thus: as regards (what) I have done,

10 kha-ad-da-ku ma-rab ma-rab
I have rejoiced very exceedingly,

11 pa-ta-ri

12 ut ya

13 u ti i-na ti-lit-ni
and in our ascent (?)

14 ina ali Bi-du-na
into the city of Biduna

15 amil nakri-ya a-ra-da
my enemy I pursued.

16 si-par ir-zi-ti
Thereupon (to) the country

17 u la-ki kakki
and those who take a weapon

18 al-ki tsabi si-par (ina)
I went. The soldiers thereupon in

19 ir-ti sa a-bi
front of my father

20 u ina ir-ti D.P. La
and against La

21 ina sumeli (?) takh-pa
on the left (?) thou

.

2. It is possible that *ablu abi* should be interpreted literally here, the despatch-writer being really a son of the king.

3. The restoration *nu-(qu)* is supported by the fact that a part of Egypt (?) is called "the land of Nuqu" or Necho in No. 7, Rev. 5.

4. *Sutinni* is a derivative from *sutu* "the south wind," and therefore an exact equivalent of "the Soudan."

14. The name of the city may also be read Kasduna.

16. *Sipar*, from *saparu*, "to send," is frequently used adverbially, apparently in the sense of "thereupon." *Irziti* must be weakened from *irtsiti*, a phenomenon of which there are other examples in the Babylonian dialect.

No. VI.

A small dark tablet of coarse clay.

1 A-na sar-ri bil-ya
To the king my lord

2 ki ris-tum
as before

3 at-ma D.P. Zi-na-ar-pi
I speak, (even) Zinarpi

4 ardu-ka (tu)-ur si-ip-(ri)
thy servant, the messenger

5 sar-ri śir al-pi
of the king. The flesh of oxen

u su-ru
and bulls,

6 sir KHAR? a-na
the flesh of the heart (?) at
sepi sar-ri
the feet of the king

7 bili-ya a-kim (?) -mi
my lord I collect (?),

8 (a-na-) ku ardu sa-a sar-ri
I the servant of the king.

9 a-na-ku u
. *I and*

10 at sa-a

11 ebus

12 ardu-su . . .

13 es-te-mi . . .

14 arad sar-ri a-(na)
the servant of the king for

15 bili-ya a-kim (?) -mu
my lord I collect (?)

16 ki-i-ma Samsi is-tum
Like the sun-god(rising) from

17 D.P. yumi : sa sumu
the divine day: whose name(is)
ma-si
Masi:

18 la-a-ni la-u
my side the strong one

19 e-zi-ib a-ma- (at)
has left; the word

20 sar-ri bili-ya
of the king my lord

21 u amil IZ-KA
and of the gate-keeper:

22 da-a sa en-qa
'the knowledge of the wiseman

23 lim-di-ya
(is) my learning.'

EDGE.

1 ni-es-mu a-na
Attention (has been paid) to

2 sa-a-su
this (person).

3. The name of Zinarpi does not seem to be Semitic.

6. I cannot identify with certainty the character which follows the word *siru*, "flesh." It looks like the Babylonian form of , but it may be , "the intestines."

7. On a-kim (?) -mi see above No. V, 9.

8. The length of the vowel in *sâ* is noticeable. Comp. line 10.

17. *Masi* is letter for letter the same as the Hebrew משה, "Moses": see my *Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 46–50. This curious passage confirms the view I have there taken of the word. It is interesting to find the name in Egypt a century before the date assigned by Egyptologists to the Exodus.

No. VII.

Large clearly written tablet of coarse clay; much injured.

OBVERSE.

1 (a-na) SAR-ar bili-ya
To the king my lord:

2 ru amil Mi-ri-tum
. *ru the Miritian*

3 u D.P. A-zi-ru amil Mu
and Aziru the Mu

4 VI SU u VII SU a-na sepâ
6 times and 7 times at the feet

5 ili-ya u Samsi-ya am-(khats)
of my god and my Sun-god I smote.

6 Bil-ya ili-ya Samsi-ya
O my lord, my god (and) my Sun-god,

7 a-na-ku amil arda-tum u bani(?)-ya
I (am) a servitor and my sons (?)

8 u akhi-ya amili arda-tum
and my brothers (are) servitors

9 sa sar-ri bili-ya a-di ta-ri.
of the king my lord until my return (home).

10 a-nu-um-ma gab-bi mi-ri-ti temeni
Now all the Miritians the foundation-stones

11 sa sarri bili-ya u-se-es-se-ir
of the king my lord I have caused to arrange,

12 u sa (us)-ta-az-zi
and what I strengthened (?)

13 is-tu qu-tum bi-i-ti
after the completion (?) of the house

14 sarru bili-ya us-se-ir
the king my lord has directed.

15 a-nu-um-ma . . . sur . . .
Now

16 u itsi rab-bu-te
and the trees large

17 gab-bi sa us(?)
all which I (planted?)

18 is-tu qu-(tum) (bi-it)
after the completion (?) of the house

19 sar-ri bili-ya . . .
of the king my lord (I set in order)

20 (a-)na ip-(si-ti)
for the work.

The damaged state of this tablet makes it difficult to follow the sense of it, and there are several characters in it which I cannot identify with certainty.

2. The word *Miritum* appears in the plural *Miriti* in line 10. The analogy of *Śarditi*, in line 11 *Rev.*, would go to show that we should render it by "Mirian" rather than "Miritian." Can it refer to Meroe (Egyptian Berua)? It is clear that a war had been carried on against the Miritians, and that some of the captives taken in it were employed in building a palace for Khu-n-aten.

7. The character seems to be *ban* (not *amtu*, "slave-girl"). But I cannot explain how *bani* could be used in the sense of "sons"; we should expect *bini*.

8. The *teméni* were the inscribed clay cylinders placed under the foundations of a building. They will doubtless be brought to light if the *fellahin* continue their search for cuneiform tablets.

12. *Ustazzi* is a new word to me; its connection with *ezizu*, "to be strong," is more than doubtful.

13. *Qutum* is also new, unless we are to read *qutmu* in W.A.I. II, 36, 64. Possibly it is a mimmated derivative form *qatû*, "to bring to an end."

REVERSE.

1 (a)-na sar-ri (bili-ya)
To the king (my lord)

2 i-ga-bi (um-ma)
he speaks (thus:)

3 istu pa-an (amili)
from before (the men)

4 . . pa-am istu bili
. *from the lord*

5 u sarri mat Nu-qu
and the kings of the country of Necho . . .

6 . . . pu (?) XII (?) num-qar
.

7 u la-hu pa-an ni-si (sa)
and strong before the people of

8 ali Khar-mu-ri i-na sanati (?) h
the city of Kharmuri in the year (?)

9 bar pa . . . ali Zu-mu-ri-im-ma
. *the city of Zumurimma*

10 bili-(ya) u amili arda-tum a-di ta-ri
(*my*) *lord and the servitor until my return;*

11 u sarru a-lis amil Śa-ar-di-ti
and the king dismissed (?) *the Sardians*

12 u XII num-qar ? ya
.

13 bili-ya la tu-se-im-mi
. *O my lord thou dost not hear.*

14 u SAR-ar bil-ya ili-ya u Samsu-ya
And the king my lord, my god and my Sun-god,

15 amil Ya-ri-su-li (?) is-pur-ra-am
the Yarisu(l)ian has sent,

16 it-ti amil I ya
along with the I

17 u li-sim (me) . . .
and may he hear

18 sa i-ga-ab-(bi)
what he says

19 bili-ya i-na-an-na . . .
My lord again . . .

20 . . me-e u-ta
.

21 (sarru) bili-ya ili-ya (u Samsi-ya)
(*O king*) *my lord my god* (*and my Sun-god*).

EDGE.

1 kha-mud ipra us-se-ra-am
(*I* . . .) *khamud the ground have set in order.*

2 bi-ka istu qati sa sarri bili-ya u-bil
. , *from the hand of the king my lord I have brought.*

5. *Nuqu* is probably Necho; the name is written Niqu by Assur-bani-pal. See above V, 3.

6. For this line see line 12. I can throw no light on either.

8. Kharmuri may also be read Murmuri.

9. Zumurim-ma may also be read Zumurimba.

11. *Alis* I connect with the Arabic *hhalasa*, and construe as a permansive. The Śarditi can hardly be the Shardaina who make their appearance on the Egyptian monuments in the time of the 19th Dynasty.

14. We must notice that the king is called "god" and "sun-god," in accordance with Egyptian custom.

15. The word *Yari-su*(*li*) seems to be a compound of Yaru, the Hebrew יאר (Egyptian *aur*), "the Nile." The Nile is called the Yaru-û, or "great river," Egyptian *aur-âa*, by Assur-bani-pal.

20. Possibly in this line we have *utazzi* again.

No. VIII.

Large tablet of dark clay; much injured.

OBVERSE.

1 a-na sar mat Mi-its-ri pal-ya
To the king of the land of Egypt my son

2 at-ma sar mat A-la-si-ya pal-ka
I speak. The king of the land of Alasiya thy son

3 a-na ya-si sul-mu
towards me is at peace.

4 a-na kim-ri D.P. Ka-u (?)-sik-kid
For the family of Kausikkid

5 a-na dak du u (?) mas i-duk
for he killed

6 pa-nis sar mat Ak-ka-pi-suk-ka
openly the king of the country of Akkapisukka,

7 u a-na sin-bi mati-ka
and against two-thirds of thy country

8 (ma-)rab lu el(?)-mu
exceedingly he approached (?)

9 . . . ardu si-ma is-te-mi ?-ku
. . . the servant a report heard ?

10 ma BAR QA ta-kul-li
. . . . and half an ephah thou hast eaten (?);

11 (abnu ?) MI ali A-bi-is
the black (stone ?) of the city of Abis;

12 . . . abnu bi-ri MI
. . . the stone of black appearance;

13 la MI
. *black;*

14 . . . abnu MI su-ul-ma-na
. . . the black stone of Solomon;

15 ya (?)-si ma-du-ta . . .
. . . . *me (?) much*

16 GIS ta (?) cc eru . . .
. . . the wood . . . 200 *pieces of bronze;*

17 . . . te (?) bi ra (?) rab
. *great cups (?)*

18 am x bilat . . .
. 10 *talents* . . .

19 si-ip-(ri)
. . . . *a message* . . .

20 ta
.

21 mu-khi
.

22 us khi-is
.

I must leave it to other scholars to extract a better sense out of this important tablet, and to identify the numerous characters to which, although clearly formed, I am unable to assign with certainty any phonetic values. The meaning of the words which can be read is in many cases equally obscure.

1. *Mitsri* is written instead of the Assyrian *Mutsri*, as in the fragmentary annals of Nebuchadnezzar, showing that Mr. Pinches was right in there rendering it by "Egypt."

7. Here we may read *es-bi* ("habitations"?) instead of *sinbi*.

12. For *biri* see No. XIII, 2.

REVERSE.

1 su-pu . . .

2 ya sa . . .

3 ra ? la-a-hu . . .

4 SI-su ki-ma . . .
. . . *his face like?* . . .

5 la mu-kan-nin suma
. . . *not establishing? a name*

6 . . . i si-ip-ri-ya ma
. . . . *my message thus:*

7 . . . li-li-ki u at- (ta)
. . . *may he go, and do thou*

8 . . . i si-ip-ri-ka ip
. . . . *thy message he* . . .

9 mu-kan mu-kan ma i pa ni . .
.

10 li-li-ki-ma
. . . . *may he go also.*

No. IX.

A small tablet of light-coloured clay, minutely written; much worn.

1 (A-na D.P. Ri-ib ?-) AN-IM pal ya
(*To Rib?*)- *Addu my son*

2 (At-) ma sar KUR-KUR-KI-at (matat)
(*I speak*): *the king of the world*

3 am-kha-ra-si (?) u
(*says:*) *I have received it* (*?*), *and*

4 ab-la-ti arad bili
. *the children* (*?*) *of the servant of the lord.*

5 ga a-na sar-ri bil-ya
. *For the king my lord*

6 sepâ bili-ya ana pan ili-ya
. . . (*beneath*) *the feet of my lord, before my god,*

7 VII SU VII A-AN al-ku (ats)-ma-ad
7 *times* 7 *I took, I subjugated.*

8 i-nu-ma is-tu ka-sa-ad
At that time after the conquest

9 D.P. A-ma-si ap-pa a-na mu-khi-i-a
of Amasis I came forth (*?*). *To be over me*

10 ka-li amili akhi amil Na . . .
all the men, the brothers of the Na . . .,

11 pa-ni ba-nu a-na ya-si a-na . . .
the face made; against me a

12 ka-nu bi-rit arad a-si-ir-(ta)
they established in the sight of (*thy*) *righteous servant.*

13 Si-ma-tav es-me bil-li
The report heard my lord

14 a (*sic*) pi-te-MES arad-su u
from the open mouth of his servant and

15 amili ma-tsa-ar-ta u
the men of the watch; and

16 na-tsa-ar al sarri a-(sar)
the protection of the city of the king, the place

17 a-tsa tsa-bi bi-ta-ti
of the exit of the soldiers of Bitati

18 ga (?) ma (?) ya-nu ili bi-bi . . .
. *there are not the gods*

19 u en-ni-ip-su ka (-li ?)
and there were made all (*?*)

20 mati a-na . . . ga (?) MES si . . .
the countries for the

21 is-tu tsa-ma-ad ali . . si . .
after the subjugation of the city of

22 a-na bi-rit arad a-si-ir-ta
for the sight of the righteous servant,

23 u ki ir na khir ma ru na
and

24 bi (?) -bi-ka alu Du-la-u-ya
. *the city of Dulauya*

25 alu Tar-ru-na-KI u śi(-khir ?)
the city of Tarruna and the extent of (?)

26 ka-li matati a-na amili
all the countries for the men

27 II ali-KI sa amil Iz (?) -ri (?) . . .
the two cities of the people of

28 si-ma-tu la yu- (sap-par ?)
The report he does not send (?)

29 es-tu pan ab sar-ri Samas
. . . . *before the father of the king the Sun-god*

30 bil-li amili ma-tsa-ar-ta
my lord: the men of the watch

31 a-na ⟦ alu Ni-na-a-KI a (?) -nam (?) (?)
for the same, the city of Nineveh I (?)

32 ina tar-tsi ti-ar-ti
in the time of the return

33 ? da na
.

34 mat E-nu u alu Śa-ab na-nu
the country of Enu and the city of Śab

35 ki-ma itstsuri sa i-su-ri
like a bird which flies away

36 . . pa (?) kha ri u ki a bi (?) sa . . .
.

37 na ma
.

38 ab-la-ki sa-nu-tu
. *thy son (?) the second*

39 la a ma e
.

40 (? alu Du-) la-u-ya es-tu
the city of Dulauya ?

41 IZ KHAR ti
. . . . *the floors*

42 en-ni-ip-sa-at
. . . . *were made*

43 matati-KI
. . . . *countries*

44 (arad) a-si-ir-ta
a righteous servant.

EDGE.

1 AN UR-KU u
. . . . *the divine dog and*

2 sa matat sar-ri-ya
. . . . *of the countries of my king*

The obliteration of the characters and our ignorance of the signification of many of the words render it impossible to understand the purport of this tablet. Its importance lies in the mention of Amasis (line 9). In line 1 we seem to have the name of Rib-Addu (as, according to Winckler, variants show the name should be pronounced). See X, 28.

7. I suppose that *alku* represents *alqu*, but it may signify "I went." For *atsmad* "I yoked" or "subjugated," see line 21.

9. Here the name of Amasis is written with *shin*, whereas in the fragment of the annals of Nebuchadnezzar discovered by Mr. Pinches it is written with *samech*. *Appa* must be a verb rather than the noun *appu* "face," and I imagine it to belong to *epu* or *apu*, which in Assyrian has the sense of "coming forth."

12. As I have remarked elsewhere, the common preposition *birit* is literally "(in) the sight," from *baru* "to see."

The expression "servant of righteousness," *i.e.*, "righteous servant," is parallel to the expression "servant of justice" (*arad kitti*) in II, 4.

14. As I have noticed above (I, *Rev.* 8) *a* is miswritten here for *pi*, the scribe having been led into error by the fact that ⊨|⊢ *pi* has the value *a*.

17. Bitati is named along with other Syrian localities from which wine was procured by Nebuchadnezzar (W.A.I. I, 65, 25). The ideograph of "country" is omitted before it, apparently because the scribe connected the word with *bitu* "house."

23. This line is unintelligible to me, unless we may read *ki-ma* "like," instead of *ki-ir*. *Nakhir Maruna* would then be "a dolphin of Maruna."

24. The first character may be intended for *i*, the word being *i-bi-ka* "he destroyed."

29. *Estu* is a new word to me.

31. The name of Ninâ is important, as it probably represents Nineveh. None of the tablets however examined by Winckler and Lehmann refer to Assyria.

41. We should read *utsurati* "floors."

No. X.

Tablet of yellow clay of rectangular form.

1 ana sar-ri sarru bil-(ya)
To the king: the king my lord

2 it-ta-su si-ma-te
has received the reports

3 sar-ri eli-su si-ma
of the king concerning himself; hear!

4 lim-nu-u a-na-ku u-ul
hostile (am) I not

5 ma-tsa-ar-tu u u-ul
to the watch and not

6 ba-la-adh sarri a-na-ra
to the life of the king: I deliver up

7 ya-si u D.P. Pa-khu-nu
myself; and Pakhunu

8 a-pa-ruv ib-sa-ra ma
the conspiracy (?) has reported thus:

9 ana amilu A-si us-si-ir
'against the Asi I have directed

10 amili mat Ra(?)-tam u
the men of the country of Ra(?)tam, and

11 ardu (?) rabu amil Se-ir-ru u
the officer of the Serrû,

12 u III amili U-NI
and 3 men guards (?)

13 ina su-ri-ib a-na mat Mi-its-ri
at the entrance into the land of Egypt,

14 u ma ni-pi-se MES
and also the ammunition

15 ti-sa-te ali Gu-tuk
the property of the city of Gutuk,

16 u ta(?)-li-e
and the arms (?)

17 sa ina ali (?) Pu-gur ib-su
which in the city (?) of Pugur were,

18 istu ali A-bi-es is-tu
from the city of Abes, from

19 gur-ri-ti A-bi-es
the road to Abes,

20 a-na ya-si: Si-ma-tav es-me
for myself. The report heard

21 sar-ru a (*sic*) pite ardu-su
the king from the open mouth of his servant

22 u pi pi-si-ra
and the month explanatory

23 amili ni-ga(?)-ti-pu . .
the men

24 ? ar-tam pani-su
. *before him*

25 zur(?)-bu QI(?)-su a-na-ku
? *his messenger* (?) *I.*

26 si-mi a-mi-kha
The report (?) *I presented* (?).

27 u-ul ti-im-mu (u)
Thou didst not speak:

28 (D.P.) Ri-ib-AN-IM is-tap-ri
Rib-Addu he sent

29 (is)-tu eni-su sar matati
from his eyes, O king of the world;

30 u ta-am-kha-ar
and thou receivest

31 an (?) nin (?) sa gur te la
.....

32 ti-di-en e-ga a-na
thou givest a crown. To

33 sar-ri bil-ya a-na
the king my lord, at

34 sepi bil-ya si-par-ya
the feet of my lord my message

35 VII SU VII si-par pi am-da-(akh-khar)
7 *times* 7 *the message of my mouth I presented.*

36 ka..... pi Mas-pu-ruv akhi
..... *the mouth of Maspuru* (*my*) *brother*

37 ru..... (a?)-mi-ra - ma ebu-us
..... *I supplied* (?) *and I made*

38 a..... na-nu i-na
..... *in*

39 a-bu-ti-ya
..... *my forefathers*

40 amili (na)-tsa-ar sarri
the men (*for*) *the protection of the king*

41 ti-su-nu u me-im-me
..... *their* *and what*

42 sar-(ru) nu u lim-nu-u
the king and an enemy

43 a-na-ku ya-nu ba-la-adh
I am not to the life

44 sar-ri-ya ana ya-si-ma
of my king: as to myself indeed

45 ya-nu arad a-si-ir-ti
it is not (so); (I am) a righteous servant

46 sar-(ri) ti-ya a-na
of the king; my (righteousness?) (is) to (be)

47 i-na ya
in the (service?) of my (king?)

48 (a-na) na-tsa-(ar) ni-is(?)
to protect

49 a mi
.

50 (a)-na
for

51 amili ma-tsa-ar-(tu)
the men of the guard.

EDGE.

1 MES i-na mati Ni-ʔ-ri-si
. . . . *the . . . in the country of Ni . . risi.*

2 (a)-nu si-mi-ya-si a-nu ma-rab
Now hear me. Now greatly

3 . . la ta-din D.P. Mas-pu-ru a-na episi
. . . . *thou givest Maspuru for the work.*

4 ki-ma a-sum-ma us-mu
Like a sinner (?) I wait (?)

2. *Ittasu* is the iphteal of *nasû.*

4. The construction in this line shows that the writer could not have been a Babylonian.

6. *Anara* is literally "I put a yoke on," "enslave."

7. Pakhunu seems to be an Egyptian name.

8. *Ibsara* is from the well-known *basâru*, Heb. בשר. *Aparu* means "a girdle" or "crown," akin to the verb *apâru*, "to cover;" here, however, some sense like that of "conspiracy" seems to be required. But the word may be a proper name, agreeing with Pakhunu.

9. According to Prof. Maspero Asi is the reading of the Egyptian name of Cyprus.

12. U-NI is new to me.

15. I derive *tisate* from *isu*, "to possess." We may read Gudug as well as Gutuk.

18, 19. For Abes see VIII, 11. *Gurriti* seems to be another form of *girriti*.

26. I do not know whether the root of *amikha* is *amâkhu* or *mâkhu*.

28. According to Winckler variants give Addu in place of AN IM. See IX, 1.

41. *Memme* is probably identical with *mimma*.

Edge 4. I suppose that *usmu* has the same root as *usmanu*, "a camp," although it is tempting to compare the Heb. אשם.

No. XI.

Small tablet of dark clay, finely written. The commencement is destroyed.

OBVERSE.

7 alu Tsu-mu-(ra)
The city of Simyra

8 lim-ni-it sup-li
the hostility of those below

9 AN BAR(?)QA(?) matati u
. *countries and*

10 Bir (?)-na-ni sar Ta-bal
Bir(?)nani the king of Tubal

11 D.P. KUR-RA-MES a-na ya-si
(*sent*) *the horses to me,*

12 u us-pi-ra be-la-ta
and he directed the tribute

13 ki-ma ar-khi-es
as in haste

14 a-na ali Tsu-mu-ra a-na
to the city of Simyra, for

15 na-tsa-ri-MES ka-li
the protection of all

16 amili ma-tsa-ar-ti
the men of the watch,

17 sa-a ir-ti-khu mar-tsa
who armed themselves with difficulty.

18 ru amili
(? There watched) the men

19 i-na ri-mu ali sarri
in the habitations of the city of the king,

20 la-a na (?) KI-ta kar
not (?) below the quay

21 ya(?)-si-ru-na u
they had directed; and

7. Tsumura is the Tsimirra of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Zemar of Gen. x, 18, the Simyra of classical geography.

9. Perhaps we may read "the Sun-god of the world" (AN UT *matati*).

10. It is very doubtful whether 《 can signify "king" in a Babylonian inscription of this date, and I should therefore prefer to make *tabal* a derivative from *abalu*, "to bring," and render "20 convoys of horses."

17. *Irtikhu* from *ratakhu*, whence *tartakhu*, "a spear."

19. *Rimu* from *ramû*, "to dwell."

REVERSE.

1 (a-na) sar-ri bili-ya
to the king, my lord

2 Samsi-ya at-ma D.P. Ri-ib-AN-IM
my Sun-god I speak, Rib-Addu

3 ardu-ka ma-a su-lum ana bil-ya
thy servant, thus: Peace to my lord

4 epis-tu-ya VII SU VII TA-AN
is my work seven times seven.

5 sar rabu-tu D.P. yu-me sar-ru
O king of the mighty, divine day, the king

6 bil-li a-na-ku arad
my lord; I the servant

7 ki-ti-su ma-ri-its ma-rab
of his justice have been very sick.

8 a-na ya-si ga-rib nukur-tum
Against me approached hostility

9 a-na abli arad a-si-ir-ta i-ru-bu
against the sons of the righteous servant they marched

10 i-na mat A-khar-ra-a ka-su-(si)
into Phœnicia, conquering

11 ka-li mati-KI alu Tsu-mu-ri
all the country; the city of Simyra

12 u alu Râ-mas-ta ir-ti-khu
and the city of Ramantha armed themselves

13 a-na amilu rabu u a-nu-ki i-na
against the governor, and I in

14 ali Tsu-mu-(ra) ali I-ni-se-ti-ti
the city Simyra, the city of Inisetiti,

15 i-nu-ma ma-ri-its amilu rabu
at that time was sick. The governor

16 eli nukur-ti i-ti-ri
in regard to the attack understood (?).

17 alu Du-la-u-ya
The city of Dulauya

18 D.P. Zi-im-khu-ut
Zimkhut

19 D.P. Ya-pa-AN-IM
Yapa-Addu

20 A-nu-ki ki
I when

.

EDGE.

1 Ya-nu alu Ak(?)-kut-ti-ni ina mat Khu . . .
There is the city of Ak(?)kuttini in the country of Khu . . .

2 a-na u gu-ma-tu-MES mu
for and

3 kas-su-sa-at ka-li matati[-KI]
conquering all the countries

4 ina ni bar ku . . . sar-ri
in of the king.

6, 7. The meaning is "his just servant."

12. The polyphony of the first two characters makes the reading *Râ-mas-ta* very doubtful. Ramantha, however, lay near Simyra, and is now represented by Ladakiyeh.

17. For the city of Dulauya *see* IX, 24.

20. Winckler and Lehmann point out that *anuki* instead of the Babylonian *anaku* may be due to the influence of the Phœnico-Hebrew *anôchi*.

No. XII.

Fragment of black clay, of which only the end of the obverse is preserved.

1 su-ni-su-nu eli
. . . *their* *over*

2 alu (?) an-na-am a-na-ku . . .
. *this* (*city ?*) *I* . . .

3 tum-su-nu amili
. *their* *the men* . . .

4 am-mi-ni-im-ma a-na-(ku)
wherefore (*am*) *I*

5 u ru se khir AN . . .
and

6 u i-ra-as-si
and he possesses

7 at-si . . . su-nu-ma a-(na-ku)
I *them, and I*

8 u-ma si-ip-ri as-(pur)
thus the message sent

9 a-na pa-ni AN-UT-si
to the presence of the Sun-god . . .

10 i-na-an-na at-(ma)
Again I speak:

11 (Sid-)ni-na sar mat
O Sid(?)nina king of the country of . .

12 am-mi-ni mi-na
why what

13 yu-tsa-bat mi-(na)
has he seized, what

14 is-pur ma II SU
has he sent also twice . .

15 u ki-ya-am ik-(bi)
and thus has he said:

16 u a-na mat Mi-its-ri . . .
and to the country of Egypt . .

17 sum ma-mi-tu se-pa
the name of an oath under

18 a-nu-um-ma
now

19 Sid-ni-na tirtu ri-im . . .
O Sid(?)nina, the reading

20 it-ti-ya i-na ki-ir-(bi)
with me in the middle

21 ti-la-MES ma-la-a ir-rid . . .
of the mounds as many as

23 te-ik-bi ti-la-MES bi-nu-ru (?) . . .
thou hast said: the mounds

24 (lu-)u i-te-mi sum ma-mi-(ti)
verily he has pronounced the name of the oath

25 ali Ni(?)-i-na(?)
. . . *the city of N.* (?)

11, 19. It is unfortunate that the first character should have so many values: *mis*, *rid*, *sid*, *lak*, &c.

19. 𒁀 𒁹𒌋, according to W.A.I. II, 27, 47, is to be read: *tirtuv sa sipri*, "knowledge of writing."

21. Perhaps we should read ideographically TI-LA-MES, "life."

No. XIII. A and B.

Two large fragments belonging to a single tablet or slab of clay of very great size, and probably of rectangular form.

A.

1 IX KHU sa GIS DAN (u) abnu 1 alpu abni du-ul-lu-di
9 *birds of* usu *wood* (*and*) *stone*; 1 *bull of stone*

2 IX ur-riq-te MI sa IMMA bi-ri GAL-GAL
9 *green-stones dark of* *an amount very great.*

3 IX sa-am-mu sa IMMA bi-ri PA KAS (?) ip-si-ba
9 *plants of* *an amount*

4 X ê-u-khum khum-mu-khu sa IMMA bi-ri PA (KAS?)
10 *houses of* *of* *an amount*

5 XXIX ki-is-pu-u sa GIS-BAR nakri sa (IMMA bi-)ri PA KAS?
29 *gourds of of a foreign tree of* *an amount*

6 khi-gar LUKH PAP khum-mu-khu ra(?)-nu bu
a . . . *pure* (*?*), *foreign* (*?*)

7 ku-ru-ba-nu sa IMMA bi-ri PA KAS (?)
crows (*?*) *of* *an amount*

8 CCCLXXV LUKH PAP IMMA bi-ri PA KAS (?) a
375 *foreign products* (*?*) . . . *an amount*

9 XIX GIS-DAN khum sa IMMA bi-ri PA-KAS (?)
19 usu-*trees* *of* *an amount*

10 XIX te-ti nakri abni sa IMMA bi-ri PA KAS (?)
19 teti *foreign of stone of* *an amount*

11 I AN abu KUR-na abni sa IMMA bi-ri KAS (?) [ar-da]
one divine father *of stone of* *an amount* . . . [*domestic*]

12 (I)II sa ri-e-si sa IMMA bi-ri
3 *of which the heads* (*are*) *of* *an amount.*

13 (I)I ku-ku-pu sa IMMA bi-ri PA KAS (?) [ku-u-pi sum-su]
2 kukupu *of* *an amount* [kupi (*is*) *its name*]

14 I alpu sa LUKH PAP sa IMMA bi-ri PA KAS (?)
one ox of foreign origin (*?*) *of* *an amount*

15 KHU sa LUKH PAP sa IMMA bi-ri PA KAS (?)
... *bird*(*s*) *of foreign origin* (*?*) *of* *an amount*

16 GIS id-du arqu(?)-tim(?) sa IMMA bi-ri PA KAS (?)
..... *iddu wood green* (*?*) *of* *an amount*

17 kas-su-di I alpu i-na-din AM-su
.... *acquisitions; one ox; he gives its wild ox.*

18 ru sa IMMA bi-ri PA KAS (?)
..... *of* *an amount*

In spite of the novelty of so many of the words, and my inability to identify several of the characters, the nature of the tablet to which these fragments belonged is very evident. It was an inventory of certain property belonging to the Egyptian king, and stored by him in his new capital of Khu-Aten, "the glory of the solar disk."

1. *Usu* or *esu* wood (W.A.I. II, 45, 48, Strassmaier 2734) was expressed by ideographs denoting "the strong wood." It has nothing to do with *esu* "a girdle," but is, I believe, derived from the name of the district of Edom known as עשו in the Old Testament. Usu was the name of a Phœnician city which the Assyrian monuments describe as lying on the coast a little to the south of Acre, and it corresponds with the Ushâ of the Talmud. Phœnician mythology placed Usôos in the next generation to the race of giants after whom the mountains of Kasios and Lebanon were named, and made him the inventor of boats and of skins for wearing-apparel, as well as the first who consecrated Bethels to the worship of the fire and wind, and sacrificed animals.

The first and last character of *du-ul-lu-di* are not quite certain.

2. *Urriqu* is given as the name of a green stone in W.A.I. II, 26, 53. The character, of which the Accadian value was IMMA, is explained by *tsûmu*, "thirst," in W.A.I. V, 31, 37, II, 17, 23.* This, however, cannot be its signification here. The Accadian *imma* is rendered by *belutu*, "lordship," W.A.I., IV, 21, 27.

* The ideograph is composed of the characters for "mouth," and "white" through thirst.

3. I have supposed that *biri* represents *biru*, "product," but it may be *biru*, "appearance." The character which follows PA is new to me, and I cannot suggest any interpretation of either the one or the other.

5. For *kissû*, "gourds," *see* W.A.I. I. 42, 1.

6. The three first words of this line are all equally unknown to me. From line 8 it appears probable that LUKH-PAP means "foreign product";  is certainly "foreign," and  is "a messenger."

7. *Kurubu* is "crow," W.A.I. II, 37, 17.

9. *Khum* seems a contraction of *khummukhu*.

11. The gloss *arda* seems to be upon the last character of the line.

13. The *kukupu* is further on described as being of stone; consequently it cannot be *kukubanu*, "the entrance of the stomach" (W.A.I. II, 40, 7); nor can *kûpi* be the Egyptian *κῶφι*, "a medicine," or the Hebrew קוף, "an ape."

17. I follow Lotz in rendering *amsu* by "elephant."

B.—OBVERSE.

1 XIII za-raq kha-ru sa ina a-gi zi-ya-at rak-nim (?)
13 *lambs(?) which (were) in a crown(?)*
sum-su
(is) its name.

2 VII sal-li-KHU sa ti-lul(?)-ki sa (agi?) abni
7 *salli birds which (were) of of the stone*
AN śantu MI
(called) the dark turquoise

3 VII ga-nu-u sa mi-ki-da . . . u sa (agi?)
7 *canes which the flame of . . .*

4 XIV ga-nu-u da-la-li-su sa (? agi)
14 *canes for carpets (?) of*

5 I mâ-zi-lu GIS be-lit-ti sa (agi?)
one mazilu of the wood of the goddess of

6 I ga-nu-u da-mâ-mi ki-pak-ki-num (?) nakri sa (agi?)
one cane foreign of
bar-si
half a mineh (?)

7 VI te-bu-u sa (agi?) ?-te-su-nu ku(?)-ri-mi-te
6 tebu *of* ... *their*

8 I mu-ul(?)-li(?) sa GIS zi-mi-i sa (agi?)
one *of of* zimi *wood of*

9 kal(?) na-ku biti sa abni
altogether (*?*) *of a house of stone*

10 IV na-ab-bat te-gur ar-ri sa (agi?)
4 nabbat *of* ...

11 I QAR-QAR-GAL (agi?) sa sarr-ut sarri
one great qarqar *of* ... *for the kingdom of the king*

12 kal(?) na-ku(?) mâ sepi (agi?) sa TUR
altogether (*?*) *of the feet of* ... *which* (*is*) *small.*

13 I lamaśśu (agi?) sa TUR sa sinnestu sarri
one colossus of ... *which* (*is*) *small for the wife of the king*

14 I lamaśśu (agi) sa TUR sa TUR-RAK-ti
one colossus of *which* (*is*) *small for the daughter*
sarri
of the king.

15 II GIS-TE-MES sa GIS su-ban(?)-su-ki (agi?) sa TUR
2 *thrones of the wood of* *of* *which* (*are*) *small.*

16 II GIS-TE-MES sa GIS su-ban(?)-su-ki (agi?) sal khu zu
2 *thrones of* *wood of*

17 I GIS-MÂ sa GIS ERIN e-ri nakri (agi?) sal khu zu mas te ur ni(?)
one ship of cedar wood foreign of
AS-TE-MES-SU
its seats.

18 kal(?) VI GIS .. KHI-A ? du-ti sa i-di at ga?
Altogether (*?*) 6 *trees* *which the hands*

19 I GIS maialu (agi?) sa TUR sepi-su DAN-KHI-A
one wooden couch of ... *which* (*is*) *small, its feet* (*are*) *strong.*

20 I GIS maialu (agi?) sa TUR: sa ri-e-si
one couch of ... *which* (*is*) *small: of which the head* (*is*)
(agi?) sa TUR
of ... *which* (*is*) *small.*

21 V GIS-PA TUR tu-ku (agi?) sa TUR
5 *sceptres small of ... which (are) small.*

22 I GIS-PA TUR tu-ku (agi?) sa TUR
one small sceptre of ... which (is) small.

23 GIS GU-ZA sa ... sal-khu-zu
2 *thrones which ...*

1. *Zaraqu* means "to pour out libations," and *zirqu* is "a lamb" according to W.A.I. V, 28, 6. *Kharu* is possibly identical with the Egyptian Khar, "Phœnicia," in case this is not to be read Khal.

In place of *a-gi*, elsewhere a character is written which seems to be a compound of and .

4. I suppose that *ganû* represents *qanû*, and that *dalabi-su* is from *dalabu* (W.A.I. II, 35, 56). *Dalbu* is rendered *mîšu*, "clean."

6. *Barsi*, or *parsi*, may be *bar-sa*, which occurs frequently in the contract tablets.

9. *See* lines 12 and 18. One of the values of was *kalû*, and it is possible that the character is here used for *kal*, "everything."

17. The phonetic *eri* is added after the ideograph of *erin*, "cedar."

REVERSE.

3 I ku-ku-pu sa abni ... su i-lu-da sum-su
one kukupu *of stone* iluda (*is*) *its name.*

4 AN Gi-ra-te sa (abni) II katu ra-bu-u sa abni khi-na
The god Girate of stone (*with*) 2 *great hands of stone*

5 AN UT khi(?)-bu-u sa abni sa abni
a Sun-god *of stone* *of stone.*

6 I ga-an-tu śi(?)-si-te-ku(?) sa abni'
one *of stone.*

7 II a-ga-nu-du abni XXXVIII is
2 *bowls* (*?*) *of stone*, 38

8 I LUKH PAP sa abni GIS tu-?-a sum-su
one foreign product (*?*) *of stone*, ... (*is*) *its name.*

9 AN ku-ku-pu sa abni na-am-sa sum-su
the divine kukupu of stone; namsa (*is*) *its name.*

10 II sa ri-e-si kak-ku-te sa abni
2 of which the heads are pointed with stone.

11 I sa ri-e-si kak-ku-te sa abni ki-se-e
one of which the head is pointed with the stone of Cush (?).

12 I za-raq kha-ru sa ina ⟨⟨ zi-at rak-nim sum-su
one lamb (?) which (is) in the same ; (is) its name.

13 IX LUKH UT sa abni UT pi-ab-za sum-su
9 white products (?) of white stone ; pi-abza (is) its name.

14 na-ap-kha-ar u-nu-te-MES ri-ku-te sa abni
In all the furniture carved out of stone (amounts to)

15 C su-si XIV III
one hundred sosses and $14 \times 60 + 3$ (=6843):

16 CXVII abni ma-li-te sa amil SU-I
117 stones unworked belonging to the eunuch

17 IX GIS di-man (?)-nu sa GIS NUN IMMA bi-ri du (?)-ul-(lu-di)
9 of royal wood . . . an amount

18 II GIS di-man (?)-nu sa GIS DAN IMMA bi-ri du(?)-ul-lu-di
2 of usu wood . . . an amount

12. It is difficult to determine whether the expression, "the same," refers to the *agi* of *Obv.* 1, or to "the divine *kukupu*" mentioned just above.

14. *Rikute* is literally "hammered," Heb. רקע.

16. *Malite* is literally "full," or complete."

SU-I is interpreted *gallabu* "a razor," in W.A.I. II, 46, 47. "The man of the razor," however, cannot be "the barber," as his name was written differently according to W.A.I. II, 24, 58.

I doubt whether many of the names of objects in the above list are Assyro-Babylonian. Egyptian scholars will be able to say whether such words as *kûpi*, *namsa*, &c., added by the scribe are of Egyptian origin. They are certainly not Assyrian.

By way of conclusion, I would draw attention to the curious legend preserved by Macrobius (Saturn. I, 23, 10), which accounted for the introduction of the worship of the Egyptian Sun-god into Baalbek. His words are: "Assyrii quoque Solem sub nomine

Jovis, quem Dia Heliopoliten cognominant, maximis ceremoniis celebrant in civitate quæ Heliopolis nuncupatur; ejus dei simulacrum sumptum est de oppido Ægypti, quod et ipsum Heliopolis appellatur, regnante apud Ægyptios Senemure, seu idem Senepos nomine fuit; perlatumque est primum in eam per Opiam legatum Deleboris regis Assyriorum sacerdotesque Ægyptios, quorum princeps fuit Partemetis; diuque habitum apud Assyrios postea[quam] Heliopolim commigravit."

It is worth notice that the two names Se-nemuris and Se-nepos bear some resemblance to Nimmuriya and Napkhururiya, with the Egyptian *se* "son" prefixed, while the latter part of the names of Delebores and Burna-buryas is also similar. But it must be remembered on the other hand that the Heliopolis to which Macrobius refers is Baalbek, and that his "Assyrians" are really "Syrians." *

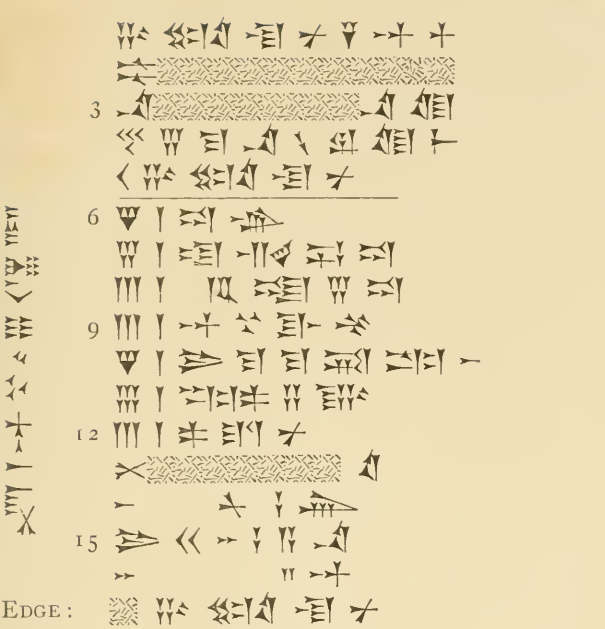
* Copies of these texts will be published as soon as possible.

A BABYLONIAN TABLET.

By Theo. G. Pinches.

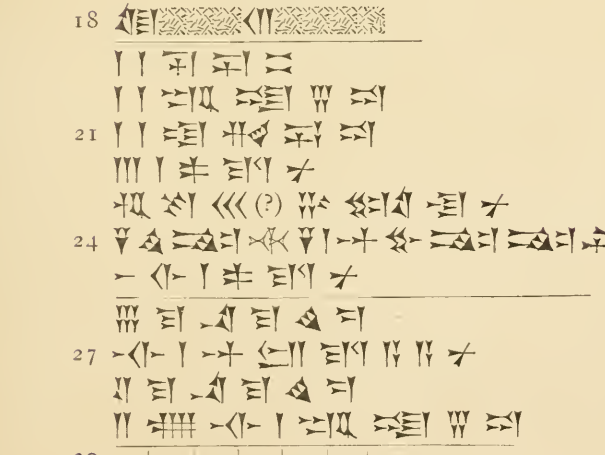
The accompanying text, which Mr. Rylands kindly allowed me to copy, is inscribed on a small oblong tablet of unbaked clay, about $2\frac{5}{16}$in. long by $1\frac{1}{8}$in. broad. The inscription, which is in the Babylonian style, is exceedingly well written, but is unfortunately mutilated and indistinct in some places. The injuries which the text has received seem to be mostly modern, the tablet having been given (so Mr. Rylands informs me) to a workman "to clean and mount." A series of scratches which give the surface a kind of "grain," and which seem to have been produced by sandpaper or a file, testify to his efforts in the cleaning line; and the partial obliteration of lines 1–3, 13–18, 30 and 31, tell of his attempts to make the ends of a suitable shape to allow of their being inserted in a kind of pedestal. Apparently, also, he found that he was damaging the object too much, the writing having disappeared in some places, so he tried to imitate the appearance of writing by sundry scratches which, although they have filled up the spaces originally occupied by the text, have tended neither to improve the tablet nor make what remained more readable.

	Transcription.	*Translation.*
	Ḫa-li-la-nu ša parzilli	*Pipes* (?) *of iron*
	ub-	
3.	na- -na-ki	
	irbâ-ḫaššu ma-na gam-ru napalsuḫu	45 *mana complete, the weight*
	êšrit ḫa-li-la-nu	*of* 10 *pipes* (?)
6.	Irbit Du-muḳ	4 (*from*) *Dumuḳ*
	ḫaššit Âbi-gi-e-du	5 (*from*) *Abi-gêdu*
	šalšit Bêl-îšdi-ia-ukîn	3 (*from*) *Bêl-îšdia-ukîn*
9.	šalšit Šadû-rabû-iddin	3 (*from*) *Šadû-rabû-iddin*
	irbit (âmelu) Ma-ma-ta-ka-ru^{m}	4 (*from*) *the* Mamatakaru^{m}
	šiššit Nabû-za-kir	6 (*from*) *Nabû-zakir*



Edge:

Reverse.



Edge:

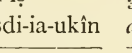
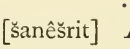
Tablet in the Possession of Mrs. Daubeney.

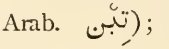
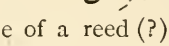
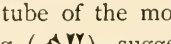
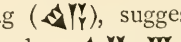
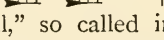
12.	šalšit Pa-da-nu	3 (*from*) *Padanu*
	napḫariš tam	*altogether*
	 -ir	
15.	âmelu a-na	*the man* *to*
	 an	
	 ḫa-li-la-nu	. . *pipes* (?)

REVERSE.

18.	ki	
	Eštin Si-e- (?) bi	1 (*from*) *Sêbi* (?)
	eštin Bêl-îšdi-ia-ukîn	1 (*from*) *Bêl-îšdîa-ukîn*
21.	eštin Abi-gi-e-du	1 (*from*) *Abi-gêdu*
	šalšit Pa-da-nu	3 (*from*) *Padanu* (*and*)
	ešt-en-te šelašâ (?) ḫa-li-la-nu	*the* 1*st* (?) 30 (?) *pipes* (?)
24.	ša ḫi-bil-ti ša D.P. Bu-ne-ne-ibnî	*which* (*are*) *the pledge* (?) *of Bunene-ibnî*
	îna pan Pa-da-nu	*in the possession of Padanu.*
	Šiššit ma-na ma-ḫi-iṣ	6 *mana stamped*
27.	îna pan D.P. Nergal-da-a-a-nu	*in the possession of Nergal-daânu*
	šuššan ma-na ma-ḫi-iṣ	⅓ *of a mana stamped*
	šan-u îna pan Bêl-îšdi-ia-ukîn	*again, in the possession of Bêl-îšdia-ukîn*
30.		
	Ina âraḫ Âari, ûmu [šanêšrit]	*In the month Iyyar,* 12*th day.*

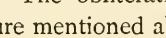
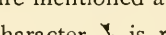
REMARKS.

1. The word *ḫalilanu*, which is not quite clear in the original, is made quite certain by a comparison with lines 5, 17, and 23. *Ḫalilanu* is the plural of *ḫalilu*, of which the construct form, , *ḫa-li-il*, occurs in the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier's *Inschriften von Nabonidus*, p. 217 (358, l. 1). With this word may be compared the Heb. חָלִיל, pipe or flute, so called from its being pierced (חָלַל, to pierce). *Ḫalil parzilli* and *ḫalilānu ša parzilli* probably mean therefore "tube of iron" and "tubes of iron," possibly for the conveyance of water. Another word for tube is apparently , *di-du*, which translates the Akkadian  *imi*; and we find also the expressions , *imi in-nu* =

dîd tibni, "pipe of straw" "halm" (for *tibni*, gen. of *tibnu*, compare Heb. תֶּבֶן, Arab. تِبْن);  *imi in-nu-ri* = *dîd îlti*, "pipe of a reed (?)";  = *dîd pî*, apparently "tube of the mouth," the Akkadian equivalent, with its plural ending (), suggesting a series of pipes for producing different sounds;  = *dîd ûlapi*, "pipe of the districts around (?)"; and  = *kunukku*, and  = *kaniku*, both meaning, apparently, "cylinder-seal," so called in Akkadian from these objects being pierced with a hole. , however, seems also to have meant "channel or bed of a river." *Cf.* W.A.I., V, pl. 27, l. 10 and 11: , *imi-gu-a-abba* = *ḳadut tâmti*, "bed of the sea," , *imi-gu-idda* = *ḳadut nâri*, "channel of a river."

2 and 3. The obliteration of these two lines is owing to the modern erasure mentioned above.

4. The character  is rather indistinct, but the word implied by the context is that here given, namely *gamru*. The last character of this line, which is written as , *me*, is no doubt intended for , *lal*, forming, with the foregoing character, the group , *ki-lal*, a group which is equivalent to the Semitic Babylonian *napalsuḫu*, "to weigh."

7. , *Abi-gêdu*. A parallel to this name occurs on the tablet 88–5–12, 98, l. 8: , *Abi-bîlu*, "The father (or my father) rules (?)." *Abi-gêdu* probably means "The father (or my father) binds fast."*

9. Instead of *Šadû-rabû-iddin*, it would, perhaps, be better to read *Bêl-iddin*.

13–18. In line 13 the erasure is apparently ancient, and really consists, in the original, of a broad and rather deep line, which the modern improver has tried, apparently, to imitate at the end of the reverse. Seemingly, also, lines 14 and 16 have been anciently

* Were it not for the name *Abi-gêdu*, the name *Abi-bîlu* might, as the Rev. C. J. Ball has suggested to me, be read *Adbîlu*, and compared with the Heb. אַדְבְּאֵל, *Adbeel*, with which it would then correspond exactly. *Adgêdu* is also a possible reading, instead of *Abi-gêdu*. Did the Babylonians borrow the Akkadian word *ad* "father?"

erased and written over, as the writing is exceedingly close here. Lines 16–18. however, have also suffered damage at a recent date. In line 15, the first character may be , and not .

19. The second character of the name is doubtful. The reading *Sisibi* is a possible one, but *Sêbi* has been chosen as the more probable, as the second character differs in form from the first, being more like  than .

23. *Eštente*—so, apparently, is the group  to be transcribed. It is to be noted, however, that although the meaning fits, yet both that and the transcription can hardly be regarded as certain. Compare, however, line 21 of the second column of the Cuthean account of the Creation, where we have the phase , *eštenti lâ itûra*, "the first did not return."

24. *Ḫibilti.* Apparently this word is from the same root as *ḫubullu*, which also means "pledge." Compare the Heb חֲבֻלָּה. If the meaning of "pledge" be the correct one, it sheds new light on the phrase *mušallimu ḫibilti-šun* on the cylinder of Sargon, line 4, and the Bronze Inscription of the same king, line 9. If the proper name  (W.A.I., II, 63, l. 38, 82–7–14, 206, l. 6) is to be read *Ḫabildu*, and comes from the same root, it shows an interesting change of the *t* of the feminine ending into *d* after the sound of *l*.

26 and 28. The word  is apparently to be read *maḫiṣ* (with as final consonant), from the root *maḫāṣu*, "to strike." It probably signifies pieces of silver struck or marked with their value.

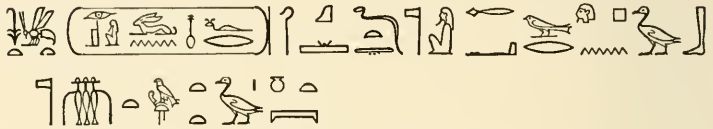
30. The lines and strokes here are a weak attempt to reproduce, by means of type, the state of the original, which is very much damaged in this place. In line 31, the first three characters of the date are rather indistinct.

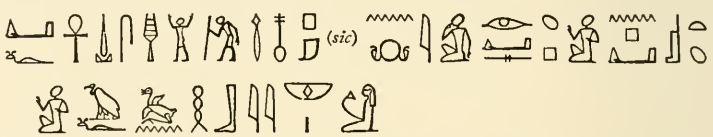
The year in which this tablet was written is not stated, but it probably belongs to the same period as the one published by Strassmaier (*see* above), and regarded by him as belonging to the reign of Nabonidus. This latter is dated simply "10th day of Tisri, 9th year," without any king's name. The peculiar writing of  for and for is noteworthy.

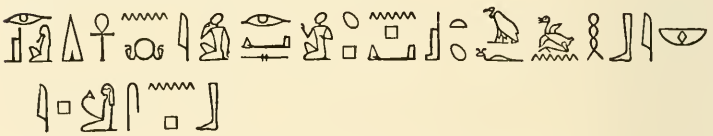
TEXTES ÉGYPTIENS INÉDITS.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

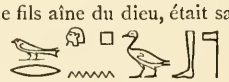
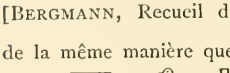
No. 1. STATUE D'OSIRIS, conservée à la Glyptothèque de Munich.

a. 

b. 

c. 

Traduction : "Le roi de la Haute et de la Basse Égypte OSIRIS-UNNEFER, prince de l'éternité, dieu grand, le *ūr-tep* de Seb,* celui qui préside à l'Occident, fils de Nout. Qu'il accorde vie-santé-force, une longue durée de vie, une vieillesse grande et belle à *Rā-àārtus* fils de *Pe-tu-iset* et qui a eu pour mère *T'a-n-ḥebi.* Qu'Osiris donne la vie, à *Rā-àārṭus* etc.

* Le dieu Seb—ou Keb—jouait dans l'Égypte primitive le rôle de divinité suprême. A cette époque, Osiris, le fils aîne du dieu, était sans doute subordonné à son père. Peut-être, le titre  d'Osiris, est-il une reminiscence de cette subordination. Alors, *ūr-tep* comme titre de particuliers [BERGMANN, Recueil de Vieweg, VI, p. 165] est probablement à regarder de la même manière que  dans le même emploi [p. ix dans l'expression  "le *erpa* à la place (=remplaçant !) de Seb"]. Dans un mémoire, "le Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique de Brugsch," inséré au Muséon 1882,

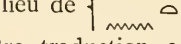
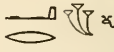
Les textes sont distribués de sorte que *a* occupe le dossier, *b* le côté droit, *c* le côté gauche de notre statue. Le monument n'est guère antérieure à l'époque saïte.

No. 2. STATUE ACCROUPIE en basalte, appartenant au musée d'Athènes. Inscription, tracée en 8 lignes horisontales sur le devant du monument :



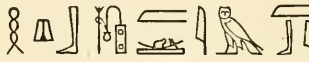
TRADUCTION : "Proscynème à Hathor, maîtresse d'Aphroditopolis, qu'elle accorde tout ce qui apparaît sur sa table d'offrandes, chaque jour, de sortir et d'entrer à la maison du roi, d'être dans la faveur de l'habitant du palais, d'arriver là-bas (*litt.* : ici-bas) à une belle sépulture, dans l'année de la béatitude, au *ka* du prince héritier, trésorier, ami unique, celui que le roi a élevé, celui qui est établi depuis son enfance, dont le calame a procuré une place de distinction à ses pieds, préposé aux travaux du midi et du nord, celui qui fait la volonté (chante la louange?) des seigneurs d'An, scribe royal *Rā*."

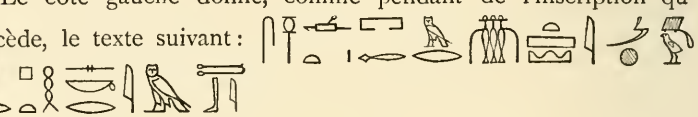
nous avons, le premier, expliqué tant l'étymologie que le sens originaire du mot . L'explication, presque identique à la notre, que vient de donner M. Maspero [*Journal Asiatique* 1888, Février, p. 264] n'est donc nullement nouvelle, et "le petit fait de mythologie dont"—selon ce dernier savant—"on a jusqu'à présent négligé de tenir compte" ne nous avait point échappé, quoique la *forme* de notre mémoire ne nous permît pas de parler de la manière circonstanciée dont a usé M. Maspero dans son article du *Journal Asiatique*.—Nous connaissons donc déjà deux échelons de la hiérarchie primitive de l'Égypte. Malheureusement, il est peu probable que nous tombions jamais sur un manuel, semblable à celui du Pap. Wilbour, où l'on peut voir s'échelonner hiérarchiquements les membres de l'aristocratie préhistorique de l'Égypte. C'est que les Égyptiens, eux-même, avait perdu la mémoire des époques antérieures à l'histoire.

La texte renferme plusieurs fautes l'évidentes : , au lieu de  ; , au lieu de . Notre traduction a adopté les corrections que nous venons de proposer.

Le monument date probablement de la XVIII^e^ dynastie.

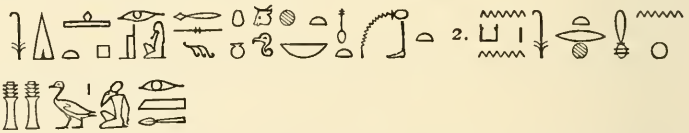
No. 3. STATUE ASSISE EN BASALTE, appartenant en musée d'Athènes. Le côté droit du monument porte en sens vertical :

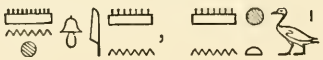


Le côté gauche donne, comme pendant de l'inscription qu précède, le texte suivant : 

Date probablement de l'ancien empire.

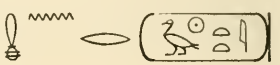
No. 4. STATUE AGENOUILLÉE, provenant de la même collection que le No. 3. Le tablier est orné de deux lignes d'hiéroglyphes verticaux, dont voici la reproduction intégrale :

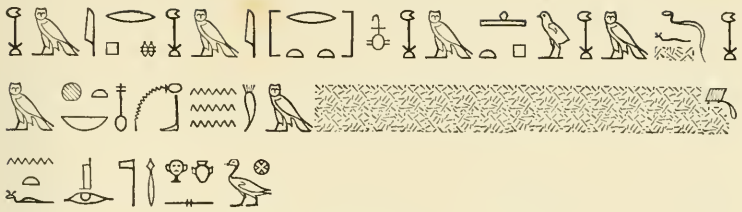
1. 

Je lis le nom du défunt *Mânch-ba-ṭeṭ*,* m'appuyant sur des noms propres, comme , etc.

No. 5. TABLE D'OFFRANDES en granit noir. Musée d'Athènes.

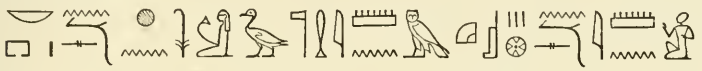


* Cfr. pourtant MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 413 :  ib. p. 444.



Le monument date de l'époque saïte.

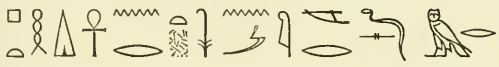
No. 6. STATUETTE FUNÉRAIRE en bois. Musée d'Athènes. A appartenu à

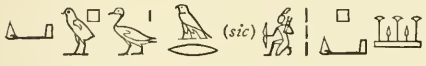


Un autre monument de la même espèce porte nom de



No. 7. Une STATUE ACCROUPIE en basalte noir porte du devant, entourée d'un cadre qui a l'air très moderne, l'inscription que voici :

1.  2. 



3. 



Le monument qui se voit au musée d'Athènes, date bien certainement de l'époque saïte. Est-que l'inscription en est fausse? Je serais disposé à le croire.

No. 8. FRAGMENT DE STATUE, conservé au musée de Berlin.

Autour du socle court en deux lignes horisontales le texte suivant :

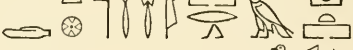
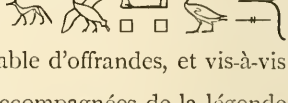
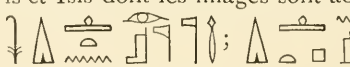
1. 





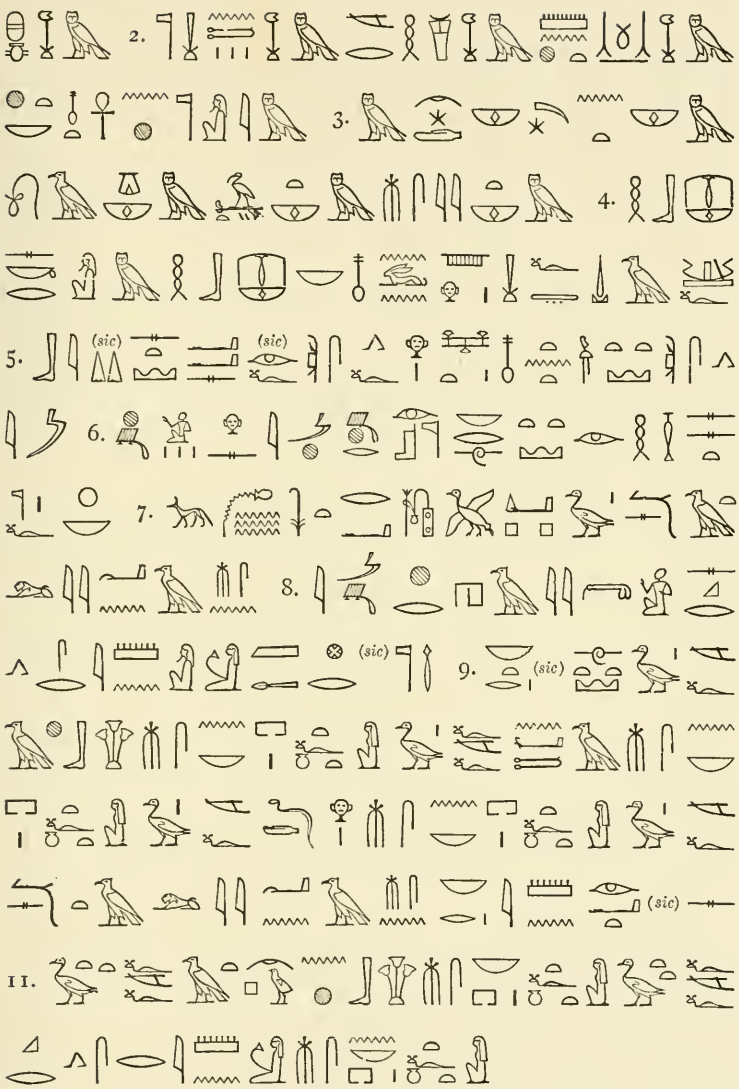
Actuellement, je suis dans l'impossibilité de traduire complètement ce texte qui ne me paraît point exacte. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple, la clause finale ne peut signifier que: "Que la bouche ne *cesse* de dire les louanges du prophète d'Hathor de Memphis, *Kemnef-Hor-bak*, né de la dame *Tasnecht*." Mais alors le mot "cesser," qui se dit en égyptien , a été écrit d'une manière fautive par le  qui a été chargé de l'exécution de notre texte.

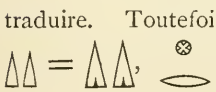
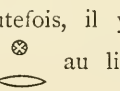
Époque saïte.

No. 9. LA STÈLE 7308 DE BERLIN. En haut, au-dessous du disque solaire, appelé , on voit une représentation qui nous fait voir le défunt  à côté d'une table d'offrandes, et vis-à-vis de lui Osiris et Isis dont les images sont accompagnées de la légende suivante : .

Au-dessous de cette scène, il y a 11 lignes d'hiéroglyphes. En voici la reproduction :



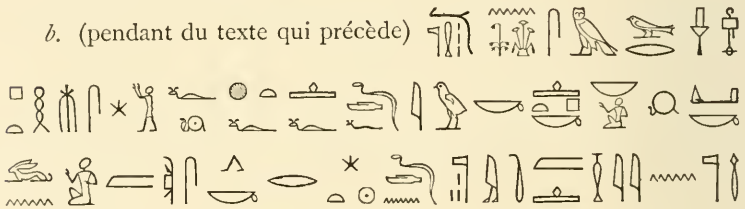


Le texte ne présente aucune difficulté pour quiconque veut le traduire. Toutefois, il y plusieurs fautes ou anomalies, p. ex.  au lieu de  etc.—La généalogie a été

donnée par M. LIEBLEIN (*Dict. de noms*, No. 1059), qui a commis plusieurs erreurs dans la reproduction des noms propres.

No. 10. PYRAMIDION EN GRANIT, conservé à Berlin. Des quatre côtés du monument, seulement deux sont ornés. Nous voyons, dans l'un et l'autre cas, le défunt agenouillé en posture d'adoration dans l'intérieur d'un naos. Les textes accompagnant ces représentations ont été copiés par Madame Piehl, et sont les suivants :

a. 

b. (pendant du texte qui précède) 

Le sieur *Ptahmes* de notre monument paraît avoir eu soin de consacrer beaucoup de pierres en son nom. Aussi, les collections égyptiennes d'Europe comme celle de Boulaq, ont-elles gardé de précieux souvenirs de cet ancien grand'prêtre de Memphis.*

No. 11. PIÉDESTAL DE STATUE, conservé au musée de Berlin. Tout autour a été tracée en une seule ligne une inscription hiéroglyphique qui, selon la copie de Madame Piehl, a la teneur suivante :



* Voir PIEHL, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* II, page 68; SCHIAPARELLI, *Catalogue du musée de Florence*; LIEBLEIN, Dict. de noms, Nis 608, 651.



Si les noms propres saïtes que contient notre inscription, avaient être remplacés par d'autres, ayant un cachet plus ancien, on serait disposé à croire que nous nous trouvions en présence d'un texte, datant de l'ancien empire; à tel point la forme de la prière funéraire et celle du titre du défunt,* sont-elles d'accord avec ce que nous connaissons, concernant la période la plus reculée de la littérature égyptienne. Nous savons du reste d'après le temoignage d'autres monuments, qu'il y a très-souvent une grande ressemblance entre les textes saïtes et ceux de l'ancien empire. P. ex. pour les titres des fonctionnaires, pour certaines particularités grammaticales, comme l'inversion, etc. Les deux époques présentent de même une très-grande conformité, quant à leur art. Cela est incontestable, et personne qui a vu des monuments égyptiens de cet ordre, ne peut discouvenir de l'existence d'une parenté. Je ne m'étonnerais point qu'il arrivât à quelqu'un de nos confrères d'égyptologie de prétendre que p. ex. le texte saïte qui nous occupe a été copié d'après un tombeau de l'ancien empire!

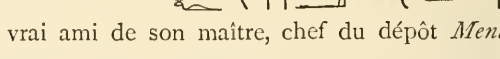
Mais cela n'autorise nullement à employer l'expression "renaissance" dans le sens de Lepsius, pour l'époque saïte en son entier. Nous connaissons des monuments saïtiques, provenant p. ex. de Thèbes, qui comme œuvre d'art et quant au style de leurs inscriptions se rapprochent infiniment plus des monuments thébains de la XVIII^{e} et XIX^{e} dynasties que de ceux de Memphis de l'ancien empire. Selon nous, il faut toujours tenir compte de l'influence locale, si l'on veut bien juger l'histoire de l'art égyptien—tout en reconnaissant que chaque école de mérite a eu une prépondérance plus ou moins marquée dans tout le pays. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple de l'Égypte moderne, la fabrication de vases

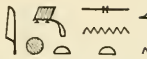
* Pour des textes donnant une prière funéraire analogue à celle du monument qui nous occupe, voir MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, pages 203, 433. Pour le titre, voir *ibid.*, page 138.

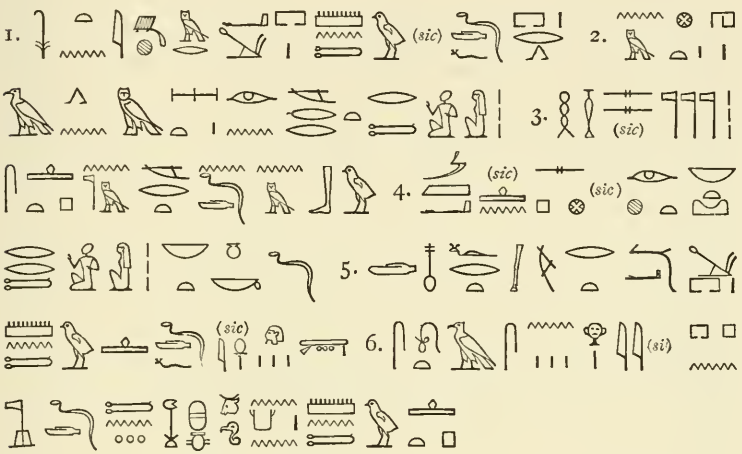
et de gargoulettes (*goullê*) est repandue dans toute la Haute Égypte, à partir du Caire jusqu'à Assouan. Eh bien! en visitant les différents dépôts qu'il y a entre ces deux stations de limite, on va voir que chaque endroit, chaque localité, a ses types spéciaux qu'elle affectionne. Le potier de Qênê ou du Caire vous offre surtout des vases minces et élégants, quelquefois d'une finesse incomparable, celui d'Edfou par contre n'a que des cruches ou des plats, très grossiers. Si vous désirez une de ces grosses jarres qui, à bord des dahabiyêh, servent de filtres, il faut aller à Ballas. À Assouan on fabrique ces petits vases qui vous remplacent quelquefois les cendriers. Mais si vous tenez à avoir des spécimens vraiment magnifiques de la poterie égyptienne—spécimens dignes de figurer sur la cheminée de votre salon en Europe—alors, ce n'est que le potier d'Assiout qui puisse vous offrir ce qu'il vous faut.

Maintenant pour avoir des spécimens de chaque localité de fabrication, il n'est pas nécessaire de parcourir la Haute Égypte entière. A Qênê vous pouvez p. ex. trouver les vases de Ballas, à Edfou, ceux d'Assouan, au Caire ceux d'Assiout. C'est que le Nil relie entre elles toutes ces localités qui échangent regulièrement leurs produits. Je ne veux du reste point nier que occasionellement un potier ne puisse imiter d'autres formes que celles qui font la spécialité de l'endroit où il demeure, mais cela est exceptionel, à ce qu'on m'a raconté.

L'aperçu que je viens de donner de la distribution des fabriques de poterie en Égypte moderne, doit peut-être fournir une bonne analogie à la distribution des fabriques de monuments qu'il y avait en Égypte ancienne. Et si l'analogie a quelque raison d'être, je me regarderai comme autorisé à douter de l'exactitude de l'application à l'époque saïte du terme "renaissance," comme on le fait sur la foi de M. LEPSIUS. En admettant la possibilité d'exceptions—je crois avoir réduit la question à ses justes proportions.

No. 12. LA STÈLE 7313 DE BERLIN. En haut il y a une corniche. Au-dessous de celle-là, une représentation qui nous fait voir un homme,  à la main et nommé  "Le vrai ami de son maître, chef du dépôt *Mentuhotep*." Vis-à-vis de l'homme et separée de lui par une table d'offrandes, une femme est debout, respirant l'odeur d'un lotus

épanoui. La femme s'appelle . Au-dessous de cette scène, il y a au milieu une porte, munie d'un "tambour cylindrique" et ornée par en haut de . La reste de la partie inférieure du monument est occupé par une inscription en six lignes verticales, 3 à gauche et 3 à droite de la porte. Voici l'inscription en question :



TRADUCTION : L'attaché au roi, chef du dépôt Mentuhotep. Il dit : "je sors de ma ville, j'entre dans mon nome, je suis l'ami des hommes et le favori des dieux. Je rends content dieu, parce que j'aime à ce que ma parole soit vraie. Jamais, je n'ai rien fait de mal à qui que ce soit. Je dis le beau, j'interprète l'aimable, moi, le chef du dépôt, MENTUHOTEP." Il dit : "O, vivants sur terre, qui passez devant cette syringe de l'enfer, dites : un millier de pains, de vases de bière, de bœufs, d'oies au *ka* de MENTUHOTEP."

La stèle, qui fourmille de fautes, date de l'ancien empire.

On Cuneiform Despatches from Tûshratta, King of Mitanni, Burraburiyash the son of Kuri-Galzu, and the King of Alashiya, to Amenophis III, King of Egypt, and on the Cuneiform Tablets from Tell el-Amarna.

By E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A.

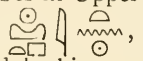
Towards the end of the summer of 1887 it became known that a collection of clay tablets inscribed in the cuneiform character had been discovered in Egypt. Rumour, which always magnifies and tinges with the marvellous all discoveries made there, asserted that thousands of tablets had been found; but hard fact soon showed that only about three hundred pieces of inscribed clay had been dug up by the natives. Of these a considerable number were small fragments, and several of them only formed a complete tablet. Some of the larger tablets were found in pieces, but I am sorry to say that many of them were broken by the natives, either that each man might have a share, or for the purpose of easy carriage on the persons of those who helped to dig them up and were concerned in the secret removal of antiquities from one place to another. Every attempt was made to keep this interesting group of tablets in the hands of one owner, but it was impossible to do so. One native stole from the other, and the laws which relate to the finding of antiquities in Egypt compelled every person connected with the finding of the tablets to wash his hands of the business as soon as possible. It was difficult, too, to obtain any exact information about the tablets or the place in which they were found. About the middle of December last I had the opportunity of seeing a considerable number of the new "find" and was able to examine them. I made some "notes" on them which I was unable to use on account of having to proceed to Mesopotamia on a mission for the Trustees of the British Museum.

In the *Academy* of Feb. 18, 1888, Prof. Sayce announced that 200 cuneiform tablets had been offered for sale in Cairo, which were said to have come from Tell el-Amarna. In the *Academy* of March 24, 1888, Prof. Sayce writes: "M. Bouriant has been kind enough to let me copy one of the cuneiform tablets from Tel

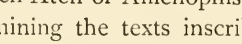
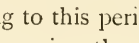
el-'Amarna which is in his possession The tablet is written in a neo-Babylonian form of cuneiform script, though some of the characters are peculiar; and it belongs to the period extending from the age of Assur-bani-pal to that of Darius. It contains despatches relating to the planting of trees, the laying of foundation-stones and other matters apparently in the land of Nu and the city Zumurimba, and is addressed by an official to the king, whom he calls, in Egyptian fashion, 'my Sun-god.'" In the *Academy* of April 7, 1888, Prof. Sayce again writes: "Thanks to the kindness of M. Bouriant I can now give further details concerning the Babylonian tablets which, as I mentioned in a previous letter, have been found in large quantities at or near Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt Most of the tablets contain copies of despatches sent to the Babylonian king by his officers in Upper Egypt; and as one of them speaks of 'the conquest of Amasis' (*kasad Amasi*), while another seems to mention the name of Apries, the king in question must have been Nebuchadnezzar. The conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, so long doubted, is now therefore become a fact of history. One of the tablets is addressed to 'the king of Egypt,' the name of Egypt being written Mitsri, as in the annals of Nebuchadnezzar, and not Mutsri, as in the inscriptions of Assyria. In others the Babylonian monarch is called 'the Sun-god,' like the native Pharaohs of Egypt. Mention is also made of 'the country of Nuqu,' or Necho."

The brief examination of the tablets which I had been able to make in Egypt did not lead me to the conclusion arrived at by my good friend Prof. Sayce, but as, owing to various circumstances, I was unable to verify or disprove his statements I said nothing about the matter publicly. Meanwhile I was enabled to find out a few facts relating to the number of the tablets found. M. Bouriant possessed a few (about a dozen), and the Bûlâḳ Museum also had a few. When in Cairo I endeavoured to see those belonging to this institution, but I was always so unfortunate as to find M. Grébaut, the Director of the Museum, absent. Six or eight of the smaller tablets were owned by a friend of mine in Cairo, and a considerable number had been bought by Daninos Pasha of Alexandria. Mr. Theodore Graf of Alexandria and Vienna, a man who has done much for archæology, acquired and secured for the Royal Museum of Berlin about 160 pieces, some of them of considerable size. A small collection of 58 pieces, of which about 45 were mere fragments and of

little importance, was owned by a private person in Egypt, and the British Museum acquired 81 tablets. Judging by these numbers it appears that about three hundred pieces of inscribed clay were all that were sold this year in Egypt.

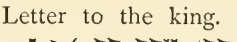
According to the statements made by the natives these tablets were found at Tell el-Amarna, a place about mid-way between Memphis and Thebes in Upper Egypt. Tell el-Amarna, the χut-Åten or χut-en-Åten,* , of the hieroglyphs, was a city founded by king χut-en-Åten or Amenophis IV, a king of the XVIIIth Dynasty. With the tablets were also found a clay seal of this king, and a small alabaster tablet bearing the name of the king, χut-en-Åten or Amenophis IV. The facts which came to light on examining the texts inscribed upon the tablets leave no doubt as to their belonging to this period of Egyptian history.

Before discussing the palæography and contents of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, I give a detailed list of that portion of them which has been secured by the Trustees of the British Museum, adding such particulars as it is possible to glean from a brief examination of them.

1. Letter to the king. Mentions the proper names Bi-i-ya (?)  and Pi-il-ba-at  (*Rev.* lines 7 and 8). Three lines effaced, bottom left-hand corner broken. 35 lines, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

2. Letter to the king (?) Part of the writing on both sides effaced. 26 lines, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. × 3 in.

3. Letter to the king (?) Top edge broken. Some of the writing defaced. 36 lines, 4 in. × $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.

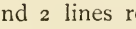
4. Letter to the great king from  Da-ga-an-ta on public matters. On the reverse writing slightly erased. 22 lines, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

5. Letter (?) Corners damaged and some of the writing illegible. 36 lines, 4 in. × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

* See Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 82; Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, i, p. 221; Quatremère, *Mémoires*, i, p. 39; and Champollien, *l'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, ii, pp. 362, 367 and 374. According to a passage in an inscription (Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. xiii) the name *Pa-aten her* was also given to the city χut-en-Åten.

6. Letter to the king from Šu-ba(?)-an-di, .
21 lines, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 3 in.

7. The inscription of 33 lines is divided into six paragraphs of 5, 5, 4, 10, 7 and 2 lines respectively. It is a letter to the king on military matters. The top left-hand corner of the tablet is broken away. 32 lines, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 3 in.

8. Letter to the king "my lord, my gods, my Sun-god," from Mil-ki-li (?) . In it mention is made of the proper name of , *Ya-an-ḥa-mu*. The curious phrase *iš-tu mu-ḥi šarru beli-ya*, , occurs in the inscription. Compare also *ana muḥi*,  which is found on the same tablet.
29 lines, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

9. Despatch from a king (?) The two bottom corners are damaged.
47 lines, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

10. Letter to the king from  Rammânu (ad-du) sa-ša-alu- The text is in three paragraphs. In the second line we have *ištu an sa-me* for *ištu an ša-me*. Reverse blank, left-hand bottom corner damaged. 18 lines, $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. × 3 in.

11. Letter on public affairs. The text mentions the countries of Egypt, and Gi-iz-za-u and the city of Ku-mê-di-iš. Writing very clear. Beginning of obv. and end of rev. broken.
25 lines, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{8}$ in.

12. Letter to the king. A king called Ḥa-za-ni, , is mentioned. Right top and left bottom corners broken.
40 lines, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. × 3 in.

13. Letter to the king from Alu-sa-bar (?) -ta and the people (?) of Ši-še-ti-ši. Line 12 contains a proper name.
43 lines, $3\frac{1}{2}$in. × $2\frac{5}{8}$in.

14. A letter to the king from Pi (?) -it-ya . On the reverse the writing is damaged. 23 lines, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

15. A letter to Ya-an-ḥa-me, , from Mu-ut, D.P. Rammânu, . Though comparatively small, this tablet is one of great importance, and the writing

is particularly clear and good. In this text Ḥu-ni-bi-tu, king of the city of Bi-ḥi-ši, is mentioned, and the following names of countries and cities :—

 The city Ḥal-ḥi-a (?)

 The country Ga-ri.

 The city A-ra-ru.

 The city Me-iš(?)-tu

 The city Ma-ak-da-ši.

 The city Ḥi-ni-a-ba.

 The city Ḥa-ar-ki-za-ap-ka....

 The city Ḥa-pi-ni.

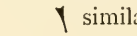
35 lines, 3 in. × $2\frac{5}{8}$ in.

16. Letter to the king from Ya-pa-ḥi, . In line 13 of the obverse there appears to be a word division mark ⟍ similar to that used in Persian cuneiform.

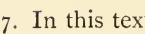
21 lines, 3 in. × $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

17. In this text (obverse) the proper name Arad-a-ši occurs ; in the reverse are the names of several cities. The top and bottom left-hand corners are damaged, and the writing is not very clear. 38 lines, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

18. A letter to the king from  Uš-ip-(Rammânu)? Mention is made of the city of Apla, . The beginning of obverse and end of reverse (about three lines) is wanting. 36 lines, $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. × $2\frac{5}{8}$ in.

19. Letter to the king from , The writing upon this tablet is remarkably clear. The left bottom corner is broken. On the obverse, line 8, is the following, , VII *šu* VII *id a-an am-kut.* On No. 20, *id* is given as a variant of *šu.*

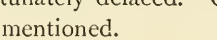
15 lines, 3 in. × $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

20. Letter to the king from Zi-ta-at-ba. On lines 8 and 9 we have the following  The bottom part of the tablet is missing and the reverse is blank. Writing very sharp and clear. 10 lines, $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

21. Fragment of a contract (?) tablet. The four corners are wanting. The last two lines of the reverse, which appear to have contained the date, are broken. The reverse is blank, save for parts of two lines which have been continued from the obverse, and the oval impression of what appears to me to have been a steatite scarabæus. On the scarabæus were inscribed the hawk of Horus wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt (); a winged uræus, sun's disk, and traces of the letter *p*, □, are visible.

30 lines, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.

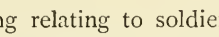
22. Dark clay tablet inscribed with a letter to the king; the writer's name is unfortunately defaced. On reverse, line 7, the city of Mu-ḥa-zi is mentioned. 33 lines, $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

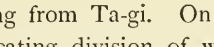
23. Well and clearly written tablet inscribed with a letter to the king from  Zi-id-ri-...-ra. On this tablet the *am-ku-ut* occurs. Reverse blank.

15 lines, $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

24. Letter to the king relating to soldiers ; right and left bottom corners are wanting, and the writing is nearly defaced on the reverse. 25 lines, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

25. Letter to the king from Ta-gi. On reverse, lines 3 and 5, are wedges  indicating division of words. Writing beautifully clear. 25 lines, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

26 Letter to the king from Bi-iš (?)..... Mentions  ... ma-pi-i-ti and the city of Bi-ri. 59 lines, 4 in. × $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.

27. Letter to the king from Bur-ya-ḥa--ri-ki (?). On the last line of obverse the signs *ba-gal*  occur. They appear always to end a sentence. The paragraphs begin generally with the word *enuma*. The left bottom corner is slightly injured. 29 lines, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. × 2 in.

28. Letter to the king. Writing on obverse is partly effaced and the reverse is blank. 7 lines, 3 in. × $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

29. Letter to the king. The preamble ends with *amkut*. A man called Bi-ri-di-pi and a king called Li-di-ni are mentioned. The forms *i-nu-ma* and *a-nu-ma* for *e-nu-ma* are found. On the edge, the city of Ta-mu (?) is mentioned.

22 lines, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.

30. Appears to be a letter from a king whose name begins with the signs hi-iš..... The beginning of the text is unusual.
17 lines, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.

31. A letter from Ri-ip-Rammânu (Addu?) to a person (?) not a king called A-ap-bi..... Mention is made of the cities Du-la and Be-ru-na. 30 lines, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

32. Fragment of a letter to the king from Ri-ip Rammânu, and mentions a man called Bi-a-..... ḫa.
21 lines, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

33. Fragment of a letter (?) mentioning a city called Ma-as-be-ki and a man called Ap-bi-za. 26 lines, $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 2 in.

34. Letter to the king, divided into four paragraphs. Dividing wedges occur. 17 lines, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

35. Letter to the king from Iš(?)-du-bu relating to soldiers and chariots. An upright wedge is placed before the word *šarru*.
18 lines, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.

36. Letter to the king from Ši-ib-ti Rammânu, mentioning Ya-an-ḫa-ba. We have here the form *ardu-ki*, instead of *ardu-ka*, just as we have the form *anaki* for *anaku*.
21 lines, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

37. A letter to the king of Egypt from the king of Alashiya, who styles him "my brother." The text is divided by lines into 13 paragraphs; the actual letter begins at line 10. From it we gather that an ambassador from the king of Egypt went to the land of the writer of the letter, who sent him back in peace and safety. 55 lines, $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $3\frac{7}{8}$ in.

38. A letter to the king of Egypt from the king of Alashiya. The left bottom corner of this beautifully written tablet is broken. The clearness of the writing makes this tablet most interesting for a study of this peculiar writing. 53 lines, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. × 3 in.

39. Parts of a letter to the wife of Amenophis III, king of Egypt, with a mention of her son Amenophis IV and her father. There are upon this tablet the remains of three lines of hieratic. Left bottom-corner broken. 59 lines, $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

40. Letter to the king from Ri-ip-Rammânu, mentioning the city of Dula twice. End of obverse broken.
51 lines, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 3 in.

41. Letter (?), the text of which is divided into ten paragraphs. Many proper names occur in this text, and the kings of the lands of Mu-ḫa-mu, Ni-i, and Zi-im (?)-za-ar are mentioned. 70 lines, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

42. Letter to the king on public affairs, mentioning the city of Ap-du-la. 48 lines, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

43. Letter from Ri-ip-mu-a-ri-a to the king of Egypt. This tablet has been broken across the middle. 99 lines, 7 × 4 in.

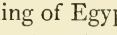
44. Letter to the king from Ri-ip-Rammânu. 45 lines, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. × 3 in.

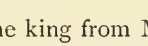
45. Letter to the king from the governor of a city. 26 lines, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.

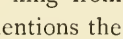
46. Letter to the king, written in complicated Babylonian. This is the only tablet in the collection written in this difficult script. The corners are broken. 35 lines, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

47. Letter to the king of Egypt from Ri-ip-Rammânu mentioning the cities of Beruna, Dula, &c. Corners broken. 51 lines, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.

48. Letter to the king of Egypt from a king. The writing on the edges and the reverse is much rubbed. The clay of which the tablet is made is red in colour, and has several small pieces of flint in it. 29 lines, 4 in. × $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.

49. Letter to the king of Egypt from Arad-Dingirri, . Well and clearly written. 26 lines, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

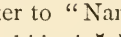
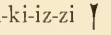
50. Letter to the king from Mil-ki-li, . Reverse blank. 17 lines, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

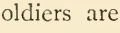
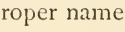
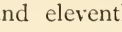
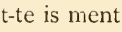
51. Letter to the king from A-bi-šarri, . This inscription mentions the city of Ṣur-ri (Tyre), . The writing is clear but very minute, and is continued on the edges of the tablet. 71 lines, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

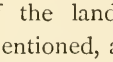
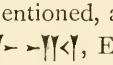
52. Letter to the king from Šu-ma-an-di (?). Coarse writing, much rubbed. Part of reverse blank. 23 lines, $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

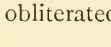
53. Letter to the king. The first few lines at the beginning are wanting, and the name of the sender is thus lost. 67 lines, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. × 3 in.

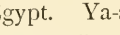
54. Letter to the king from Šu-pi-ar-da, relating to soldiers. Part of reverse blank. 16 lines, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. × $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.

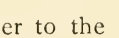
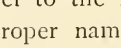
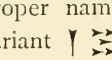
55. Letter to "Nam-....-ya, the son of the sun-god my lord," from A-ki-iz-zi . The inscription is divided into twelve paragraphs. In the fourth of these chariots and soldiers are discussed. In the fifth, sixth, and tenth the proper name A-zi-ra  occurs. In the ninth and eleventh paragraphs the land of  Ḥa-at-te is mentioned. The bottom part of the tablet is broken. 60 lines, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. × 3 in.

56. Letter to the king from A-bi-šarri, . The king of the land of , Da-nu-na-ba-be, is mentioned, and the proper names , E-ta-ga-ma-pa-pi-ri, and . Zi-im-ri-da, occur on reverse. The writing on part of obverse is obliterated, and the top right hand corner is broken. 69 lines, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

57. Letter to the king from Ya- -ti-ri. The name Ya-an-ḥa-ba (or ma) occurs on the reverse, with a mention of the land of Egypt. Ya-an-ḥa-ba is entitled , "officer of the gate." The city of Az-za-ti, . Writing large and coarse. 39 lines, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 3 in.

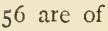
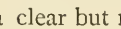
58. Letter to the king. Name of writer wanting. Mentions the proper name Ya-an-ḥa-mi, , with the variant , Ya-ḥa-mi. Top edge of tablet rubbed away. Writing clear but straggling. 55 lines, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.

59. Letter to the king from  Pi-it-ya. Obverse divided into three sections, part of reverse blank. The clay of which the tablet is composed has pieces of flint in it. Writing clear. 22 lines, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. × 3 in.

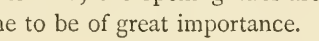
60. Letter to the king from  A-bi-šarri. In line 10 of obverse the "city of Tyre, the spoil of the king,"  is mentioned, and on reverse the man "Zi-im-ri of the city Zi-du-na" (Sidon)  is referred to. This tablet and

Nos. 26, 51 and 56 are of a most peculiar shape, and are written in a clear but minute hand. They all refer to public affairs in Phœnicia; the opening lines are the same, and they appear to me to be of great importance.

84 lines, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $2\frac{5}{8}$ in.

61. Letter to the king from . The "officer of the gate" is mentioned on obverse l. 12. On reverse l. 5 is the name  Ku-zu-na. Part of the reverse is blank, and one line has been erased by the scribe.

18 lines, 3 in. × $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

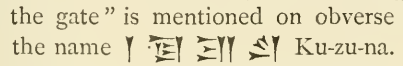
62. Letter to the king from Ap-di-aš-ta-ti . Large coarse writing; reverse defaced.

11 lines on obv., $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

63. Letter to the king. Name of sender wanting. The name of the land A-mu-ri is mentioned on reverse. Writing small.

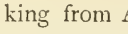
49 lines, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

64. A letter beginning as follows:—

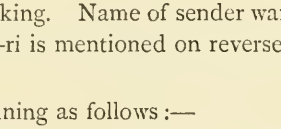


a-na šarrani ša mat Ki-na-a-im
ardani aḫi-ya um-ma.

Mention is made of the land of Egypt. 13 lines, $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. × $1\frac{7}{8}$ in.

65. A letter to the king from . The writing on this tablet is complex, and parts of many of the signs are indistinct. Part of reverse blank. 25 lines, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

66. A letter to the king from Da-aš-ru. After the preamble of six lines we have this laconic text:—



Reverse is blank. 10 lines, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. × 2 in.

67. Letter to the king Ša-ti-pi. Reverse defaced and two corners broken.

About 20 lines visible, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

68. A letter to the king (?). Nos. 32, 40, 53 and 68 are probably from the same person and relate to the same business.

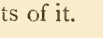
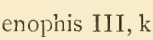
42 lines, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

69. Top half of a tablet. As one half of the text is missing, and that inscribed upon the obverse of the fragment of the tablet which we have is nearly erased, it is difficult to discuss the contents of it.

40 lines, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. × $4\frac{1}{8}$ in.

70. Letter to Amenophis III, king of Egypt, from Tushratta, king of Mîtanni. The inscription of 85 lines is divided into thirteen paragraphs. The writing is beautifully clear and distinct.

85 lines, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. × 5 in.

71. Letter to the king of Egypt from the inhabitants of the city of Du-ni-ip-ki,  On both sides of the tablet mention is made of a man called A-zi-ra 

46 lines, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

72. Letter (?) to the king. The city of Dula is mentioned.

63 lines, $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

73. Letter to the king from Ri-ip-Rammânu. The city of Dula is mentioned. The inscription is divided into four paragraphs.

45 lines, $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. × $2\frac{5}{8}$ in.

74. Letter to the king from La-ap-a(?)-pi. The writing is written between lines.

29 lines, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

75. Letter to the king from Pi-it-ya. Reverse blank.

19 lines, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

76. Letter to the king. The inscription is divided into seven paragraphs. On reverse the proper name Ḥa-ti-ip  occurs twice.

56 lines, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. × $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

77. Letter to the king from Ri-ip-..... The writing is very close and complex.

45 lines, $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

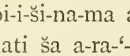
78. Letter to Amenophis III, king of Egypt, from Tushratta, king of Mîtanni. The text is divided into five paragraphs. The

first paragraph contains salutations. The second paragraph seems to refer to the going of Ištar of Nineveh to Egypt, and reads thus :—

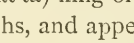
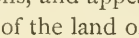


um-ma D.P. Ištar ša D.P. Ni-i-na-a belit matati
ri(?)-bi-i-ši-na-ma a-na D.P. Mi-iṣ-ri-i
i-na mati ša a-ra-'-a-mu lu-ul-lik lu-šib
lu-uz-za-kan ir-me a-nu-um-ma i-na-an-na
ul-te-e-bil-ma it-tal-ka.

On the reverse are three lines of hieratic writing nearly obliterated. 32 lines, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $2\frac{5}{8}$ in.

79. Letter to Amenophis III from Tushratta ( Tu-iš-e-rat-ta) king of Mitanni. The text is divided into eight paragraphs, and appears to refer to military affairs. Mention is made of the land of Ḥa-at-te. 54 lines, $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. × 3 in.

80. Letter to the king. The inscription is divided into five paragraphs. 49 lines, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.

81. Letter to Amenophis IV from Bur-ra-bu-ri-ya-as, king of Karduniyaš (). The inscription is divided into five sections. In the third paragraph Burraburi-yaš mentions his father  Ku-ri-gal-zu. 38 lines, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.

On the 17th of May last there was printed off at Berlin an article by Dr. Erman, entitled, *Der Thontafelfund von Tell-Amarna*,* which contained observations by Drs. Schrader, Winckler, and

* In the *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, No. XXIII, Philosophisch-historischen Classe, vom 3 Mai, pp. 583-589. Articles on the tablets by Drs. Winckler and Lehmann appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung* (Morgen-Ausgabe), June 4; *Hamburgischer Correspondent*, June 20, and elsewhere.

Lehmann on that portion of the tablets from Tell el-Amarna acquired by Herr Graf for the Royal Museum at Berlin. This was the first accurate description of the general character and contents of the tablets that had up to that time been published.* Dr. Erman pointed out that these tablets were letters and despatches to Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, king of Egypt, of the XVIIIth dynasty, from kings and others living in Mesopotamia and that part of the country called in later days Syria. One of the Egyptian king's correspondents was no less a person than Burraburiaš of Babylon, and a second was Dušratta, king of Mitanni. The remarks by Dr. Schrader which concluded Dr. Erman's paper are to the point, and are characterised by his usual breadth of observation and learning.

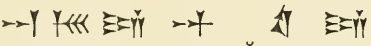
The tablets from Tell el-Amarna are remarkable for their size, shape, and style of writing; the clay of which they are made is very different from that which is usually met with in tablets bearing cuneiform inscriptions. Some of them have been baked, but the greater part have not. In colour they vary from light to dark dust tint, and from a flesh colour to dark brick-red. A few are of no decided colour, and a few are light yellow. In most cases the texture of the clay is very fine, while the coarsest clay has small pieces of flint mixed with it. As a rule the tablets made of this latter mixture are the least well preserved. Generally speaking, the tablets are oblong in shape, only about twelve of them being square. On twelve others the inscriptions are divided by lines into paragraphs. In ordinary Babylonian tablets the scribe took great care to fill up both sides of the tablets; in the Tell el-Amarna tablets no pains were taken to do this, and we often find blank spaces on the reverse of the tablets varying from half an inch to three inches. Many of the tablets are perfectly flat, almost like tiles, only a few have the common "pillow" shape, and some half-a-dozen have a shape which I have never seen before. The writing upon the tablets is no less remarkable. On Nos 1, 2, and 22 it is large and coarse; on No. 46 it is exactly like that found upon many tablets in the collections acquired by the British Museum during the last few years. Nos. 37 and 38 are beautifully written, and every character is perfect. On Nos. 26, 51, 56 and 60 the writing, though well done, is very

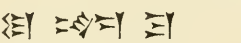
* Articles on the Tell el-Amarna "find" based upon this publication have since been printed by Prof. Sayce in the *Guardian*, June 13, and in the *Contemporary Review* for August.

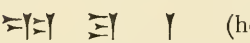
small. The best written tablets are Nos. 70–81. If we except the complicated characters which we meet in such inscriptions as those of Nebuchadnezzar I and II, we may find every class and variety of form of cuneiform characters known to us; and it is clear that the scribes were both inconsistent and careless in their writing. The inscriptions were the work of many scribes, and a comparative list of the forms of their handwritings will be a very interesting and instructive piece of work to be done later on. Meanwhile the texts that are printed in the following pages imitate the inscriptions upon the tablets as closely as possible with type, and I am glad to be able to state that Mr. Rylands will, as soon as possible, issue lithographic facsimiles of one or two of these texts. On two of the tablets at least a wedge occurs, \, which appears to be a division mark between words, reminding us of the word-division wedge which we meet with in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions. On two of the tablets (39 and 78) are dockets in Hieratic, which neither Mr. Renouf nor myself have yet been able to make out.

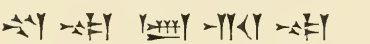
A large number of the inscriptions are letters and despatches from kings and governors of comparatively unknown towns and lands remote from Egypt, relating to horses and chariots and public business, etc., addressed to Amenophis III, king of Egypt about B.C. 1500. Occasionally the writer of the letter begs a personal favour or a concession of some sort. The opening formula is generally as follows :—


a - na D.P. šarru beli - ya

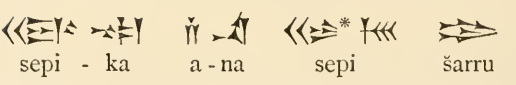

ilani - ya D.P. Šamaš - ya


ki - be - ma


um - ma D.P. (here comes name of sender).

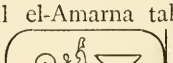

ardu - ka ip - ri - ka

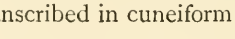
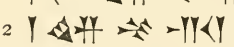
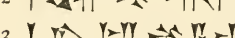
* An upright wedge is generally put before the word "king."



"*To the king my lord,*
my gods, my Sun,‡
speaks (?)
thus (here comes name of sender)
thy servant, thy dust,
thy feet, to the feet of the king,
my lord, my gods, my Sun,
seven ŠU, *seven* ID, ... (No. 19 lines 1–8).

In the larger and more important documents this form is much shortened.

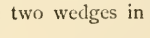
Some of the most frequent correspondents of Amenophis III were Abi-šarri of Phœnicia, Tushratta of Mîtanni, and Ri-ip-Rammânu, or Ri-ip-Ad-du. On the Tell el-Amarna tablets Amenophis III is addressed by his prenomen  Neb-māt-rā, which is transcribed in cuneiform by

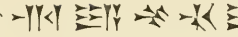
1  Mi-im-mu-ri-ya (No. 39, l. 11).
2  Im-mu-ri-ya (No. 70, l. 1).
3  Ni-ib-mu-a-ri-ya (No. 79, l. 1).
4  Ni-im-mu-ri-ya (No. 78, l. 1).

Form No 3, Nîb-mua-riya, corresponds more closely with the Egyptian Neb-māt-Rā, and forms a conclusive proof, if one were needed, that although the hieroglyphic ⊙ Rā is placed first in the cartouche, it is to be read last of all. The British Museum possesses one tablet (No. 39) which is addressed to the wife of Amenophis III; but the text is wanting in the part where her name should come. In

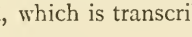
* The Babylonian  = Assyrian . The two wedges in front do not represent the dual.

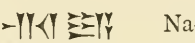
† For the variant am-ku-ut see No. 18.

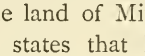
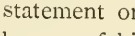
‡ No. 14 has the variant "my sun, my sun, who from heaven"  *sa-me* for ša-me.

it (line 11) mention is made of "Mi-im-mu-ri-ya thy husband,"  *D.P. Mi-im-mu-ri-ya mu-ti-i-ki*) and her son Amenophis IV is mentioned on reverse l. 18. The feminine forms of pronouns, verbs, etc., which occur in the text are most interesting.

Amenophis IV is addressed by a part of his prenomen * Nefer-χeperu-Rā, which is transcribed in cuneiform by

 Na-ap-ḳhur-ri-ya (No. 39, *rev.* 18.)

 Ni-ip-ḥu-ur-ri-ri-ya (No. 81, *obv.* 1.)

Of the numerous correspondents whom Amenophis III had, is one whose letters are of the utmost importance for the study of Egyptian and Assyrian history: I allude to Tûšratta, the king of Mitâni, who styles himself the "father-in-law" of the Egyptian king. The land of Mitâni we have some notice of in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria about B.C. 1120, who states that he slew four mighty buffaloes in the "desert of the land of Mitâni." The same inscription (W.A.I. I pl. 14, l. 65) states that Mitâni was situated in front of Ḥâtti, that is to say, somewhere near Carchemish, or in the district called by the Egyptians  *Neherna*, that is נהרין or Mesopotamia. This district seems to have been the "happy hunting ground" of the Egyptian monarch, who found it, as Tiglath-Pileser I found it nearly four hundred years later, well stocked with game. Amenophis III was a skilled hunter, and we have an express statement on his memorial scarabæi that from the first to the tenth year of his reign he slew 102 lions with his own hand.† It is more than probable that this "mighty hunter" became acquainted with Tûšratta during his lion hunts in Mesopotamia, and that he there saw and loved the lady who afterwards became his wife. Dr. Brugsch ("Egypt under the Pharaohs," I, p. 440) suggests this, but that it was the case now seems to be quite certain. The lady Thi, or Titi, , the daughter of Iuâu  and Thuâa , came to Amenophis III in Egypt with 317 of her principal ladies in the tenth year of his reign.‡ It is

* The full form is *Nefer-χeperu-Rā, uā-en-Rā.*

† Brit. Mus. Scarabæus, No. 4095.

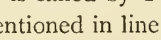
‡ Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1880, p. 82.

difficult to explain the dissimilarity of the names of Iuâu and Tûšratta given to her father by the Egyptian and Babylonian documents respectively: further research may perhaps do this. Tûšratta may have been the name of the chief of the tribe or country to which her father and mother belonged, and this supposition might account for the absence of the names of her father and mother from the cuneiform tablets found at Tell el-Amarna. In any case we know from the evidence of the Egyptian monuments and the cuneiform tablets that the wife of Amenophis III was a foreign lady unconnected with the royal house of Egypt, and the latest evidence on the subject which we have appears to indicate that she spoke a Semitic language. This is important, for it explains the presence of Semitic words in Egyptian. A native of Mesopotamia once established as queen in Egypt, it would certainly follow that there would be a gradually increasing flow of her countrymen into that country, and that communication between the two lands would assume large proportions. The skill of the Semite in business matters would find full scope in the land of Egypt, and the fact of his relationship with the royal lady would assure him toleration and protection. Curiosity in respect of the land which Thi had adopted would no doubt attract many of her countrymen as visitors, and we may be certain that any one who saw a chance of bettering his position in the rich land of Egypt would find his way thither. The influence of the queen at court was very great, and seeing that she was so great a favourite of the king, it was only natural that the words and manner of her speech should be copied by the scribes attached to the palace; the presence of Semitic words in Egyptian compositions like the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, *The Travels of an Egyptian*, &c., is thus fully accounted for. How long intercourse of a friendly nature went on between the chiefs of Mesopotamia and the kings of Egypt it is not possible, at present, to say. Tushratta in his despatch to Amenophis III distinctly says that an arrangement respecting certain animals had been entered into by his father and the king of Egypt. It seems to me not improbable that it continued a hundred years at least. The questions of interest which arise out of the consideration of this new set of cuneiform tablets are varied and many; at present I think it premature for any one to attempt to answer them. We must first have all the texts published, and when they have been carefully studied and considered by the whole Assyriological school, and their results are made known to Semitic scholars generally, it will be possible to indicate the

direction and importance of their evidence. In this paper I have only attempted to give specimens of the texts (with transliteration as far as I am able), so that students may at once have some opportunity of judging of their nature and value. Our Society proposes to print copies of the texts of all the Tell el-Amarna tablets acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum, and I hope this very wise act will induce the scholars of Berlin to go and do likewise.

I.—The Despatch of Tushratta, King of Mîdtanni.*

This very interesting document of eighty-five lines is divided into thirteen paragraphs. The first paragraph is occupied with salutations; its general import is as follows: "A tablet for Mîmmuriya (for Nîmmuriya, *i.e.*, Neb-mât-Rā) the great king, the king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law who loves me and whom I love, speaks (?) thus: I, Tushratta the great king, thy father-in-law who loves thee, the king of Mîdtanni, thy brother, have peace; to thee may there be peace, and to thy house, and to my sister (*i.e.*, the wife of Amenophis III) and to the ladies of thy establishment, to thy sons, to thy chariots, to thy horses, to the general of thy forces, to thy country, and to thyself may peace be greatly multiplied."

I have translated the word ḥa-ta-ni by "son-in-law," and would compare the use of the word here with that of Genesis xix. 14, where the husbands of Lot's daughters are called חֹתְנָיו. It is also possible that Tushratta may mean that he is a mere connexion by marriage of Amenophis III: if we are to understand the use of the word חָתָן in this light I would compare the use of this word in 2 Kings viii. 27. In addressing Amenophis III, Tushratta also styles himself *e-mi-ka*, "thy father-in-law": comp. the Heb. חָם, Gen. xxxviii. 13. It will be noticed that Tushratta always calls Amenophis "my brother," meaning, of course, my brother or fellow king; in the same way the wife of Amenophis is called by Tushratta "my sister." The  "soldier chief" mentioned in line 7, I am inclined to regard as the general of the forces of the Egyptian king. Comp. the Syriac ܫܠܝܫܐ. In the second paragraph Tushratta states that in days of old there was an agreement between his father and the king of Egypt about the pasturing (?) of  *ab-ba-meš*; by this word the double humped camel which we see represented on the obelisk of

* For the cuneiform text see Plates I, II, III, and IV.

Shalmaneser II may be meant. He adds that he himself desires to continue this agreement, and prays that the gods may be favourable to the arrangement, and that Rimmon and Ašunûm may make it to endure for ever.

In the third paragraph Tushratta apparently discloses the actual business of the despatch. He says that Ma-ni-e his "brother's grandson" (*i.e.*, his great-nephew) has sent to him asking for the daughter of the king of Egypt in marriage. Tushratta wishes that the request of the young man may be granted, but adds with characteristic Oriental politeness that he hopes the king of Egypt will do exactly as he pleases. Tushratta also hopes that Amenophis will allow Manie to come to Egypt, and concludes by praying that Ištar and Ašunûm may direct and rule the heart of Amenophis.

In the fourth paragraph Tushratta indicates that he has sent his grandson Giliya, the cousin of Manie, to Egypt with this letter, that he may bring back news to him of the wishes and decision of Amenophis. He says that he desires greatly to know what answer Pharaoh may accord him, and hints that if it be favourable he and Pharaoh will be the closest of friends for evermore.

In the fifth paragraph Tushratta refers to the friendly relations which existed between his father and Amenophis, and hopes that he will send him an answer confirming and continuing such relations with him.

In the sixth paragraph Tushratta refers to gold which Amenophis has asked for from his father. Tushratta says that his father will send it to him that it may be sent to Amenophis, and he promises definitely that large gold jars, large gold plates and other articles made of gold shall be sent to Egypt.

In the seventh paragraph Tushratta states that the large quantities of gold which Amenophis has asked from his father, have been sent to Amenophis by the hands of his grandson Giliya.

In the eighth paragraph Tushratta says that he is prepared to act in the same manner in respect to the money (or property) as his grandfather did. He adds that he is now about to speak on the subject of the dowry for the lady with whom Manie wishes to contract marriage. Whether this indicates that a marriage took place between a Mesopotamian lady and an Egyptian noble during the lifetime of the grandfather of Tushratta I am unable to say.

In the ninth paragraph Tushratta expresses general satisfaction at the idea of the marriage, and makes stipulations as to the amount of the dowry (?).

In the tenth paragraph Tushratta states that he sends the gold asked for by Amenophis on two occasions, but he says that what he sends in answer to the second application is for a dowry.

In the eleventh paragraph Tushratta says that in the land of his brother gold is like dust which cannot be counted, and that he will ask him to send a quantity of it to himself that he may send it on to Egypt. Tushratta then begs that his mission may be acceptable to his majesty Amenophis III, and he concludes this paragraph by asking him to demand from himself whatever he needs. The last line reads :—

"This country of my brother (is) my country, this house of my brother (is) his house."

In the twelfth paragraph Tushratta says that he sends his grandson Giliya to Amenophis, and he begs the Egyptian king to receive the youth kindly. He also prays that Giliya may see a good ending to his mission, and that Rimmon and Ašunûm may prosper the business and grant that amicable relations may exist between him and Amenophis.

In the last paragraph we have an enumeration of the objects of value which Tushratta sends. They consist of a gold vessel inlaid (?) with lapis-lazuli, 20 pieces of lapis-lazuli, 19 inlaid gold objects of finely chased gold, 42 objects made of some kind of precious stone, 40 gold objects inlaid with the same sort of precious stone, harness for horses, chariots, carved wooden fittings, and 30 eunuchs. All these he sends as a message of peace to the king of Egypt.

Such are, I imagine, the general contents of this tablet. The language is very involved, and the mixture of the third and first persons throughout the inscription makes it hard to follow the sense. Briefly stated, it seems that Tushratta's great-nephew Manie wished to marry the daughter of the king of Egypt. Tushratta forwards a statement of Manie's wishes to Amenophis by his grandson Giliya, who was also to carry with him gold vessels and objects inlaid with precious stones from the father of Tushratta and Tushratta himself. There appear to me to be Egyptian words and idioms in the despatch of Tushratta, but it is early yet to discuss such things minutely. The lengthened forms of some of the words, and the unusual

spelling of many of the different parts of the verbs will require considerable study to explain. The god Ašunûm, who is twice mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to give any account of. The following is a transliteration of the despatch of Tushratta :—

No. 70. OBVERSE.

1. duppu ša Im-mu-ri-ya šarru rabu šarru mat Mi-iṣ-ri-i aḫi-[ya]
2. ḫa-ta-ni-ya ša i-ra-'-am-an-ni û ša a-ra-[am-mu]
3. ki-bi-ma um-ma D.P. Tu-uš-rat-ta šarru rabu e-mi-[ka]
4. ša i-ra-'-a-mu-u-ka šar mat Mi-i-id-ta-an-ni aḫi-ka-ma
5. a-na ya-ši šul-mu a-na ka-a-ša lu-u šul-mu a-na biti-ka
6. a-na a-ḫa-ti-ya û a-na ri-e-ḫi(?)-ti aššâti-ka a-na ablâni-ka
7. a-na D.P. narcabâti-ka a-na D.P. sisi-ka a-na ummani-rab-ka
8. a-na mat-ka û a-na šal-mu-ka dan-is dan-is lu-u-šul-mu

9. a-di ab-ba-ka-ma-su-nu it-ti abba-ya dan-is
10. ir-ta-ta-'-a-mu at-ta ab-bu-na-ma tir-ma itti a-bi-ya
11. ma-a-ti-iš da-an-ni-iš ta-ar-ta-'-a-am
12. i-na-an-na at-ta ki-i it-ti-ya a-ḫa-miš ni-ir-ta-na-'-a-mu
13. a-na u-šu el a-bi-ya tu-uš-te-im-'-id
14. ilani li-mi-eš-še-ru-šu-nu-ti-ma ša ni-ir-ta-'-a-mu an-ni-ti
15. D.P. Rammânu be-e-li û D.P. A-šu-nu-um a-na da-ra-a-ti ki-i i-na-[an-na]
16. lu-u li-ni-ib-bi-[lu ?]

17. û D.P. Ma-ni-e TUR-TUR-RA šu aḫi-ya ki-i iš-pu-ra
18. um-ma lu-u aḫi-ya-ma binat-ka a-na aššuti-ya šim-me
19. a-na nin-it mat Mi-iṣ-ri-i-im-me ul-ul D.P. Rammanu ri-iš-ta-šu
20. ša aḫi-ya û i-na pa-na-tim-ma ai an-ni-ma-a-[a]aḳ-ta-bi
21. û ša aḫi-ya i-ri-šu uk-te-el-li-im-ši a-na D.P. Ma-ni-e
22. û i-ta-mar-ši ki-i i-mur-ši û ut-te-'-iz-[zi] ? dan-is
23. û i-na ša-la-a-mi i-na mat ša aḫi-ya lu-u lu-u-du (?)-ši
24. D.P. Ištar û D.P. A-šu-nu-um ki-i libbi-šu ša aḫi-ya li-mi-eš-še-el-ši

25. D.P. Gi-li-ya TUR-TUR-ya a-ma-te-šu ša aḫi-ya a-na ya-ši it-ta-[ar] ?
26. ki-i eš-mu-u û ta-a-bu dan-is û aḫ-da-du ki-i ma-du-ti
27. da-an-is um-ma lu-u a-na-ku-ma an-nu u-šu-u su-ur-ru-um-ma
28. ša i-na bi-ri-ni ša it-ti a-ḫa-miš ša ni-ir-ta-na-'-mu
29. a-nu-um-ma i-na am-mu-ti a-ma-a-ti a-na da-ra-tim-ma lu ni-ir-ta-'-am

30. a-na aḫi-ya ki-i aš-pu-ru û aḳ-ta-bi um-ma lu-u a-na-ku-ma
31. û ma-a-du-ti ta-an-ni-is lu ni-ir-ta-na-'-am û i-na bi-ri-ni

PLATE I.

A DESPATCH FROM TÛŠRATTA, KING OF MÎDTANNI, TO AMENOPHIS III, KING OF EGYPT.

No. 70.—OBVERSE.

PLATE II.

A DESPATCH FROM TÛŠRATTA, KING OF MÎDTANNI, TO AMENOPHIS III, KING OF EGYPT.

No. 70.—OBVERSE.

PLATE III.

A DESPATCH FROM TÛŠRATTA, KING OF MÎDTANNI, TO AMENOPHIS III, KING OF EGYPT.

No. 70.—REVERSE.

PLATE IV.

A DESPATCH FROM TÛŠRATTA, KING OF MÎDTANNI, TO AMENOPHIS III, KING OF EGYPT.

No. 70.—REVERSE.

32. lu-u ta-a-pa-nu û a-na aḫi-ya aḳ-ta-bi um-ma-a aḫi-ya
33. el a-bi-ya u-šu lu-u u-te-it-te-ra-an-ni

34. û a-na aḫi-ya ḫuraṣi ma-a at-ta e-te-ri-iš um-ma-a el a-bi-ya
35. lu-u še-im-'-it-an-ni-ma aḫi-ya lu-u u-še-bil-an-ni
36. û a-bu-ya ḫuraṣi ma-a at-ta tu-ul-te-bi-la-aš-šu
37. nam-ḫa-ra ḫuraṣi rabute û paššuru (?) ḫuraṣi rabute tul-te-bil-aš-šu
38. libittu ḫuraṣi ki-ma ša erî ma-zu-u du-ul-te-bil-[an-ni]

39. pa-za-tu D.P. Gi-li-ya a-na aḫi-ya aš-pu-ru u ḫuraṣi
40. e-te-ri-iš um-ma lu-u a-na-ku-ma aḫi-ya el a-bi-ya
41. lu-u u-te-it-te-ra-an-ni û ḫuraṣi ma-a-at-ta
42. ša šip-ra la ib-šu li-še-e-bi-la-[an-ni]

REVERSE.

43. aḫi-ya el a-bi-ya ma-a-ti-ya li-še-bi-la-[an-ni]
44. û a-ka-an-na a-na aḫi-ya aḳ-ta-bi um-ma-a ka-ra-aš
45. ša a-ba a-bi-ya e-ip-pu-uš um-ma lu-u a-na-ku-ma ki mi-e
46. ki-i-ni a-aš-ni u-nu-u-ta e-ip-pu-uš-ma-a-ku
47. û a-ka-an-na ab-bu-na aḳ-ta-bi ḫuraṣi ša aḫi-ya u-še-bi-lu
48. a-na te-ir-ḫa-tim-ma li-še-e-bi-il.

49. i-na-an-na aḫi-ya ḫurasi ul-te-bil a-gab-bi-i um-ma-a
50. mi-i-is-ma-a-ku û la la mi-i-is-ma-a-at û a-na šip-ri
51. ip-še-id û šum-ma ab-bu-na a-na šip-ri-im-ma ip-še-id
52. û aš-šum an-ni-ti aḫ-da-du dan-is-ma û mi-nu-um-me-e
53. ša aḫi-ya u-še-bi-lu û am-mi-ti dan-is ḫa-da-a-ku

54. a-nu-um-ma i-na-an-na a-na aḫi-ya al-ta-par û aḫi-ya
55. el ša a-bi-ya ri-'-mu-u-ta li-še-im-'-it-an-ni a-nu-um-ma
56. ḫuraṣi a-na aḫi-ya e-te-ri-iš û ḫuraṣi ša a-na aḫi-ya
57. e-ri-šu a-na II SU a-na e-ri-ši i-il-la-ak išteni-tum
58. a-na ša ka-ra-aš-ki û i-na ša-nu-ut-ti-šu a-na te-ir-ḫa-ti

59. û aḫi-ya ḫuraṣi ma-'-ti-iš dan-is ša a-na šip-ri-šu ib-šu
60. aḫi-ya li-še-bil-an-ni û aḫi-ya el ša a-bi-ya ḫuraṣu li-še-bi-la
61. û i-na lib-bi mat ša aḫi-ya ḫuraṣi ki-i e-bi-ri ma-a-ta-at
62. ilani li-me-eš-še-ru-šu-ma ki-i me-e ki-i ša i-na-an-na i-na mati
63. ša aḫi-ya ḫuraṣi ma-'-ta-at û u-šu el ki-i ša i-na-an-na
64. ḫuraṣi li-še-im-'-it û ḫuraṣi ša e-ri-šu i-na libbi aḫi-ya
65. lu-u-la-a im-ma-ra-aṣ û abi-ya lib-bi aḫi-ya lu-u-la-a
66. u-ša-am-ra-aṣ û aḫi-ya ḫuraṣi ša a-na šip-ri la ib-šu
67. ma-a-ti-iš da-an-ni-iš li-še-e-bi-la-an-ni

68. û mi-nu-um-mi-e ša aḫi-ya ḫa-aš-ḫu a-na biti-šu li-iš-pur-ma
69. li-il-gi(?) û a-na-ku-u ultu pa-an ša aḫi-ya i-ri-šu lu-ut-ti-tir
70. mat an-ni-tum ša aḫi-ya mat-ya û bit an-ni-tum ša aḫi-ya bit-su

71. a-nu-um-ma TUR-TUR-ya a-na aḫi-ya al-ta-par D.P. Gi-li-ya û aḫi-ya
72. lu-u-la-a i-gal-la-a-šu ḫa-ri-ta li-miš(?)-šir(?)-šu-ma li-il-li-ik
73. ki me-e ša aḫi-ya û ummu(?)-šu e-še-im-me ma-a-ti-iš dan-is lu-ḫi-it-te
74. a-na da-a-ra-tim-ma ša aḫi-ya šul-ma-an-su lu-ul-te-im-me
75. û a-ma-a-tum an-na-a-tum ša ni-il-ta-nap-pa-ru D.P. { Rammanu / Addu } bi-e-li
76. û D.P. A-su-nu-um li-miš(?)-šir(?)-šu-nu-ti-ma û i-na pa-ti-i-šu-nu
77. li-ik-šu-du û ki-i ša i-na-an-na a-di-šu-nu-ma lu-u-ma-aš-lu
78. ki-i me-e i-na-an-na ni-ir-ta-na-'-am û ki-i ša i-na-an-na
79. a-na da-a-ra-ti-im-ma lu-u ni-ir-ta-na-'-am

80. a-nu-um-ma a-na šul-ma-a-ni-šu ša aḫi-ya D.P. rabu ḫurasi piṣu lu-u abnu uknu šadî
81. ša kar-ši D.P. ma-ni-ir(?)-nu kab-bu-ut-tum XX abnu uknu šadî XIX ḫuraṣi
82. ša kabal(?)-šu abnu uknu šadî ḫuraṣi GAR(?)-ra D.P. ma-ni-ir(?)-nu kab-bu-tum XLII abnu zaṭu šadî
83. XL ḫuraṣi ša zu-uḫ-zi D.P. Ištar ša kabal(?)-šu abnu zaṭu šadî ḫuraṣu GAR(?)-ra
84. X ṣi-mi-it-tum sîsi X narkabâti iṣi ḳa-du šal-mu-šu-nu
85. û XXX ŠAL-UŠ-meš a-na šul-ma-a-ni ša aḫi-ya ul-te-bil

II.—Despatch of Burraburiyash, son of Kuri-galzu, King of Karaduniyash, to Amenophis IV, King of Egypt.

In this inscription the form of greeting between the two kings is somewhat shortened. Burraburiyash refers in line 19 obv. to his father Kuri-galzu. If we accept this evidence it is impossible for the Burraburiyash of the Tell el-Amarna tablets to be one and the same person as Burna-buriyas the son of Kara-Indaš, which Dr. Schrader thinks to be perfectly certain. (Über die Identität des Königs Pur-ra-pu-ri-aš mit dem Purnapuriaš der heimischen babylonischen Inschriften, kann kein Zweifel sein.") It is possible that the Kuri-galzu mentioned on the Tell el-Amarna tablets is identical with the son of Kâraḫarbi, an account of whom was first

PLATE V.

DESPATCH FROM BURRABURIYASH, THE SON OF KURIGALZU, KING OF KARADUNIYASH, TO AMENOPHIS IV, KING OF EGYPT.

No. 81. OBVERSE.

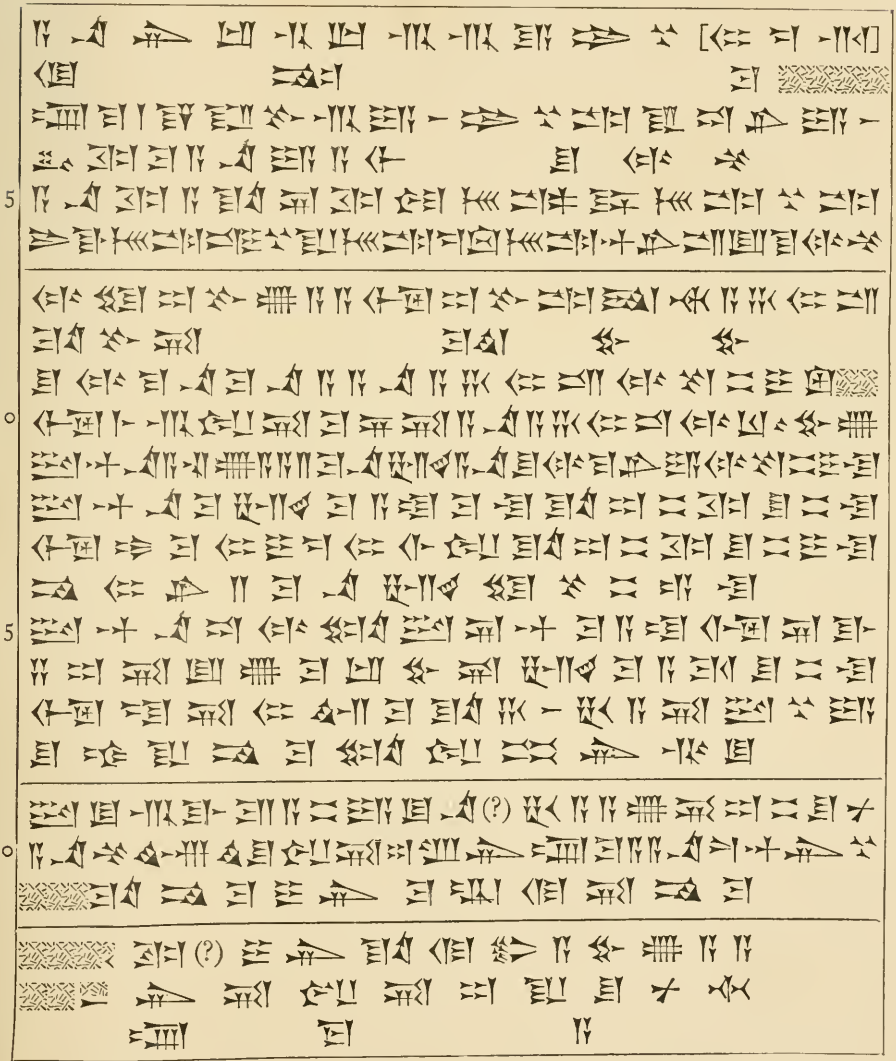
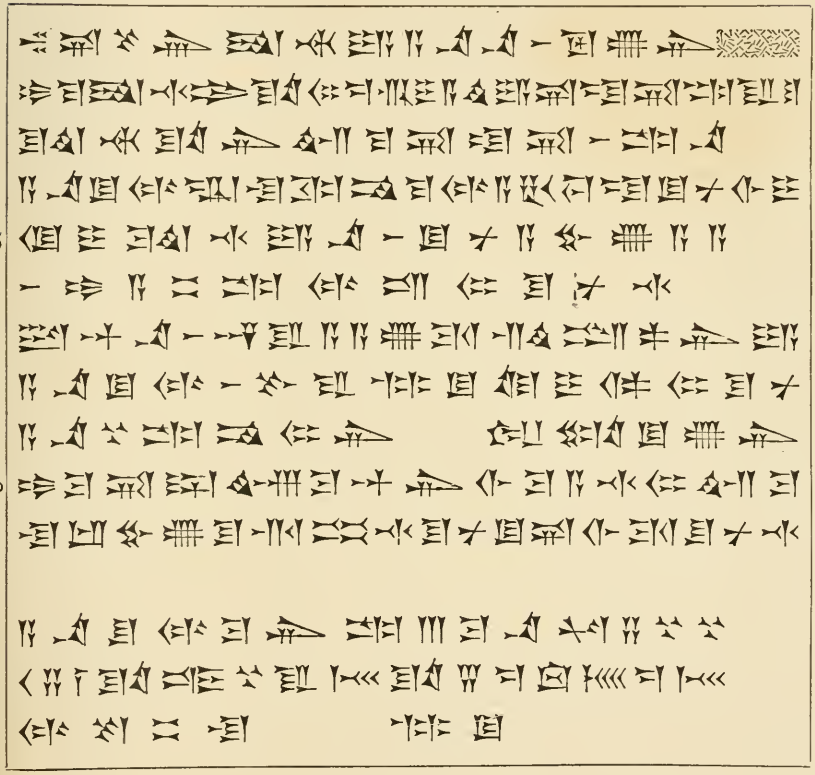


PLATE VI.

DESPATCH FROM BURRABURIYASH, THE SON OF KURIGALZU, KING OF KARADUNIYASH, TO AMENOPHIS IV, KING OF EGYPT.

No. 81.—REVERSE.



published by Winckler.* In this case we should have the name of a Babylonian king which does not occur on the Babylonian lists. The Kuri-galzu of the new tablets must be older than he of the Synchronous History; the new material at our disposal enables us to ask the questions again, Who built Dur-Kurigalzu? Who caused the inscriptions published in W.A.I., I. pl. 4, No. XIV, to be written? and from whence come the two seal-cylinders published by Menant in his *Glyptique Orientale*, p. 193? It is also certain that the statements made by the Synchronous History and the new tablets do not agree in respect of the genealogy of Burna(Burra)-buriyash.

In the despatch the text of which is printed on Plates V and VI, Burraburiyash refers to a treaty which was begun in the days of Kuri-galzu his father and Amenophis III of Egypt; it appears, however, not to have been completed. Burraburiyash acknowledges the receipt of two manas of gold which had been sent to him by Amenophis IV, but adds that two more are absolutely necessary for him as he wishes to ornament the house of his god and his own palace. In return he begs that Amenophis IV will ask him for anything that he wants which can be found in Babylonia, and promises that it shall be sent to him. On the reverse of the tablet he mentions that the Assyrians have offered to become allies of his. In the last three lines Burraburiyash says that he has sent three manas of lapis-lazuli, ten sets of harness for horses of five chariots, and various woods. The following is a transliteration of the text:—

No. 81.—Obverse.

1. a-na Ni-ib-ḫu-ur-ri-ri-ya šarru mat [Mi-iṣ-ri]
2. ki — bi — ma-[a]
3. um-ma D.P. Bur-ra-bu-ri-ya-aš šarru mat Ka-ra-du-ni-ya-aš
4. aḫi-ka-ma a-na ya-a-ši šu-ul-mu
5. a-na ka-a-ša biti-ka aššâti-ka ablâni-ka mati-ka
6. rubuti-ka sîsi-ka narcabâti-ka da-an-ni-iš lu-šu-ul-mu

7. ul-tu ab-bu-u-a-a û ab-bu-ka it-ti a-ḫa-mi-iš
8. da-bu-ta id-bu-bu
9. šu-ul-ma-na ba-na-a a-na a-ḫa-miš ul-te-bi-i-lu
10. û šip-ri el (?)-ta-ba-ni-ta a-na a-ḫa-mi-iš ul-ik-bu-u
11. i-na-an-na a-ḫu-u-a-a II ma-na ḫuraṣi a-na šu-ul-ma-ni-ya ul-te-bi-i-la

* Bezold, *Zeitschrift*, 1887, pp. 308 ff.

12. i-na-an-na-ma ḫuraṣu ma-a-at ma-la ša ab-bi-ka šu-bi-la
13. û šum-ma mi-i-is mi-ši-el ša ab-bi-ka šu-bi-la
14. am-mi-ni II ma-na ḫuraṣi tu-še-bi-e-la
15. i-na-an-na du-ul-li i-na biti-ilu ma-a-at û ekal
16. za-ap-ta lu-u-ma ib-bu-uš ḫuraṣi ma-a-da šu-bi-la
17. û at-ta mi-im-ma ša ḫa-aš-ḫa-a-ta i-na mati-ya
18. su-up-ra-am-ma li-el-ḳu-ni-ik-ku

19. i-na Ku-ri-gal-zu a-bi-ya ku-na-ḫa-a-a u-ga-ab-bi-su-nu
20. a-na mu-uḫ-ḫi-šu el-ta-ap-ru-ni um-ma-a a-na ḳa-an-ni-šat
21. [ik-su](?)-da-am-ma i-ni-ba-al-ki-ta-am-ma

22. ka (?)-i-ni ša-ki-in a-bu-u-a-a
23. i (?)-ni-ta-el-ta-ap-ra-šu-nu-ti
24. um-ma-a

REVERSE.

1. mu-uš-še-ir it-ti-ya a-na na-aš-ku-u-ni
2. šum-ma it-ti šarru ša Mi-iṣ-ri-i a-ḫi-ya ta-at-ta-ak-ra-ma
3. it-ti ša-ni-im-ma ta-at-ta-aš-ka-na
4. a-na-ku ul-al-la-ka-am-ma ul a-ḫa-ba-at-ku(?)-nu-ši-i
5. ki-i it-ti-ya na-aš-ku-nu a-bu-u-a-a
6. aš-šum a-bi-ka ul-iš-mi-šu-nu-ti
7. i-na-an-na Aš-šur-ra-a-a u-da-gi-il pa-ni-ya
8. a-na-ku ul aš-pu-ra-ak-ku ki-i šul-mi-šu-nu
9. a-na mati-ka am-mi-ni el-li-ku-u-ni
10. šum-ma ta-ra-aḫ-ma-an-ni ši-ma-a-ti mi-im-ma
11. la ib-bu-u-šu ri-ḳu-ti-šu-nu ku-uš-ši-da-šu-nu-ti

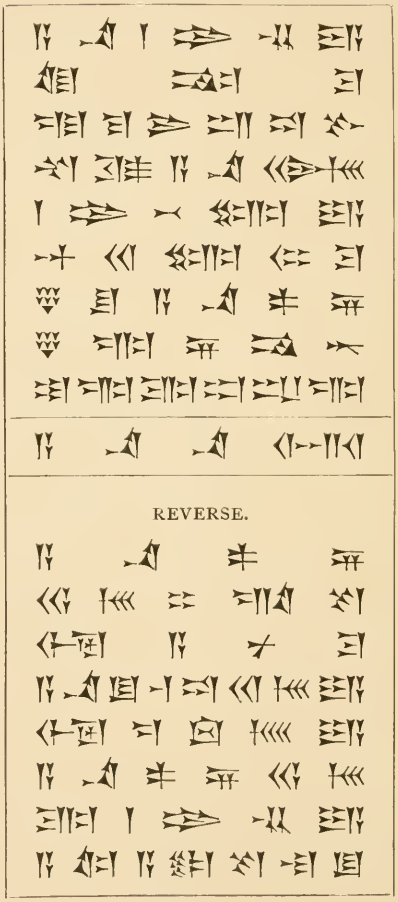
12. a-na šu-ul-ma-ni-ka III ma-na abnu uknu šadî
13. X ṣimittum (=ZA-LAL) ša sîsi ša V nartakâti iṣi
14. ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku

The small inscription printed on Plate VII is a letter from an officer to "the king my lord." I am not able to say whether Amenophis III or Amenophis IV is referred to. The whole of the obverse of the tablet is taken up with greetings, and the object of the letter does not appear until we come to the reverse. From this it appears that the officer informs the king that he and his soldiers and chariots are ready to join those of the king at a certain place.

PLATE VII.

LETTER FROM AN OFFICER RELATING TO SOLDIERS AND CHARIOTS.

No. 35. OBVERSE.



EDGE

REVERSE.

The following is a transliteration of the text, in which there are (to me, at least) some difficult passages; I am not by any means certain that my transliteration is in all points correct.

No. 35.—OBVERSE.

1. a-na šarru beli-ya
2. ki-bi-ma
3. um-ma amelu Iš(?)-{du / gub}-bu
4. ardu-ka a-na šepi
5. šarru be-li-ya
6. D.P. Šamaš li-mi-ma
7. VII šanitu a-na pa-ni
8. VII ta-ni am-kut
9. at-ta ša-ap-ra-ta
10. a-na-na(?)-ar

REVERSE.

11. a-na pa-ni
12. ṣabani IV ta(?)-te
13. û a-nu-ma
14. a-na-ku du ṣabani-ya
15. û narcabâti-ya
16. a-na pa-ni ṣabani
17. ša šarru beli-ya
18. a-di a-šar te-la-ku

III.—DESPATCH OF THE KING OF ALASHIYA TO THE KING OF EGYPT.*

The corner of the tablet upon which the name of the king of Alashiya was inscribed is, most unfortunately, broken off, and I am unable to restore it.† The king of Egypt to whom it was sent was probably Amenophis III. The king of Alashiya was an important personage, and was either an ally of the king of Egypt, or one of the parties to a business-contract with him. The text of his despatch

* For the text *see* Plates VIII and IX.

† A second despatch from the king of Alashiya is in the British Museum, but there are breaks in the first line or two, and we are therefore prevented from discovering his name.

is divided into thirteen paragraphs. His greeting reads:—"[To] the king of Egypt, my brother [from] the king of Alashiya, thy brother. I, and my houses, my wives, my sons, my nobles, my horses, and my chariots have peace. May peace be multiplied in my countries! To thee, brother, to thy houses, to thy wives, to thy sons, to thy nobles, to thy horses, and to thy chariots may there be peace! May peace also be multiplied in thy countries!" The king of Alashiya next says that he is sending his own ambassador with that of the Egyptian king into the land of Egypt. These are the contents of the first two paragraphs.

In the third paragraph the king of Alashiya says that he is sending, with kindly greetings to his brother king, five vessels of bronze, the like of which are not made in the land of Egypt. He mentions too that the hand of the god Barbar (Ninip) had slain the people of his land; and in the next paragraph he asks that the ambassador of the Egyptian king may be sent back speedily with his own, and promises that whatever bronze objects he requires shall be sent to him. The hand of the god Barbar may be a reference to a plague or epidemic.

In the fifth paragraph the king of Alashiya requests the king of Egypt to send to him immediately ten tables (?), and one table for the gods. In return he promises to send whatever the king of Egypt may require of him.

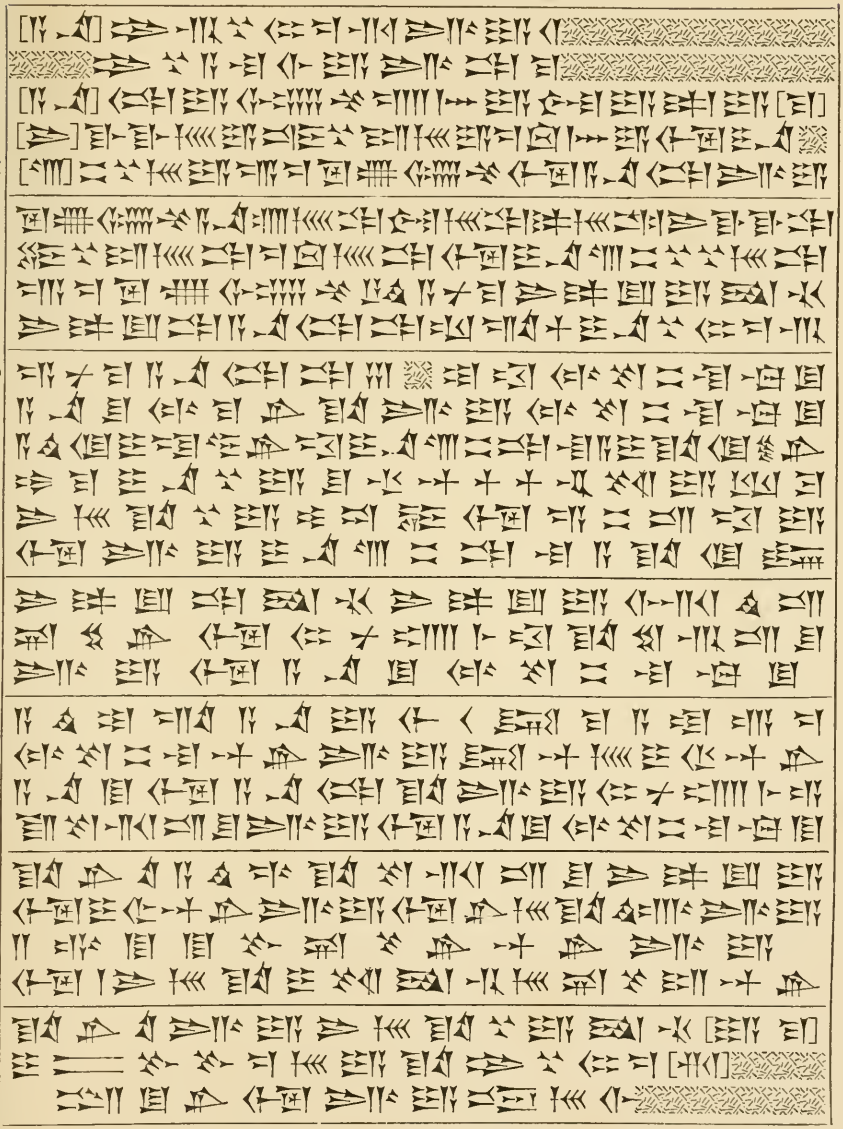
In the sixth paragraph the king of Alashiya says that his ambassador shall give to the king of Egypt the bull which he asked for, and good fat (?). In return he asks that two *kukupu* jars may be sent to him, together with a man who understands eagles.

In the seventh paragraph he says that the people of his land have spoken to him, and that the trees of his country which the king of Egypt wishes for shall be brought to him by his ambassador. The end of the last line of this paragraph is broken away, but from the word "price" which remains, it would appear that, when complete, the line contained some reference as to the payment of the price of the trees.

In the eighth paragraph there are one or two breaks, but the general sense seems to be that a native of Alashiya went to Egypt with certain property and died there. He left his wife and family in Alashiya, and the king of this land asks the Egyptian king to send back whatever property the deceased left behind by the hands of the Alashiyan ambassador.

DESPATCH FROM THE KING OF ALAŠIYA TO THE KING OF EGYPT.

No. 37.—OBVERSE.

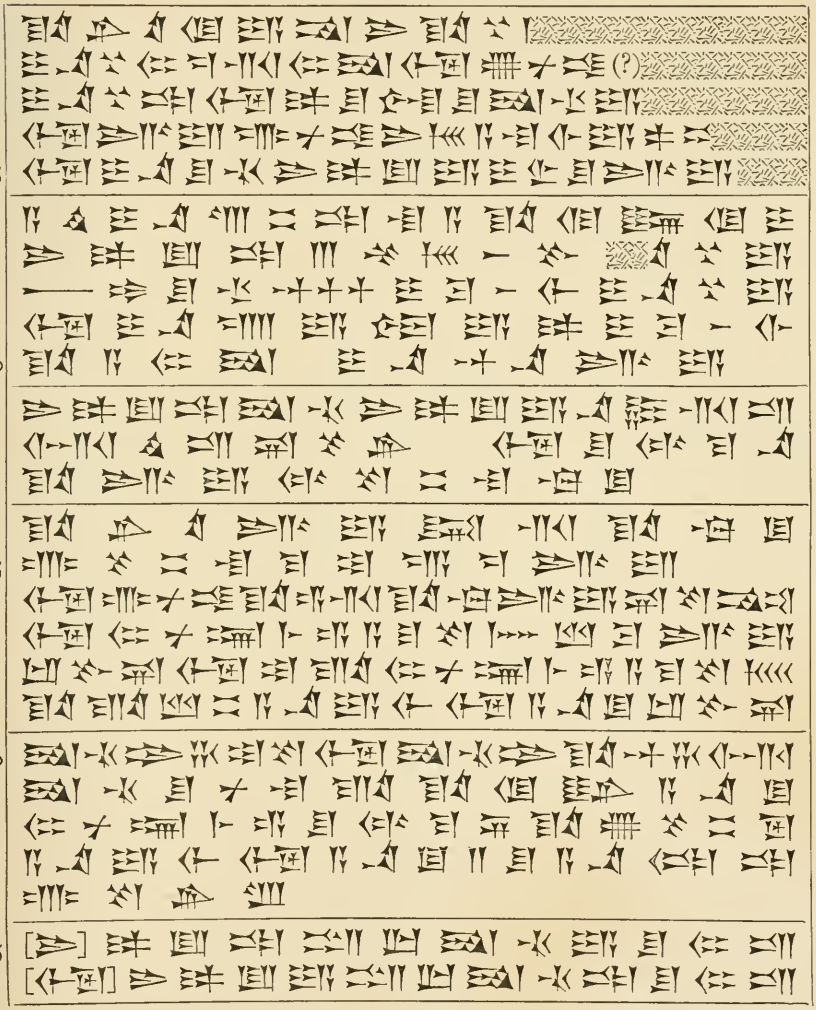


†

PLATE IX.

Despatch from the King of Alašiya to the King of Egypt.

No. 37.—Reverse.



In the ninth paragraph it is stated that the ambassador of the Egyptian king had lived in the land of Alashiya for three years, and a reference is again made to the "hand of Barbar which exists in my land."

In the tenth paragraph the king of Alashiya begs the king of Egypt to send and arrange matters amicably by means of the two ambassadors.

In the eleventh paragraph the king of Alashiya entreats the Egyptian king to send the *paššuru* which he has asked for at once, as well as the property of the deceased man mentioned above. He adds he will agree to whatever conditions or orders the Egyptian king wishes to make.

In the twelfth paragraph the king of Alashiya asks the king of Egypt not to make any compact, treaty, or agreement with the king of Ḥâtte and the king of Shânḥâr. In the last paragraph the king of Alashiya seems to wish that the ambassador of the Egyptian king may have full power to treat with him, and that his ambassador may have full power to treat with the Egyptian king.

Thus ends this remarkable document. The light it throws upon the foreign policy of the king of Egypt is certainly interesting, and from the incidental allusions which are made here and there many conclusions may be drawn. This can be done later on when the texts have been studied and are better known. The following is a transliteration of the Babylonian text of the despatch from the king of Alashiya.

No. 37.—Obverse.

1. [a-na] šarri mat Mi-iṣ-ri aḫi-ya û (?)
2. šarri mat A-la-ši-ya aḫi-ka-ma
3. [a-na] eli-ya šul-mu bitati-ya aššati-ya ablâni-ya-[ma]
4. [amelu] rubuti-ya sîsi-ya narcabâti-ya û i-na
5. lib-bi matati-ya dan-is lu-u-šul-mu û a-na eli aḫi-ya

6. lu-u šul-mu a-na bitati-ka aššâti-ka ablâni-ka amelu rubuti-ka
7. sîsi-ka narcabâti-ka û i-na libbi matati-ka
8. dan-is lu-u-šul-mu a-ḫi (?) a-nu-ma amelu mar šipri-ya it-ti
9. amelu mar šipri-ka a-na eli-ka al-ta-par i-na mat Mi-iṣ-ri

10. e-nu-ma a-na eli-ka V -at erû ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku
11. a-na šu-ul-ma-ni ša aḫi-ya ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku

12. a-ḫi ki-i at-gir-(?)-ir erû i-na lib-bi-ka la-a i-ša-ki-in
13. šum-ma i-na mat-ya ḳat-ti D.P. Barbar be-li-ya kab-ba
14. ameluti ša mat-ya i-du-uk u e-pi-iš eri-ya
15. û aḫi-ya i-na lib-bi-ka la-a ša ki-in

16. D.P. mar šipri-ka it-ti D.P. mar šipri-ya ar-ḫi-iš
17. uš-še-ir û mi-nu-um-me erû ša te-ri-iš-šu
18. aḫi-ya û a-na-ku ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku

19. a-ḫi at-ta a-na ya-ši X paššuru (?) ma-a ad-dan-is
20. ul-te-bi-la-an-ni aḫi-ya paššuru (?) ilani i-din-an-ni
21. a-na-ku û a-na eli ša aḫi-ya mi-nu-um-me-e
22. ša te-ri-iš-šu aḫi-ya û a-na-ku ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku

23. ša-ni-tu a-ḫi alpu ša te-ri-iš-šu D.P. mar šipri-ya
24. û i-din-an-ni aḫi-ya û NI-MEŠ ša ṭabu aḫi-ya
25. II karpat ku-ku-pu uš-še-ir-an-ni aḫi-ya
26. û ameluti ša i-li ID-ḪU-MEŠ uš-še-ra-an-ni

27. ša-ni-tu aḫi-ya ameluti ša mat-ya it-ti [ya-ma]? . .
28. i-dab-bu-bu iṣi-ya ša šar mat Mi-[iṣ-ri]
29. il-ku-ni û aḫi-ya . . šimi û

REVERSE.

1. ša-ni-tu itti-ya amelu ša mat
2. i-na mat Mi-iṣ-ri mi-idû u-nu-tum
3. i-na mati-ka û apli-šu aššati-šu it-ti-ya
4. û aḫi-ya u-nu-tum ameluti A-la-ši-ya pa
5. û i-na ḳat-ti D.P. mar-šipri-ya i-din-šu aḫi-ya

6. a-ḫi i-na lib-bi-ka la-a ša-ki-in ki-i
7. D.P. mar šipri-ka III šanati ina pu-ḫur (?) mati-ya
8. aš-šum ḳat-ti D.P. Barbar i-ba-aš-ši i-na mati-ya
9. û i-na biti-ya aššati-ya ablu i-ba-aš-ši
10. ša a-mi-id i-na-an-na aḫi-ya

11. D.P. mar šipri-ka it-ti D.P. mar šipri-ya na-aṣ-ri-iš
12. ar-ḫi-iš uš-še-ir û šu-ul-ma-na
13. ša aḫi-ya ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku

14. ša-ni-tu aḫi-ya paššuru (?) ša e-ri-ša-ak-ku
15. u-še-bi-la-ma ad-dan-is aḫi-ya
16. û u-nu-tum ša e-ri-ša-ak-ku aḫi-ya uš-te-bil (?)
17. û mi-nu-um-me-e a-ma-te kab-ba aḫi-ya

18. ib-bu-uš û at-ta mi-nu-um-me-e a-ma-te
19. ša ta-kab-bi a-na ya-ši û a-na-ku ib-bu-uš

20. it-ti šar Ḫa-at-te û it-ti šar Ša-an-ḫa-ar
21. it-ti šu-nu la-ta-ša-ki-in a-na-ku
22. mi-nu-um-me-e šu-ul-ma-nu ša u-še-bi-lu
23. a-na ya-ši û a-na-ku II šanitu a-na eli-ka
24. u-te-ir-ru

25. [D.P.] mar šipri-ka il-lik it-ti-ya šu-mi-iš
26. [û D.P] mar šipri-ya il-lik it-ti-ka šu-mi-iš

Egyptian Engraved Ivory in the British Museum. [No. 18175].

I am indebted to our President Mr. Renouf for his kind permission to make a facsimile of the interesting ivory in the annexed plate. It was obtained by the British Museum some months ago, and is said to have come from Thebes. There was also a wooden one offered to the Museum, the vignettes, etc., being drawn upon a prepared surface with ink; on comparing the two with Mr. Renouf they proved to be almost identical in the arrangement of figures, with only slight differences in the manner of drawing. Fragments of other similar objects are preserved in the British Museum, but, I believe, up to the present time no satisfactory explanation has been offered as to what they were originally intended for. It has been supposed that they were worn round the neck, on the breast, as a kind of collar, but the absence of any evidence of a means of attaching presents a difficulty. If fastened only by cords it seems probable that some mark would remain on the edges where they were tied. A slight and probably natural bending in this blade of ivory or bone renders one side a little convex and the other necessarily concave. The upper figure on the plate represents the vignettes on the inside or concave side, the lower one being those on the outside or that which is convex.

The only evidence of wear and rubbing is on the outside of the curve of the concave side, and the inside of the curve of the convex side. The part rubbed away being greater on the inner edge, this may point to a use which required the ivory to be grasped in the hand, the edge of the hollow, or concave side, being the one which constantly rubbed against something.

The break across the centre is probably modern, having been made with the object of more easily carrying the ivory about or secreting it when carried away from the place where it was discovered.

The plate is about one half the size of the original.

W. Harry Rylands.

NOTE ON THE VALUES OF THE SIGN .

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

Dr. Karl Piehl is an excellent Egyptologist and one of the most valued contributors to our Proceedings. I would therefore gladly learn from him the grounds upon which he transcribes  *ur-tep*.

In so doing he is unquestionably in agreement with almost every other Egyptologist. My own views on the subject are in so decided a minority, that I am sometimes tempted to imagine that I have overlooked some evidence which is so obvious to all, that no one has thought it necessary to mention it. If there be such evidence I should like to know it, and will certainly rejoice in being able in this matter to find myself in agreement with the unanimous opinion of my fellow labourers. I cannot, however, on the other hand, avoid feeling that the evidence which has hitherto been published in favour of the commonly received transcription is singularly unsatisfactory and breaks down upon examination. Dr. von Bergmann, for instance, in the article (*Recueil*, VI, p. 165) cited by Dr. Piehl, quotes from Sharpe (*Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 23) the title . There is no such title either in Sharpe or on the original, which is in the British Museum. The  given by Bergmann is a mistake for the top of the sign .

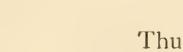
The common opinion of Egyptologists seems to be that there is but one phonetic value for the sign and that this is , *tep*. Dr. Dümichen and I hold that the sign is polyphonous, and has at least three values. I feel certain that , far from being the sole value, is only a corruption.

1. One of the phonetic values of is , *tep*.

The variants  = , *tep ba*, are generally known from the Royal tombs.* But as a ram's head might have a special name, a better authority will be found in a variant of *Todt.*, 125, 33. In one of our papyri (B.M. 9971) I have found the usual

* Champollion, *Notices*, II, 568.

 written , *sor ṭep*. *Ṭep*, therefore, with an initial , *ṭ* (which some Egyptologists mistakenly call *d*), is the right phonetic value of , when this sign represents *a head*.

Thus, , *qa-ku-à ḥer ṭepu-ten*, "I am raised above your heads," *Todt.*, 97, 2.

, *meḥu ḥer ṭep-ek*, Duemichen, *Recueil*, III, 36, "the garlands upon thy head."

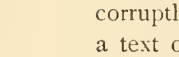
, *ṭep en se-s Ḥeru* (*ib.*, 61), "the head of her son Horus."

, *Ḥeru, se Rā āḥā ḥer ṭep en sema* (*ib.*, 82), "Horus, son of Rā, standing upon the head of Sut."

, *Meḥenit ḥer ṭep en nutâru nebu* (*ib.*, 52), "the Uræus on the head of all the gods."

In the last days of hieroglyphic writing the distinction between and ceased to be respected. Each of these signs was corruptly used instead of the other. It is at this time, and in a text of specially outrageous orthography, that we find it written *neṭ'em en Ḥes ḥer ṭep en nutâr neb em ren-es en Menḥit*, "the goddess sits on the head of each god in her name of Uræus diadem." *

Here indeed the word is written  *tep*, but this is a mere corruption from , and not to be selected as the right reading in preference to those of the classical period.

2. Another and not less certain value of is evident when the word usually written  or , and signifying 'rule,' 'pre-

* Brugsch, *Recueil*, I, 72. *Cf. Denkm.*, IV, 87, *a*. , *Ḥeset*, is one of the names of Hathor. The sign is not to be confounded with that signifying 'majesty.' It is an abridged form of , as in the variants of quoted by Dümichen, *Zeits.*, 1865, p. 2.

scription,' presents itself under the form  *āp ret*,* the well-known value of  being *āp*. The Coptic ⲁⲡⲉ, 'caput,' 'vertex,' 'summitas,' is related to the old Egyptian word *āp*.

3. Abundant and conclusive evidence identifies the sign  with the value *ḥetep*, whenever it can be shown to have for variants the signs , ,  or .

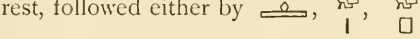
Thus  =  =  *ḥotepu ta*, 'those upon earth.'

In the last variant  occurs as a double orthography.

In the same style of orthography (and in the same temple, at Dendera, the verb *ḥotep* is expressed by the sign of the divine jackal at rest, followed either by , , ,  or .

The forms  *em ḥotep* and  are also known. It has been argued that in the various instances stand only for the usual complementary letters . Those who use this argument should not forget that might in this way be proved to be = *tep*. The *entire* evidence taken together has to be looked at, otherwise we fall into a fallacy well known to logicians. The question is which of the solutions is it which is equally good for *every* instance?

Dr. Dümichen† has shown the identity of  and  and this is generally admitted. But the actual value which is common to the two signs is shown by a passage once written

, and in another place

.

I cannot see how any other conclusion can be arrived at, than that  is =  *ḥotep*, and that each of the two signs has this value, and not that of *tep*.

* Dümichen, *Rec.*, II, 91, 1. † *Zeitschr.*, 1873, p. 119.

With this knowledge we can appreciate the alliteration of another text quoted by Dr. Dümichen



Ḥāpu *ḥai* *ḥer* *ḥetp* *ḥetepu*

'The Nile rising covers the flats.'

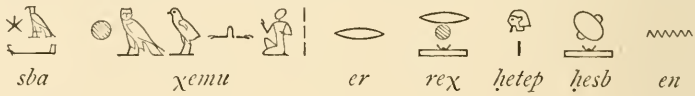
The sign  in this passage is read *ḥetep* as in the following,

 *Ḥāpu ḥer ḥetep bu nebu*,* 'Nile covers every place.'

In the later texts it is used as homophonous with , to express the number 7, , which in its turn is frequently used to express the preposition . Its phonetic value, which must necessarily be that of a syllable ending in the letter *p*, is therefore *ḥetep*, and not *ḥept* as several scholars have thought. I have myself expressed the opinion that the Egyptians of the later days borrowed the Greek ἑπτά. But the use of the sign as expressive of 7 is as old at least as the time of Rameses III. And though we have no direct phonetic variants of that period, we have philological evidence of another kind.

The notion of *harmony*, *concord*, *agreement*, *exact proportion*, *art*, is from the earliest times as truly expressed by means of as it is by the Coptic ϩωτπ.

The Prisse Papyrus (5, 7) already speaks of "instructing the ignorant to understand the harmony of beautiful language."

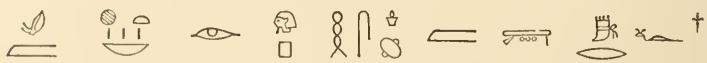


sba *χemu* *er* *reχ* *ḥetep* *ḥesb* *en*



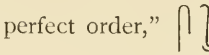
muṭet *nefert*

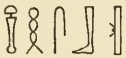
So at a later time we read of the god "who heareth all things, and creates harmony in the entire world."



soṭem *χet neb* *ár* *ḥetep* *ḥesb* *em* *ta* *t'er - ef*

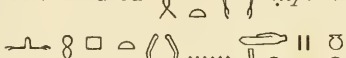
* *Denderah*, I, 53, 3. † *Denderah*, III, 12, 8.

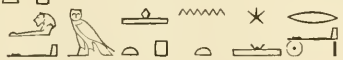
In the same sense Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, is said to "keep the earth in perfect order,"  *smen ta em ḥetep nefer*.* The two expressions  *ḥetep ḥesb* and  *ḥetep nefer* are extremely common in the later texts.  *ḥetep metre* is a third and perhaps not less frequent synonym.

The variants of this frequent expression are  and .

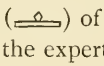
In the Tale of the Two Brothers, two tall persea trees grew up  *uā nebt àm-sen ḥetep-tà*, 'each corresponding to the other.'†

The kindred  *ḥept* has the same meaning.

 'not a brick *fitted* its neighbour.'

The group  in the sense of 'book,' is to me evidently the same word as  *ḥotep*, which occurs in the title of one of the sacred books, . 'Beginning of the *Book* of the Praise of Ra.'

And if  signifies 'addition,' 'sum,' total,' is not this the case also with ? We read, for instance, in the Abbot Papyrus‡ "Sum total () of the monuments of the ancient kings examined this day by the experts :—

"Found intact, 9 monuments; violated 1; total () 10 monuments of the priestesses  of Amon Ra, king of the gods;

"Found intact 2; found violated by the plunderers 2; total () 4."

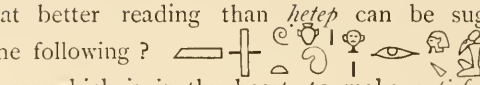
A large number of instances occur in the great Harris Papyrus.

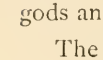
What difference is there between and *ḥetep àb*, which have the same signification?

* *Denderah*, 66, *K*.

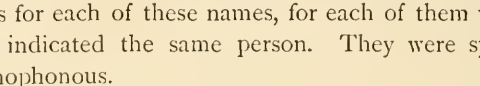
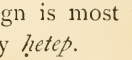
† D'Orbiny Pap., 17, 1; rightly, I think, translated "es war eine jede von ihnen sich ähnelnd," in Brugsch's Lexicon, IV, p. 1538.

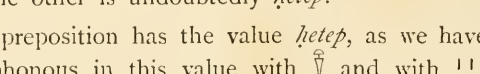
‡ Plate III, line 15.

And what better reading than *ḥetep* can be suggested for  in the following?  "Righteousness which is in thy heart, to make *satisfaction* to the gods and goddesses." *

The sign , being essentially polyphonous, a difficulty may occur in reading a word when variants are either seemingly contradictory or entirely wanting. It may not be easy to say whether a goddess  should be called *Ápit*, *Ṭepit*, or *Ḥetepit*. There are very good reasons for each of these names, for each of them was actually in use, and indicated the same person. They were synonymous, but not homophonous.

In the same way  and  may both stand for in the sense of 'first,' but the second sign is most probably to be read *ṭep*, whilst the other is undoubtedly *ḥetep*.

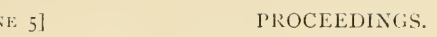
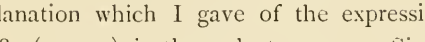
 as a preposition has the value *ḥetep*, as we have seen, and it is homophonous in this value with and with , in such instances as and the compound preposition  *ḥer ḥetep*.† This preposition is not either phonetically or grammatically to be confounded with the words signifying 'on the head of.' In the latter expression the preposition  governs the noun , *ṭep*, which, when it is not immediately followed by a suffix, is joined to another noun by the preposition , *en*. , *ḥer ḥetep*, as a compound pre position, means something quite different. Rameses II was not standing *on his head* when he was  *ḥer-ḥetep-ef* (by himself) in the midst of his enemies.

Importance is very naturally attached to the Greek transcriptions of the names of the Decans, according to which τπη would be the equivalent of . But as I have long since pointed out, forms like *ḥtep* or the Coptic ϩⲧⲟⲡ, ruina, necessarily lose their initial letter in a Greek transcription.‡

* *Denderah*, II, 41.

† These variants show that M. Maspero's *hiza*, *hriza*, is a wrong transcription. Besides,  often follows , and follows in this compound.

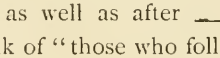
‡ As the Coptic ϩⲓⲧⲙⲉ 'supra' has been cited in evidence, I will only say that it corresponds in sense (as well as sound) to , and *not* to .

And whatever Greek transcriptions may suggest, it is utterly inexcusable in Egyptologists to look upon as a single group = *tpā*. The explanation which I gave of the expression in the *Transactions* of 1881 (p. 117) is the only true one. Since I wrote the note in question there has been ample time to verify the fact that, from the earliest times of the language known to us, the sign of the plural has been written before as well as after . The Pyramid texts of Unas (line 199) speak of "those who follow Rā, the ancient ones,"  *àmu-χet Rā, ḥtepu-āu*. The Prisse Papyrus (19, 8) has Later examples exist in abundance. The sign  is only justifiable as a determinative when the persons referred to are venerated ancestors, kings or gods, but  *ḥtep ā* in itself means nothing more than 'prior,' 'before.'  *ḥeqet surà ḥtep ā st'er* is "beer to drink before going to bed."

The etymological side of the question is not less important than the phonetic.

None of the Indo-European names of the 'head' had originally any direct reference to that part of the animal body or to concepts of eminence or priority. The French *tête* comes from *testa*, which meant a 'pot,' or 'pitcher,' and it is in the same range of ideas that the use of the Sanskrit *kapālas* and kindred words in other languages had their origin. We ourselves use the word 'chest' in the sense of the human thorax, the Egyptians applied it to the head.

The Egyptian  *hen*, 'head,' properly signified a vessel, whether a pot , or a box .

Ṭep also signifies a box or chest,  or .

The two words *hen* and *ṭep* are used synonymously for 'head' in the bilingual Rhind papyri, and Dr. Birch, for want of attention to the Demotic version, translated  'chest,' in consequence of its determinative. In the Boulaq papyrus No. III, 11, 20, the word is written , with two determinatives, the box and the symbol of limbs.

Another use of *ṯep*, as , the 'shell,' or 'hold' of a ship, 'carina,' has the same fundamental meaning.

A variety of meanings may be found attached to the root *ḥctep* (*ḥepet*), but the primitive one seems to be best expressed by the determinative , 'to take hold of something, seize, catch as it were with both hands, on all sides; embrace, comprehend, comprise; join, put, bind or fasten together; fit, reconcile, rest upon, overlay, cover,' with other derivative meanings, well known both in ancient Egyptian and in Coptic.

The derivatives of the Indo-European root *kap*, like capio, incipio, principium, caput, κώπη, are admirable illustrations of the various applications of the same primitive concept. The connection of ideas is not accidental. The German *fangen* leads to *An-fang* just as *capio* leads to *in-cipio*, and the Egyptian *ḥetep* in the sense of *fangen* to *ḥetep* in the sense of *prin-ceps* or *prin-cipium*. *Ḥetep* in the sense of 'sum,' 'total' is merely a 'putting together.' *Ḥetep* in the sense of 'first' is as nearly allied in thought to *ḥetep*, ϩⲧⲟⲡ ruina, as *prin-ceps* to *prae-ceps*, *prae-cipitium*, 'head' to 'head-long.' The prepositional sense of *ḥetep*, 'over,' 'upon,' is derived from 'overlaying,' 'covering.'

The 'dagger'  *ḥetep* is connected with , , 'stab,' 'cut,' and with  *ḥetepet* a 'graving tool,' the determinative of which sometimes closely resembles .

How far these words are radically identical with the preceding, is an interesting question, but one which need not occupy us at present. If  and have the same phonetic value, this is quite a sufficient reason why one may be substituted for the other. But they cannot be proved to be homophonous in more than one value, and that is *ḥetep*.

There is another group of words, connected with , which I believe to be related to  but there is no need of discussing it or other interesting topics at present. My intention in this Note is simply to call attention to very grave phonetic and other considerations, which are generally neglected by Egyptologists.

HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON.

EGYPTIAN

ORNAMENT OF IVORY

in the British Museum



W.H.Rylands del. 1888.

Section

2⅞"

11 Inches

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